Saris

Tradition and Beyond

General Editor: Martand Singh
Rta Kapur Chishti

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

Saris
OF INDIA

The sari is Draupadi's unending fabric of time.
It is the past with a possibility for the future.
What was there? What is happening? What will be?
Eternal questions play on the senses as the sari unwinds.
The known rests upon the unkown, provoking us to look beyond the apparent...

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Ṛta Kapur Chishti

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Photography: Renuka Kelkar

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Preface

It has been quite a journey, the unwinding of the story of the sari, and it has taken us more than twenty five years to put it together for publication. For many years we had imagined that the sari was of one kind as worn in urban India. Only while doing research in Bengal was it discovered that this wearing style was invented in 1872 1862 by Rani Gyanodanandini Tagore. Like everything else, the wearing style of the sari had changed and is now changing more rapidly than we can imagine. And so, the search for documentation began.

The unstitched cloth is a truly Indian phenomenon. It gives to us a visual identity and the sari in particular, is celebrated everywhere as Indian. It is when you travel in India that you begin to understand that the sari is a hugely variable garment. The lady from the fishing community wears is it differently from, say, the rice planting agriculturist. An urban woman from Gujarat wears it differently from the women of Tamil Nadu. And so, this volume brings together sari types, the how and where of their making, and their wearing styles. There may be more out there, but they are certainly no less than those presented here. Equally, twenty five years ago something else was happening to the wearing styles o f the ladies of the sub continent. The emergence of the Punjabi suit as an acceptable style of clothing in all of urban India had its own effect on the sari.

There are many persons to thank - actually there are so many that we salute them - silently. But principally the Government of India, and its various agencies including the Development Commissioner (Handlooms), the Weavers Service Centres, the Directorates of Handlooms and State Textile Corporations in the various states, the HHEC of India Ltd for their unhesitating support, Roli Books for their belief in this project and most of all to Rta Kapur Chishti - for her unwavering zeal and enthusiasm over these many years. We hope that when future generations of Indians notice this volume on some library shelf, they will open it and wonder at the genius of the creative process of this great land.

Martand Singh
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Silk yarn wound around spindle and in hank form

Preceding page: *A partially tinted photograph showing the family retainers of the Gwalior royal family dressed in traditional Navari style saris (nine yard) favoured by Maratha women. Both the young and the older women working within the palace complex seem to have worn this traditional style of draping the sari.*

The Sari: An Introduction

A Portuguese traveller in the early 1500s:

'The women wear white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colour, five yards long, one part of which is girt round their below and the other part on their shoulder across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remains uncovered.'[1]

The deep involvement and complete sense of identity of the Indian woman with the sari, has made her resist the pressure to change her style of dress, inadvertently providing continuity in weaving traditions of every part of the country. The sari represents a culture in which the woven and textured-with-pattern garment; unpierced or intruded upon by the stitching needle; was considered not only more appropriate in terms of aesthetics and climate, but was also an act of greater purity and simplicity. It is difficult to historically ascertain the sari's evolution as a single piece drape, though in many parts of India (Kerala, the six northeast states, Rajasthan and Gujarat), its possible preceding versions of two or three piece drapes, continue to be worn.

The sari allows us to go back at least a thousand years in terms of design. It is conceived on the loom as a three-dimensional garment with variables in pattern, weave and structure between its inner and outer end-pieces and its two borders, which provide drape, strength and weight, while the body enhances its drape. All these elements help maintain the form of the sari when it is worn.

A process of awareness began with the Master Weavers Exhibition in 1982 and continued through a series of six[2] subsequent exhibitions; initiated by Martand Singh and supported by the Development Commissioner (Handlooms), Government of India; attempted to discover whether a level of excellence was still possible in the tradition of handcrafted textiles. It led to the recognition of a handful of craftsmen in different parts of the country, who were still capable of giving us a glimpse of the best of their inherited skills. They gave us confidence to move beyond the museum masterpieces, to look for what could be achieved today. Though the experience of searching, finding and attempting to revitalize within a contemporary context was exhilarating in itself, it left one with a feeling of standing on thin ice. How little we know about the craftsman, his capabilities and the dire circumstances out of which 'design' emerges. What exactly is possible within a specific area of skill? How can the range of

Tribal women possibly from the Deccan plateau wearing cotton saris traditionally woven in their region for local use.

1. Dr. Moti Chandra in Costumes and Textiles of the Sultanate period.
2. 1983 Visvakarma - Pudu Pavu (The new warp); 1984 Visvakarma - Rasa (The evoking of variant moods); 1984 Visvakarma - Dhaari (The play of lines); 1985 Visvakarma - Jaali (Trellis); 1986 Visvakarma - Ksetra (Exploring new 'fields'); 1990 Visvakarma - Birds and Animals in Indian Textiles (In Homage to Dr. Salim Ali, the well known ornithologist).

The comfort and practicality of the sari makes it an ideal garment for working women in all spheres

handloom weaving, printing and dyeing be developed further without adequate knowledge of its specific capabilities, capacities, potential strength and limitations? This growing awareness and the realization that too much had already been allowed to die out of sheer neglect, combined with a final assault by power looms and mills during the second half of the twentieth century, brought a sense of urgency to this documentation project.

Until the nineteenth century, weavers were considered the nation's wealth. They were highly skilled minds who had explored infinite possibilities of the one plus one minus one, in the realm of pure mathematics. Though this could be said of many a design medium, weaving is unique in that it involves the ingenious mapping of the mental conception within - what is literally - a physical grid.

In more ancient times, weavers were taken from one kingdom to another as part of dowry in marriage, or given as the price of conquest. At less fortunate times, they were conscripted as soldiers, or were forced to migrate due to oppression, want, or famine. They carried the sapling of knowledge wherever they went, adding to the wealth of their newfound homeland.

The sari has been a unifying feature, despite the variations in its wearing style, in different parts of India. The urban wearing style is a post-1870s phenomenon and is described as follows in Chitra Debi's marvellous book from the 1970s, '*Thakur Barir Onder Mohal*' (translated from Bengali by Riten Mazumdar):

> *'It is said that Satyendranath (elder brother of Rabindranath) Tagore's wife, Gyanodanandini, went with her civil servant husband to Bombay around the 1870s and adopted the Parsi way of wearing the sari, as at that time the local Bengali way was not considered elegant enough for outdoor wear. On her return to Calcutta we find that this style, now known in the Thakur Barir as the Bombay Dastur, was adopted by all the ladies of the Barir and other society ladies referred to it as the 'Thakur Barir Sari'. In fact, when Gyanoda advertised her willingness to teach this style of wearing the sari- with a* saya *or petticoat, chemise blouse and jacket- it attracted a number of women. It seems to have been a time when a number of ladies were experimenting with supposedly more sophisticated ways of wearing the sari. The sari went through various stages of resembling the hobble skirt and the gown. At one stage the* pallav *(end-piece) was made so short that it could not cover the head and thus, a* mukut *(crown/tiara) was worn with a flowing backcloth. Suniti Devi, the Maharani of Cooch Behar, preferred to have a scarf over the head, worn like a Spanish mantilla. Eventually, the traditional way seemed to make a comeback with some alteration in the early twentieth century, for the* pallav *was brought back over the head by Gyanoda's daughter, Indira Devi. We find that Suniti Devi's sister Sucharu Devi, Maharani of Mayurbhanj, was seen at the Delhi Darbar in 1903 in this modern style of wearing the sari, though she said that this was her in-laws' way of wearing it. Bengali ladies seem to have adopted this more convenient way, though they kept Gyanoda's way of taking the* pallav *over the left shoulder'.*

Although it is a fast disappearing garment for everyday wear, the sari will survive as special occasion wear. More and more Indian women today, prefer stitched garments and western wear of easy-to-maintain and wash-and-wear fabrics. And yet, there was a time when they rode horses wearing saris in Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh and even swam in rivers and ponds with their sari tucked between the legs, much like an unstitched pair of shorts. Saris were even draped longer in pantaloon-like fashion, in places as far apart as Shajapur, Madhya Pradesh and Kothapalli in Andhra Pradesh. If the principles of these wearing styles were put into practice, many more could possibly be evolved for contemporary needs. Interestingly, the sari is asserting a growing presence in the boardrooms of multinational corporate organizations, in law chambers, courts, and among the new power professionals who are conscious of their identity and wish to draw strength from it.

In the contemporary context, despite the growing compulsion to industrialize and globalize, there is also an increasing awareness of ecological viability and sound growth. With her rich resources of skilled hand-spinning and weaving, India is advantageously placed to show the way in balancing the slower but high-skilled production sectors, with the mechanized, high-technology end. Though there has been a gradual exodus from these professions in the twentieth century, what they are going through today is unprecedented. Weavers are losing a high-skill livelihood without alternative options, facing starvation-like conditions and joining the ranks of the unskilled.

The patterned, coloured fabric and product range is India's greatest asset and no matter how much cheap import is dumped into the country, we have to compete with post-WTO; if we invested prudently, with design and market support from both private and government agencies; sustenance for at least a percentage of the artisans who are still active and capable of developing further could be found. However, India must retain at least a broad base of spinning and weaving, so that a pyramid of skills can be formed and the more capable weavers are able to transit to the finest level of skill.

The sari is not only known by different names (*lugda, dhoti, pata, seere, sadlo, kapad*) in various parts of the country, but is also conceived differently in form and structure, in usage and custom. It is a stretch of fabric, long or short, wide or narrow - according to who wears it and the way in which it is worn. There is, in fact no 'one type of sari'.

A sari draped in the Iyyengari Kachhe wearing sytle of Karnataka.

Despite a hundred and eight variations of the sari drape and wearing style being featured in this book, a personal variant is always possible. This distinguishes the sari as the most unique and versatile of garments. In constant play with the body, in stillness and in movement, allowing for adjustments at all times. Be it the vigour of working in the fields or squatting on the kitchen floor, it transforms itself according to need and function. In the manner of her carrying the sari, the wearer reveals her nature and demeanour. The bold and the shy, the silent but inquisitive, the athletic yet graceful - all manner of women hold their saris with characteristic ease, almost as if it were their second skin rather than a textile extraneous to themselves.

The personal pleasure of draping the unstitched, fluid garment over and around the body, adjusting it with little tucks and pulls to suit one's own particular form, is sensuous. It creates a picture of flowing grace that conceals as much as it reveals.

This book has emerged from travel-based research conducted over three and a half months in each of the states described, except Goa and Kerala. Each state was initially mapped out according to weaver/printer settlements and products from gazettes, and other records that went back a hundred years. The states were covered by my colleague Amba Sanyal and me; together or with the respective research team in the states. We travelled with the teams, at least for the initial six to eight districts, keeping diaries and swapping them with team members every night, just as we had kept them on our very first tour in 1984. The period of field travel was primarily from 1984 to 1991, though Andhra Pradesh was completed in 1997, and I had to undertake verification tours in 2002-03. We were looking out for what was traditionally woven in the area on the scale of living memory, and exploring design directories and fabric structures with the oldest weavers, in large gatherings of thirty to sixty weavers in each village. This helped initiate our researchers into the hectic process of listening, discussing, writing, travelling and photographing; at the pace of two to three villages, ten to twelve hours; traversing approximately a hundred kilometres each day. Working on this project has been a rewarding experience, even though it has meant much more work for us, with the teams having spent over a year or more putting together the material on each state.

When we first started our travel, the search for the who, what, why and how of the traditional design directory focused on the main production and trade centres of each state. During the first three months on the road, we realized that the clues and inspiration, for several well-known textiles lay in lesser known areas. It was a classic case of 'one place leading to another'. Before we knew it, we were following the trail of weaver/printer/dyer settlements village by village, in almost every district of the state.

We did not expect to find so much evidence of what lay beneath the surface of the pyramid, leave alone meet weavers who had seen or woven the textiles that made up the grand symphony of the handloom tradition in India. Many were persuaded to weave them once again and we were soon embroiled in the production and post-production problems of the textiles themselves, rather than the documentation. Looking into their marketability today...Were they good enough? How do we develop design directories for each area? These were the questions before us. Weavers commonly said, 'What use is the book to us now, when we need to make a living?' However, they conceded that it would be useful to them in the long run.

The sari has been our means of finding a pathway through the labyrinth of India's inherited material/textile culture. The most fluid of worn garments, the sari reflects and communicates with all that we can see and touch, feel and experience. It takes us headlong into the intangible aesthetic, philosophy and technology from which it emerges. It is our roadmap for *Bharat darshan* - a visitation of this land. Often enough, the underlying linkages are not fully perceived as they are too far removed from the overwhelming reality of the present in which they exist. Yet, as this is not a historical account but one based on living memory, it is the practitioners who provide the clues, however faint, through colour and material associations, names and meanings of symbolic patterns and usage of particular saris. In retrospect, the sari's significance becomes clearer.

For us, the sari opened many welcoming doors, as we somehow became one with those whom we met under the shade of trees, in panchayat courtyards and in open verandas. These were public gatherings at which we requested to meet the elderly skilled along with their families.

Unexpectedly, we found the sari drape transforming - with a change of *pallu* (end-piece) positioning, or lowered pleats - as women stepped out into the public domain. A slight change in drape signified a changed relationship with the people, environment and self.

We found weavers/printers/dyers represent a unique mathematically competent yet aesthetically tuned resource group in villages and small and big towns. Whereas we would be calculating fabric structure from the number of threads per centimeter, they would offer calculations from the other end, translating hanks of yarn into fabric structures by weight. As we tried to draw them out, share their inheritance of skills and application, they were equally capable of putting us on the testing mat, checking if we were infact 'worth it'!

To add a dash of colour to the otherwise barren landscape Rajasthani women prefer to wear bright colour clothes. Courtesy Raghu Rai

The journey through twelve states (since then bifurcated into fifteen), begins in the deep southwest, with the predominantly 'white' state of Kerala. White was the prevailing base colour in all parts of India, before the advent of chemical dyes in the late nineteenth century. Not only because of the expense involved and the limited availability and effort required by natural dyes, but also because white was a statement of purity, austerity and restraint. The aesthetics of white seem to cut across class and community, from a range of coarse, weighty, strong drapes for the not so privileged, to fine counts for the well-to-do. A wedding sari was often just *kora* (unbleached), unwashed and sprinkled with *haldi* (turmeric) to mark the auspicious occasion.

Weavers in Kerala were reticent and shy in

speaking of their 'limited' pattern elements, though they warmed up as soon as they realized that we appreciated the elegance and restraint of their well-woven predominantly white drapes. Their predicament is really how to enlarge their shrinking traditional patronage to explore new markets without forsaking their sensibilities and skills. Therefore, the discomfort they expressed with 'colour all over, just like Tamil Nadu' was both genuine and revealing.

In other parts of India, the wealthy opted for tussar silk of a natural hue or dyed red, and often used *zari* (gold/silver metallic yarn) instead of yellow, for the borders. Chemical dyes inadvertently opened the door to social change which had not found adequate expression till then. The extravagant use of colour and plastic alternatives to *zari* we so commonly associate with India today, are an expression of twentieth century freedom enhanced by post-Independence exhilaration and freedom from regional and community moorings.

From Kerala, we move along the western coast northwards through Karnataka, Goa and Maharashtra, which are intimately related yet distinctly apart in their myriad plain, shots, stripes and checks, often combining cotton and silk in numerous ingenious ways. In Karnataka weavers were despondent; 'Having lost the race to power looms and mills, what future do we have now?' they asked. Yet, wherever the elder weavers took the lead, in spite of the discouragement and reluctance of younger weavers who wanted them to withhold information regarding the more 'difficult to produce' sari varieties, some outstanding saris were produced both in cottons, silks and mixed fabrics. In fact, what they referred to as 'difficult to produce', provided the essential clues to what distinguished the hand woven sari - the use of heavily plied untwisted silk, the fabric structure of cotton and silk check saris and the sheer refinement of pattern elements.

Goa was an unexpected revelation as the only state which had a legacy of weaving being banned (by the Portuguese). Weavers literally went underground into basements dug out for their looms. The demand from faithful Kunbi farm labour, Koli fisherwomen and Dhangad shepherds, provided a ready market for their woven saris. Despite the threat to life or punishment they continued well into the early 1990s, almost thirty years after 'liberation', succumbing to cheaper saris from neighbouring states. The complexity of checks and colour combinations were what distinguished them from their neighbours.

In Maharashtra, weavers revealed they could bring alive the memory of saris they had not woven for thirty to forty years, once they took up the challenge. However, they remained vague in recalling the symbolism and meaning of motifs they wove, passing them off as 'for the beauty of it'. Their recognition of quality was intense and vivid, the fineness of a selvedge 'fingernail sharp enough to mark a lemon grazed against it'. A sari without a *chir* (end-space without weft threads), was 'like a good vegetable cooked without spices- bland and tasteless'. According to them, the body of a sari 'should be woven densely enough to blur the sun'.

After a long and circuitous journey, being directed and redirected from one village to another in district Amravati; accompanied by handloom officials who kept telling us that weaving had dried up in the belt; we walked past a number of *durrie* (floor covering) looms in the open, disheartened that despite having gone off course and lost more precious time, we had to accept another defeat. Sitting in a large gathering of weavers, we reluctantly ask for what was traditionally woven there before the advent of floor coverings. A few got up and seemed as if they had lost interest even before venturing into a conversation. However, a few minutes later we were handed the *chir* ends of saris and *khann* blouse fabrics with the most intricate warp yarn-resist patterns we had seen anywhere in Maharashtra. This was the kind of find that can make not only a day but a month of searching worthwhile!

In Deulgaon Raja, district Buldana we had the unique experience of meeting a weavers' society that had their looms at two levels (ground and mezzanine) alongside the temple of their Goddess Chaundeshwari, a yarn godown on one side of the entrance and a sales showroom on the other. Every foot of wall space was sponsored by weavers and painted with community legends marked with the sponsors' and painters' name below. It was an extraordinary working environment set inside a house of worship which provoked me to ask if all members of the community celebrated the spirit of the space together. Sure enough, more than three hundred members spent the full moon night there every month, singing legends and devotional songs in worship of their Goddess. We came back from the

neighbouring district of Jalna to spend the full moon night with them and saw them with their wives and children - without any orchestration, letting themselves sway to the music. Each one picking up an instrument, a pair of cymbals, something to help them keep the rhythm and line; even the two year olds followed, without being asked to. That was when one realized how intangible culture provided fertile ground for skills and imagery to develop.

Gujarat combines the single-piece sari worn among its mercantile communities and in tribal areas, with the two-piece drape combine in other parts of the state. It is Gujarat's mechanized textile industry that has swallowed up thousands of handloom weavers belonging to not only Gujarat, but also neighbouring states. Its outdated mill machinery has also spilt over to create vast power loom producing belts. Weavers in Ridrol and Mahesana district complained they had been reduced 'from 300 looms to 3' since the 1960s. With the increased strength of mill printing, hand block printing has also receded. Bandhani or fabric resist tie-dyeing, has seen growth both in terms of production areas and range of pattern. It is the entrepreneurial skills so innate to the Gujarati, which have enabled the few weavers/printers to survive with help from marketing agencies such as Gurjari in the 1970s, and later other NGOs and private agencies.

Uttar Pradesh, divided to create the state of Uttarakhand in 2000, has a wide base of sari production in fine cottons: woven, embroidered and printed, culminating in the finest technical and aesthetic virtuosity seen at the trade and cultural centre of Varanasi. Since the early twentieth century the widespread weaving/printing of plain and limited patterned saris and fabrics has been shrinking, especially with the advent of mill spun yarns and fabrics. As a weaver in Talbehat, district Lalitpur asked: 'Why do this weaving now, when the farmer has no land left, how can he do any farming?' When we tried to persuade him he replied saying 'even if you ask for just two pieces of roti, we must first prepare the hearth, make the fire and then we can make any number of rotis you want.' Most of them have moved on to less skilled livelihoods.

The decline of weaving in many parts of the state, since the nineteenth century, led to the rise of Varanasi and its neighbouring districts, as they had facilities for marketing and supply of raw materials. Today, even Varanasi is facing its worst crisis ever with the influx of cheap Chinese chiffons and plain silks, used as base fabrics for embroideries.

Madhya Pradesh and the newly created state of Chhattisgarh reveal how a widespread base feeds the well-known centers of weaving, such as Chanderi, Maheshwar and Bilaspur. Elders earn newfound respect for their memory as sari fragments are found in gudri (quilted cloths) from neighbouring homes, drawings are made by shaky hands that are perhaps holding a pen for the very first time. Somehow, they communicate what was once a sari. A sharing that makes possible the weaving of more than five hundred samples without the payment of advances. Some are outstanding and others capable of improvement.

In Sarangpur, district Rajgarh, we find a museum run by a most interesting conglomerate: a jeweler, a freedom fighter, a teacher, a temple priest, a farmer and several others. The inaugural photograph reveals an elderly gentleman with a patka, though our escorts are somewhat wary of taking us to meet him. We eventually meet Jitendra Chaurasi, poet, litterateur, painter, musician, dancer, wrestler and freedom fighter. He inherited a temple from his father; disagreed with the way of life that it enforced; went out worked for the Hindu Mahasabha, moved on to the Arya Samaj till he had his disagreements there too; met Gandhi & Nehru and worked for the freedom movement till disillusionment set in, 'for there was too much of the self in the movements I saw.'

The fearless, restless spirit of an all time revolutionary is what keeps Chaurasiji alive, though it does embarrass officialdom often enough. When the district collector came to give him the scroll and the 'benefits' that come with being a 'freedom fighter', he tore up the citation saying 'we have faced bullets in the square when our mothers wept for us at home, we have sat in jails for years; who is the Sarkar to give us a title? It is 'we' who made the Sarkar. Now they live off us.'

Bihar, Bengal and Orissa have shared a past, but evolved distinctly. Bihar has largely lost out to mill fabrics, except in the case of its tussar saris which have seen a revival since this project was undertaken. The southern half of Bihar, now the newly created state of Jharkhand, boasts a wide range of coarse cotton saris for its tribal communities. The potential for spinning and weaving is immense and yet, the organizational

Over the years working women, regardless of cast or community, have adapted the sari to meet the demands of their profession - for a length of unstitched cloth, the sari is undoubtedly the most versatile attire for Indian women.

infrastructure is limited to only a few credible NGOs. Weavers reluctantly spoke in the presence of local handloom department officials, 'if you want to give us orders you better talk it over with the gentleman who accompanied you here; only he can negotiate the details and the costing.' (Village Katoria, district Bhagalpur)

West Bengal has seen greater continuity in sari weaves, though it has lost its coarse-count cottons due to an upgradation of loom technology. Its fine cottons have proliferated; 'There is an explosion of colours now, an explosion of patterns' says Parimal Das in village Joygopalpur, district Nadia. The demand for '*mihin kapor*' (fine fabric) has grown with the growing urban market. Yet in Haripal, district Hugli, Shridhar Chandra Dutta says, 'The sari is a big *jhamela* (problem)! The warping is complicated because of the patterning. We keep walking the streets like *pagol mothon* (madmen) holding a *khancha* (frame) in front of us. And after all this, only twelve saris in one warp! The road is not my father-in-law's!' 'But with the drum warp - thirty saris at one go - it is less laborious and more profitable' says another young weaver in Fulia, district Nadia, while describing hank-sizing instead of brush-sizing and the rationale behind enlarging the scale of patterning.

Bishnupur's indigenous mulberry silk and the tussar-like Maldah silk, have also suffered due to the rise of Chinese mulberry. As a weaver explained, 'The quality of a silk sari was judged by the weight of silk when I last wove it twenty five years ago. If the price was Rs. 15, my wages would be Rs. 7'; pointing towards the balance between raw materials and wages, in which the weaver has lost ground each year.

In Orissa, cotton and silk patterned saris of exceptional quality lost ground to the yarn-resist ikat saris that have gained wider markets. We had seen some exceptional, patterned cottons in the Patna museum but in Narsinghapur, district Cuttack, they say 'there is nothing left to see here, and now all that we produce is *janta* saris and *gamchhas* (shoulder cloth).' Weavers feel subsistence wages are better than the risk of quality production, arguing that 'it takes long for us to make up our minds despite grinding poverty, because the profession of our forefathers gives us our identity and social status.' Fortunately, we met weavers like Bhikari Sur from village Gopalpur, district Jajpur who described the '*saat phulia jala* tussar sari with seven rows of the Kantaphul, Genduphul, Padamphul or Kadamphul plucked early and gathered into the borders and an end piece filled with more of the same flowers in bloom.' Daily wear saris were woven in cotton and for special occasions, in tussar. In both, the extra weft/warp ornamentation was in heavier tussar, natural or coloured. It gave a unique luster and shine to the sari. Several such saris were woven for the Kalinga Vastra exhibition and sale in 1996.

Moving southwards along the eastern coast, we come to Andhra Pradesh, another convergence of north and south, with coarse-to-fine cottons, admixtures of silk and a range of weaving skills including loom embroidery, yarn-resist and surface-dye painting and printing. Coarse cottons were most widespread; 'Some of the saris we wove were so heavy; none of these modern girls would be able to wear them! Who will take the trouble to weave them today?' said Narasamma in village Yemmiganur, district Kurnool. From finer counts in places such as Guntur; with simple two finger width borders in *pattubadi;* densely woven in dark ripe colours so nothing shows through (as the older women do not wear petticoats), to the finest cottons in Venkatgiri and Gadwal; with borders and end pieces in silk favoured by royalty and the well-to-do. The specialty of Venkatgiri is *chelnetha* cross shed beating, which gives a fine, light body that enhances the *zari* borders. 'You see the *chelnetha* sari looks good even after washing, while others without starch will hang like a dog's tongue.' The heavy silks of Armoor, Narayanpet and Dharmavaram that emerged with increasing patronage, are facing a crisis today.

Andhra Pradesh leads us directly into Tamil Nadu, the culmination of our journey, marked by a refining and defining of motifs, an enigmatic colour palette and a mastery of cotton and silk; distinctly or in combination. From a wide range of coarse to fine cotton whites, coloureds and striped/checked we realize how the weaver community had been able to maintain quality. As a weaver in Chengalpattu, district Kanchipuram put it, 'The sizing of the long warp

needed the effort of at least thirty people - mainly family and relatives - ever since this solidarity has broken, so has the basis of our unity.' This also relates to the social custom of the girl marrying, by right, either her maternal uncle or her father's sister's son. This way the weaver was supported by atleast ten members from the paternal and maternal side referred to as '*mamanum machanum*.'

From *oosi vanam* (needle fine stripes), to *thandavalam* (bold paired stripes) in cotton or silk, or both, coded by name/scale, number of variations of stripes, checks, *korvai* three-shuttle temple spire forms - the Tamil Nadu design repertoire widens as it spreads out to absorb complex warp and weft patterns. The accuracy in sense of colour, scale and fabric structure is what distinguishes the saris of Tamil Nadu.

This book is after all, a celebration of that which is larger than ourselves; the India all around us, mostly ignored, neglected or taken for granted. The India kept alive by the anonymous makers without incentives. They taught us humility and wisdom. Despite all the misunderstandings, doubts and reservations, we remain, I hope, compatriots and well-wishers in the cause of handlooms.

As my colleague Amba Sanyal and the research authors have moved on and apart, I thank Martand Singh for giving me the long rope with freedom and trust all these years, though I nearly hung myself with it! Vishala Satya in Karnataka, Aarti Kawlra and Lakshmi Narayan, A.Z.Ranjit, Bessie Cecil and K.Ramchandran in Tamil Nadu, Jayan K. P. and Pramod K.G. in Kerala, Madhavi Mudgal and Vinay Jain in Delhi, Shikha Trivedi in Orissa, and Maria Aurora Couto and Wendell Rodricks in Goa were kind enough to give time and thought to my interminable queries. Latha Tummuru and Annapurna Mamidipudi took over from the earlier research authors to complete the state of Andhra Pradesh with their fullest involvement.

The research and travel would not have been possible without the sponsorship and support of the development commissioner, handlooms, government of India; directors of the handlooms department in the respective state governments, as well as the state textile corporations and weavers service centres in the various states. I thank them sincerely.

Having lost our first publisher Asang Machwe, who passed away after the publication of the second volume of *Saris of India*, Roli Books was kind enough to offer to publish this compendium volume. I thank them wholeheartedly for this.

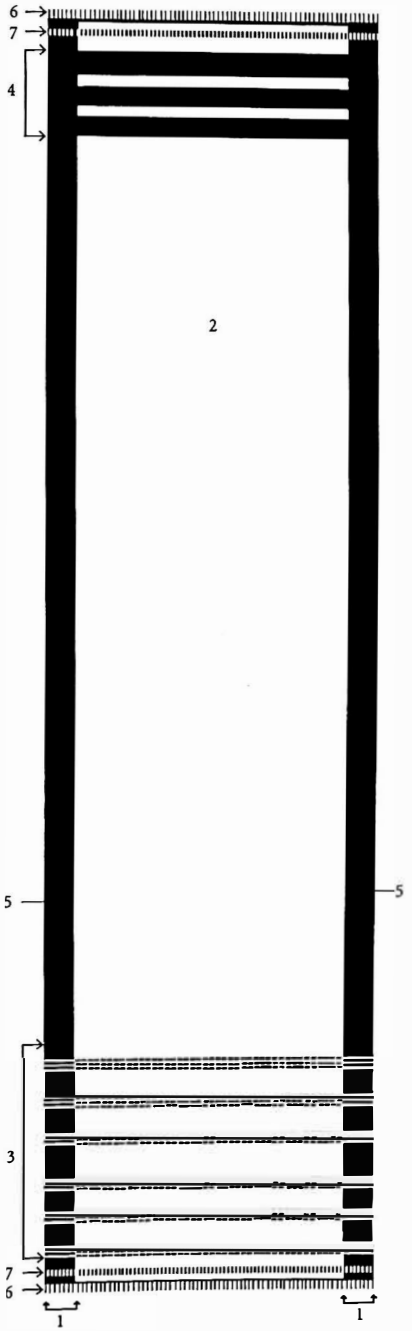
There have been many in the respective states who provided unstinting support, but as the names are numerous, they are acknowledged state wise in the credits. Many students and scholars have given their time and energies generously to complete this work, and they are mentioned in the credits as well. Rahul Jain has provided consistent support along with Anjan Chakraverty, pouring through drafts of the manuscript. Renuka Kelkar, taking the lead from Dilip Sinha, consistently worked on the photography of the textiles and wearing styles, often having to travel out on her own when there were gaps that needed to be filled. In collating text and visuals, making line drawings and understanding the wearing styles and photographic support, Pallavi Verma provided the most constant and qualified involvement, which I hope passes this work on to another generation that she represents. Sushma Ghei, Shaji Rajan, Saroj Nayak, Jitender Kumar, Kiran Bahuguna and Vizolia have worked everyday most generously and with their best efforts checking the information and processing it, for which I thank them. For shortcomings that remain despite all the effort, I take full responsibility, though I hope this will be compensated, to some extent, by the enjoyment and understanding it brings of an aspect of India's riches.

Finally, I must also thank my family Sarla and Raghunath Malhotra, Ifa, Mehak and the Chishti Family who allowed me long periods of absence, keeping body and soul together, to put in the time required for this.

The simplicity and practical comfort of the sari is demonstrated by this woman from Ballavpur, West Bengal who is at complete ease in carrying out her daily chores wearing one.

Ṛta Kapur Chishti
February 2010

The Sari Speaks



Sari

Kerala: Pudava; *Karnataka:* Seere / Bond; *Goa:* Lugda / Kapad / Sado; *Maharashtra:* Baan / Lugda; *Gujarat:* Lugda / Sadlo; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Jote / Lugda / Pata; *Uttar Pradesh:* Dhoti / Lugdi / Lugga / Sari; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Dhoti / Luga / Langa; *West Bengal:* Bhaaj; *Orissa:* Dhoti / Saarhi / Luga; *Andhra Pradesh:* Dhoti / Chire; *Tamil Nadu:* Selai / Podavai

Two-piece drape

Kerala: Set Mundu

1. Border

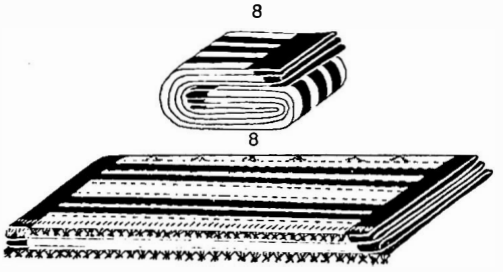
Kerala: Kara; *Karnataka:* Kinar / Anchu / Patta; *Goa:* Kath; *Maharashtra:* Ghadi / Mad / Kinar; *Gujarat:* Kor / Phumro / Dhaburo; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Kinar / Dhadi; *Uttar Pradesh:* Kinar / Bel; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Paar / Kinar; *West Bengal:* Paar / Payrey; *Orissa:* Dhadi / Anthi; *Andhra Pradesh:* Anchu / Patti ; *Tamil Nadu:* Karai

2. Body / Ground

Kerala: Udal; *Karnataka:* Nadamu / Maidan; *Goa:* Aang; *Maharashtra:* Dal / Garbh; *Gujarat:* Pate / Libhai / Bhoomi; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Peta / Deh / Zamin / Dharti / Howda; *Uttar Pradesh:* Pote / Zameen; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Zameen / Lapate / Hauz; *West Bengal:* Jameen / Gaa / Khol / Pota; *Orissa:* Dehol / Dhola; *Andhra Pradesh:* Nadamu; *Tamil Nadu:* Udal

3. Outer end-piece

Kerala: Mundani / Anchalam; *Karnataka:* Seregu / Pallav; *Goa:* Bhailo Pallov/Podar; *Maharashtra:* Padar / Patti; *Gujarat:* Saur / Chheda / Pallav; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Pallavan / Patta / Munh / Anchi / Jhela; *Uttar Pradesh:* Palloo / Palla / Anchal; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Aanchal / Mukpat; *West Bengal:* Uni Aanchol / Aanchla; *Orissa:* Moh / Moha / Kani / Dhassi; *Andhra Pradesh:* Kongu / Kammi / Maijara ; *Tamil Nadu:* Mundani



4. Inner end-piece

Kerala: Ullattam; *Karnataka:* Lopala Kongu; *Goa:* Bheetolo Pallov/ Podar; *Maharashtra:* Dhungan Patti; *Gujarat:* Chhila; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Kanihai Patti; *Uttar Pradesh:* Tala / Deodhi Ke Baad; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Gajnautha; *West Bengal:* Thol Aancal / Kolod / Kol; *Orissa:* Moha; *Andhra Pradesh:* Kattu Kongu; *Tamil Nadu:* Ull-mundani

5. Selvedge

Kerala: Vakka; *Karnataka:* Ginta Javana / Jamada / Jawla; *Goa:* Kath; *Maharashtra:* Jeeb / Nakhi; *Gujarat:* Kantho / Kanar / Baid / Dhari; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Dun / Dohra Patti; *Uttar Pradesh:* Koria / Berai; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Kor; *West Bengal:* Aal / Aanthi / Mulkandi / Aangot; *Orissa:* Dud / Dohra / Aghadi; *Andhra Pradesh:* Vara / Chiguru; *Tamil Nadu:* Jamulu

6. End fringe

Kerala: Allukk; *Karnataka:* Baddi / Badi Athari / Badhaggi / Kante Tho Jhalar; *Goa:* Gone; *Maharashtra:* Punchra; *Gujarat:* Fumka; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Phunchra; *Uttar Pradesh:* Jhalar; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Dassi / Fudna; *West Bengal:* Chhela / Dosi; *Orissa:* Chor / Jhalar; *Andhra Pradesh:* Kucchu / Lopala Kongu; *Tamil Nadu:* Kanni Kayar / Muduchi

7. Parting-stripe of warp without weft

Karnataka: Chotto Atri / Potta Athari / Badige; *Goa:* Dassi; *Maharashtra:* Dassi / Dasta; *Gujarat:* Chiran; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Chir; *Uttar Pradesh:* Cheer; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Cheela; *Orissa:* Chir; *Andhra Pradesh:* Madhulu Kongu; *Tamil Nadu:* Badai

8. Sari fold

Kerala: Madak; *Karnataka:* Galinge; *Goa:* Ghadi; *Maharashtra:* Ghadi; *Gujarat:* Ghadi; *Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh:* Dhadi; *Uttar Pradesh:* Ghadi / Tehi; *Bihar & Jharkhand:* Dhadi; *West Bengal:* Bhaaj / Guti Bhaaj; *Orissa:* Chau Kerah / Chouta; *Andhra Pradesh:* Madatha; *Tamilnadu:* Madipu

The Shortest and Longest Saris

The sari is woven in three to four standard sizes in a given area, wherever a traditional market still survives. These lengths and widths are woven for specific age groups of girls and women, though clients often ask the weaver for varying lengths and widths, depending on the girl or woman's girth and what they can afford.

The sari size also varies greatly from area to area in accordance with the way in which the sari is worn.

The shortest sari has a width of 1 cubit or 18 inches (45.72 cms) and a length of 4 cubits or 72 inches (1.84 mts). The longet sari has a width of 3 cubits or 54 inches (1.38 mts) and a length of 16-20 cubits or 288-360 inches (7.38 mts-9.23 mts).

Sari Measure

A. Dent in the reed.

BORDER WIDTHS

B1. One finger width: Approximately 1 inch (2.54 cms.)

B2. Two fingters width

B3. Three fingers width

B4. Four fingers width

B5. Five fingers width: Approximately 4.5 inches to 5 inches (11.43 cms. to 12.7 cms.)

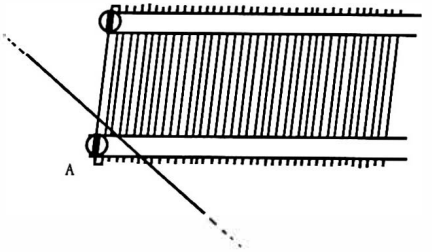
C. One handspan: Approximately 9 inches (22.86 cms.)

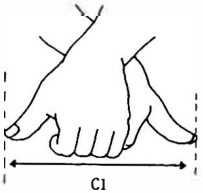
C1. One handspan, the maximum width of the border: This forms a complete veil over the head referred to as Ghunghat

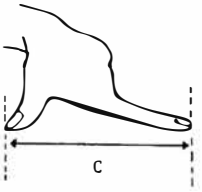
SARI LENGTHS

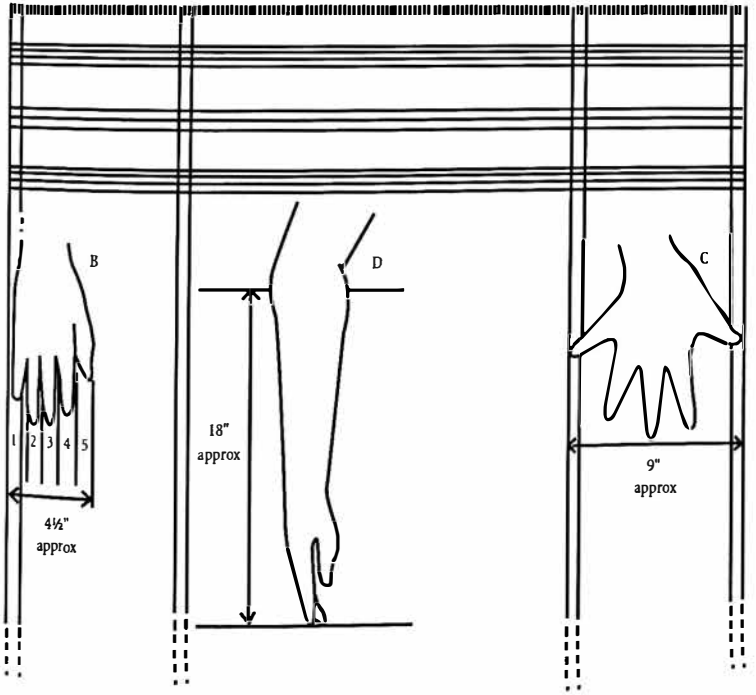
D. Ek Haath (one arm length from elbow to fingertips): Approximately 18 inches or 1 cubit (45.72 cms)

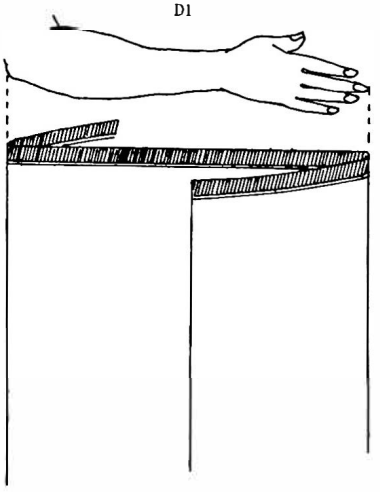
D1. Ek Kheel (approximately 27 inches or 1.5 cubits)







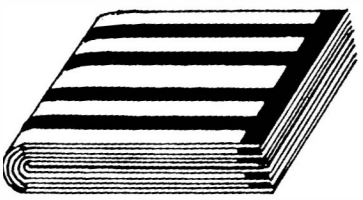




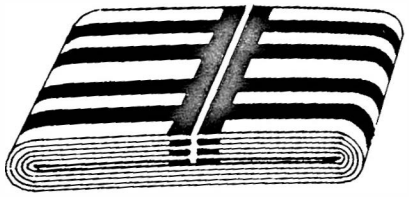
Folding Systems

North India

THE FLAT FOLD: The length of the sari is halved, then quartered, then one-eighthed and one-sixteenthed. The width of the sari is then halved and then quartered. In coarse counts the cross border is exposed on the outer side of the sixteenth length-wise fold. In *Dhonekhali* (West Bengal) the cross border is folded within the sixteenth length-wise fold and not exposed.



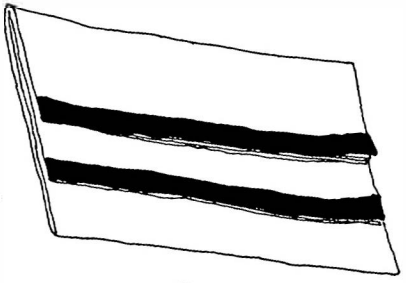
Bihar Flat Fold (*Dhadi*)



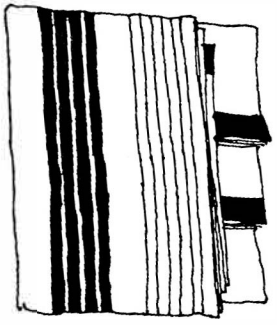
Bengal Flat Fold (*Bhaaj*)

East India

THE ROLLED FOLD (*Guti Bhaaj*) – WEST BENGAL: The length of the sari is halved, then quartered and then one-eighthed. After this, keeping the cross border inside the fold, the width of the sari is not quite halved, so that the borders remain one above the other, without overlapping. Then again, the width is not quite quartered, so that the edge of the previous first fold remains slightly above the second border. The sari is then folded length-wise.



(A)



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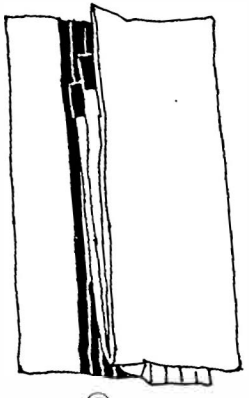
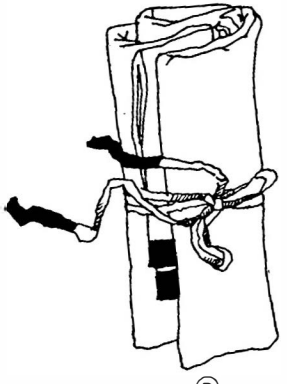


(C)



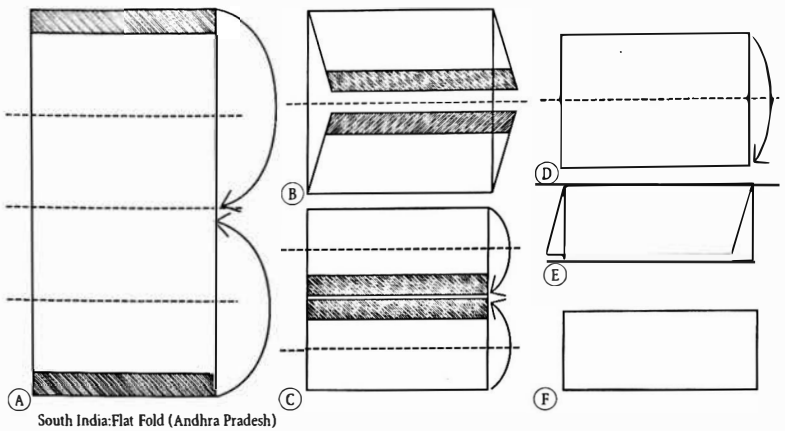
(D)

EAST INDIA

Flat Fold: Orissa

The length of the sari is halved, then quartered, then one-eighthed and one-sixteenth. Now for folding widthwise divide the whole width into four parts and fold over two fourth from both sides. Then double fold the folded portion again and finally foldover.

East India: Flat Fold (Orissa)

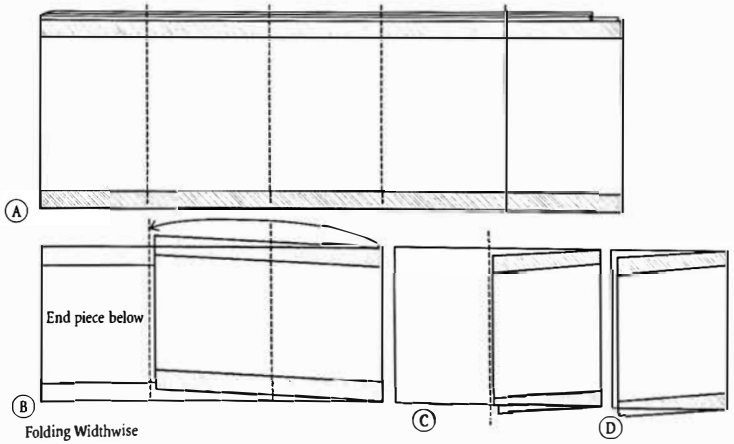


SOUTH INDIA

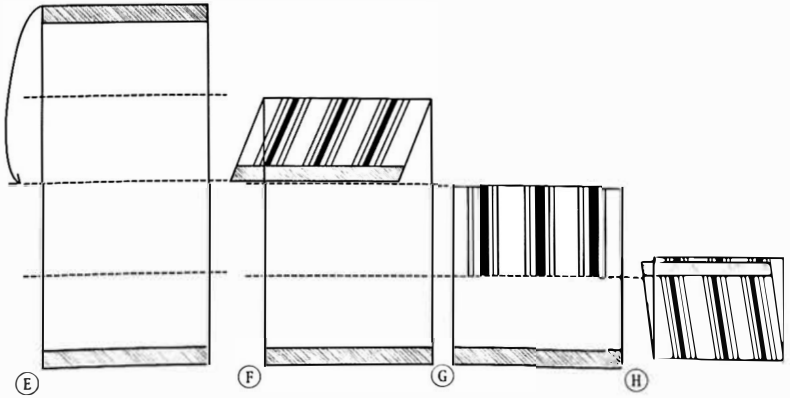
Flat Fold: Andhra Pradesh

The length of the sari is halved and quartered, keeping end-piece below. The sari is folded over by 4/5, leaving 1/5 free. Then the folded portion is once again halved. The folded portion is then folded over the remaining 1/5. Now for folding widthwise divide the sari width into four parts. With the end-piece facing below, the sari width is folded over by half, leaving the remaining half free. The same folded portion is folded over 1/4, leaving the remaining 1/4 free. Finally the remaining 1/4th portion is folded over the rest.

South India:Flat Fold (Andhra Pradesh)
Folding Lenghwise



Folding Widthwise



കൊണ്ടാടിയെത്തും സരസ്സിൽ നീന്നക്ഷണം.
തണ്ടാർകുടണ്ടൾ പോലാദിത്യ രശ്മികൾ-
കൊണ്ടാട ചുറ്റിയോരപ്സര സ്ത്രീജനം
കൊണ്ടാടി ഞങ്ങൾ തൻ പാട്ടു കോൾപ്പാൻ...

The apsaras came clad in white sunbeams
like lotuses from the cloudy depths of the sky
to listen to our songs that celebrate spring.
– from *Vasantam* (Spring) by Vailoppilly Sreedhara Menon

Kerala

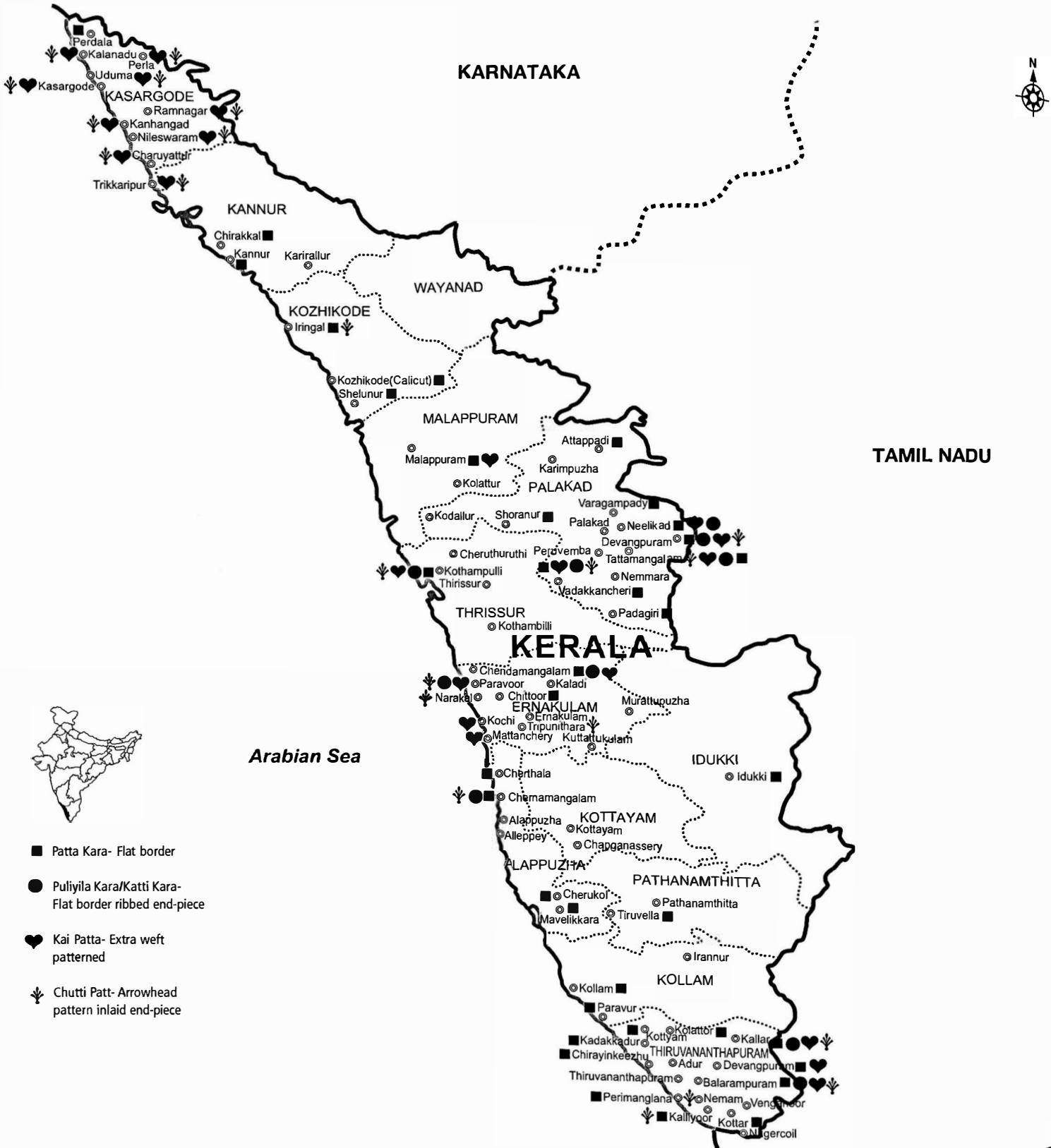
A damp, luscious, verdant landscape in uncountable shades of green inspires a code of draped white in all its grandeur; from unbleached to stark and glowing. We are told of a time, till the 1930s, when the single *mundu* (lower white drape) was widely popular among both men and women. The upper half remained either bare, or a *torte* (upper cloth) was held across the breasts by women, when in the company of an elder or an upper caste. By the 1940s, the draped two-piece *mundu veshti;* developed in deference to British and foreign presence, and also due to greater exposure to the single-piece draped sari in neighbouring states. Likewise, Muslims and Christians began wearing a *roka* (stitched blouse) which was buttoned at the top and tied at the bottom.

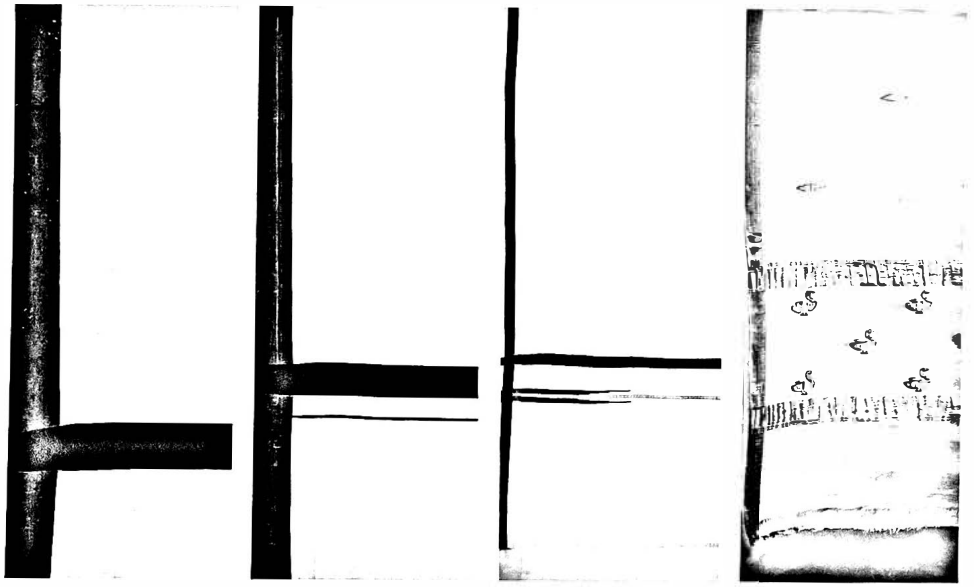
The previously uninhibited form of drape, from the midriff downwards, emerged from the *nalakettu* (an open-to-the-sky inner courtyard) life, which was central to the traditional Kerala home. It provided protection and seclusion from the outside world and the climate compelled one to stay in this state of semi-undress. 'The stitched garment is a cage,' was an oft-repeated truism one heard in Kerala. The Nair/Nambiar matriarchy-run *tharavad* (home) was the ultimate epitome of protective seclusion. The only males who played a significant symbolic role were the mother's brothers, who offered precious gifts of draped fabrics to the bride who inherited the home and carried forward the family legacy from daughter to daughter.

The lower garment was worn single or double, and in case of the former, combined with an *onnara* (a nearly 2-metre-long underwrap) draped between the legs by girls as soon as they came of age, particularly on special occasions. Among the royalty and nobility, women wore their *veshti* (upper drape) above the breasts and at least till their knees, and often over another pair of drapes from the waist to the ankles.

The royal family of Travancore played a key role in the settling of weavers in Kerala - the Devangas from the Mysore region and the Chalias from Tamil Nadu, namely the Kanchi area - more than a thousand years ago. It is perhaps because of the patronage they received that we find among them the finest weavers of the sett *mundu* (two-piece drape), that developed from the single lower drape, and more recently, of the one-piece sari which has

A religious procession of men, draped in white - typical formal wear for both men and women of the region.


KARNATAKA
TAMIL NADU
Arabian Sea
KERALA
N
Perdala
Kalanadu
Perla
Uduma
Kasargode
KASARGODE
Ramnagar
Kanhangad
Nileswaram
Charuyattur
Trikkaripur
KANNUR
Chirakkal
Kannur
Karirallur
WAYANAD
KOZHIKODE
Iringal
Kozhikode(Calicut)
Shelunur
MALAPPURAM
Attappadi
Malappuram
Karimpuzha
Kolattur
PALAKAD
Varagampady
Kodallur
Shoranur
Palakad
Neelikad
Devangpuram
Cheruthuruthi
Pattambi
Tattamangalam
Kothampulli
Thirissur
Nemmara
Vadakkancheri
THRISSUR
Padagiri
Kothambilli
Chendamangalam
Paravoor
Kaladi
Narakal
Chittoor
Muttattupuzha
ERNAKULAM
Kochi
Ernakulam
Tripunithara
Mattanchery
Kuttattukulam
IDUKKI
Idukki
Cherthala
Chennamangalam
Alappuzha
Alleppey
KOTTAYAM
Kottayam
Changanassery
ALAPPUZHA
PATHANAMTHITTA
Cherukol
Pathanamthitta
Mavelikkara
Tiruvella
Irannur
KOLLAM
Kollam
Paravur
Kottiyam
Kollattor
Kallar
Kadakkadur
Chirayinkeezhu
THIRUVANANTHAPURAM
Adur
Devangpuram
Thiruvananthapuram
Balarampuram
Perimanglana
Nemam
Vengannoor
Kalliyoor
Kottar
Nagercoil
Patta Kara- Flat border
Puliyila Kara/Katti Kara- Flat border ribbed end-piece
Kai Patta- Extra weft patterned
Chutti Patt- Arrowhead pattern inlaid end-piece



Left to Right: MEDIUM/FINE COUNT COTTON: **(1/1)** Patta kara/*Plain black border shoulder cloth;* **(1/5)** Neela puliyila kara sett mundu/*Blue-ribbed weft, two-piece drape;* **(1/30)** Kottaram chutti patt sett mundu /*Green with gold inset arrowhead pattern, two-piece drape;* **(1/25)** Kili kai patt sornam pudava/*Gold bird motif body end-piece sari.*

become increasingly popular. Along with the stitched salwar kameez and western-wear, the traditional draped garment in Kerala is facing change.

However, the preferred garment for marriages, festivals and other formal occasions is still the predominantly white *sett mundu*. This is the distinguishing feature of Kerala, for it reflects not only a harmony between climate and comfort, but also a reality that was prevalent all over India before the advent of chemical dyes. The unbleached white drape was considered pure and auspicious, and was often sprinkled or dip-dyed in turmeric or saffron-tinted water to mark an auspicious occasion such as a marriage or a festival. Colour extracted with great effort from plants and barks was restricted to the outer edges, borders and end-pieces of the draped garment; a custom followed in almost all parts of India. Class or community was reflected only in the range of coarse-to-fine cotton muslins, progressing to hand-spun silks for the wealthiest. There were exceptions, with colour or patterning appearing in the body, but this occurred only in the drapes that were used by the affluent or in the trade textiles which were sold outside the region of their production, thus, fetching prices that generated cost-effectiveness for both weavers and traders. These were products that earned India its fame as a textile-producing country of the finest quality, both in fabric and patterning techniques.

In Kerala, we find a generally high fabric quality with limited patterned elements in the weaving of the *mundu veshti*; the most widespread draped garment in production terms, followed by the single-piece sari in recent years. The four broad categories of the *mundu veshti* are:

MEDIUM AND FINE COTTONS

Patta kara/*Flat border*: The *patta kara* (1/1) with the flat *mundani* (end-piece), traditionally in black or red, of the finest 4-8 ends, to a *bavanchu* (broad band border) in numerous colours.

Puliyila kara/Katti kara/*Flat border ribbed end-piece*: The *patta kara* develops into a more compactly woven band combined with the *puliyila kara* (1/5) or *katti kara* (ribbed band in the end-piece).

Kai patt/*Extra weft patterned*: At times there are elements of *kai patt* (extra weft motifs; 1/25) in the end-piece, and more recently, they have also been introduced in the extra warp of the borders under the influence of Tamil Nadu.

Chutti patt/*Arrowhead pattern inlaid end-piece*: The finest design detail, however, is the needlepoint-sharp, extra weft-inlaid *ilikal* or *pattu chutti/chutti patt* (1/30) rising out of the borders into the end-piece. In its more elaborate form, it could be woven in *zarigai* (metallic yarn) in a double-needle formation, referred to as *kasab chutti*, or gold outlined with a colour, referred to as *kottaram chutti*.

The interplay between the wide expanse of white and the delicate pattern elements is what makes the *sett mundu* of Kerala so special with these outlining features, especially as the two pieces cross each other at the back. This is one reason perhaps, that the pattern elements have been enlarged and enhanced when they have been applied to the single-piece sari, often with the added use of colour in the ground. The use of *zarigai* (metallic yarn) in the flat gold border, referred to as the *otta vitta*, combined with the compact and ribbed end-piece in single or multiple bands, is outstanding in its subtle sophistication and used almost always for weddings. From Chernamangalam in Alappuzha district southwards to Balarampuram in Thiruvananthapuram district, there is a superior base fabric structure that has a range of:

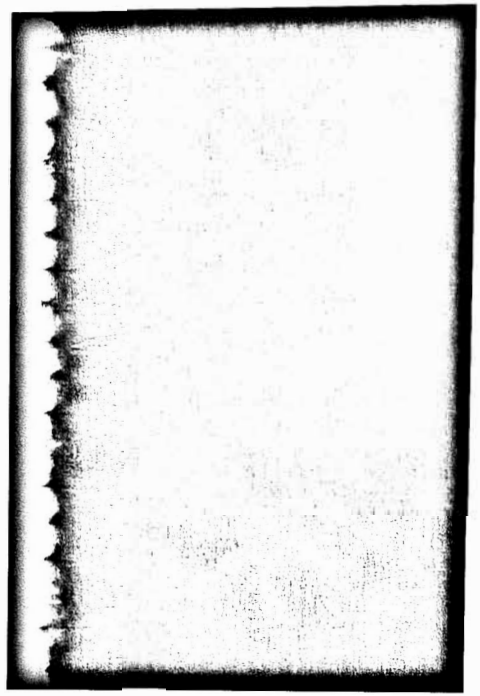
- 60s count-72s reed/pick - borders 2/60s-4 in a dent twisted.
- 80s count-80s reed/pick - borders 2/80s-4 in a dent twisted.
- 100s count-96s reed/pick - borders 2/100s-6 in a dent twisted.
- 120s count-104s reed/pick - borders 2/120s-6 in a dent twisted.

With such levels of density and minimal weft bars, Kerala weaves are quite distinct from the white fabrics of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

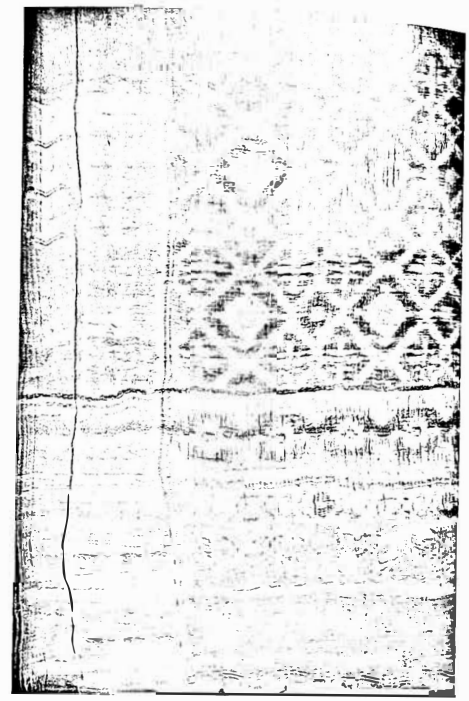
In Hindu temples throughout Kerala, deities are depicted wearing silk textiles in religious murals; these textiles also serve as a backdrop to the installed images. Now exceedingly rare, they are called *veerali patta* (1/33; pg 28) and were described by H.T. Harris in 1908 as very uncommon 'heavy rough silk', whose place of manufacture was unknown. They were used as backdrops to religious processions, canopies to *kalam* (floor paintings of gods), and also to store rare medicines by

The simplicity of a temple exterior is reflected in the form and texture of local saris.

Mohini dancing in a veerali *silk garment from Todikulam Siva temple, Kannavam, Kannur district.*



(1/32) *The* kaili mundu *(wrap around and tuck-in lower drape) worn by Muslim women with an upper blouse.*



(1/33) *The* veerali patta *(yarn-resist silk upper drape), often used in various religious rituals.*

Ayurvedic physicians. In some instances, they are worn by priests while performing important rituals. Initially assumed to have been woven in Kerala or Tamil Nadu, they are today recognizable as double ikat silk (*patola*) woven in Gujarat for trade with Southeast Asia. The use of these textiles was discontinued with the waning of the export of trade textiles to Indonesia in the 1920s-30s.

Besides the production of the *mundu veshti* for Hindus, another coarse-count fabric is tie-dyed in the area of Kozhikode (Calicut) in blues, greens and reds, for the coloured *kaili* (lower drape; 1/32) of the Muslim community. Interestingly, Indigo was especially cultivated at Chernamangalam in Alappuzha district area, for dyeing the drapes worn by Muslims. Meanwhile in the Idukki district, pale-coloured, densely woven plain fabrics are woven for the local Christian population.

In a small area in the middle region of Kerala, close to Attappadi in Palakkad district, we find the one-piece coloured sari of 8-16 *murham* (cubits; 3.70 to 7.40 metres), holding its place among the tribal communities of Irula, Vaduga, Kurumba and Maduga (1/21 and 1/22; pg 34). In the past these saris came from near Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu. However, since weaving was introduced among the tribals in the 1980s, it has caused immense problems, especially related to marketing. The products woven by the tribals are not competitively priced with those from Tamil Nadu and have a limited market. Already burdened with the products of traditional weaving communities, there is little scope in the market, of absorbing new weaver communities.

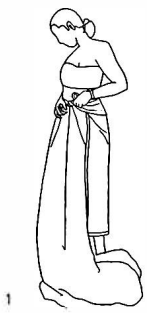
Off-white and gold constituted the traditional themeof Kerala, both in the draped fabric as well as in the jewellery and flowers worn with it. Oiled ebony hair in a side bun, adorned with flowers and dark skin draped with white and gold, was the quintessential Kerala beauty. In fact, many scholars and artists we met decried the inundation of colour, shine and glitter in Kerala from neighbouring Tamil Nadu. It has permeated the quiet backwaters, the draped garments, music and aesthetic sensibility. This factor, combined with the inflow of money from the Gulf and the highly political culture has turned the weavers' co-operative societies into voter strongholds, unfortunately headed by those who are largely non-weavers themselves. This has adversely affected the future of handloom weaving in the state as a whole, especially in those areas that have produced traditional handloom products.

With rising costs of living, higher aspirations, spread of education and greater politicization, there has been a gradual erosion of the handloom weaving culture in Kerala. Increasing competition from power-loom production in the adjoining districts of Salem, Erode and Coimbatore, in Tamil Nadu, has also taken its toll. What is required for Kerala's production of fabrics with limited patterning, is a brand of quality. This can maintain the standard they represent and help them to be marketed for these attributes alone. Then they can hope to find a contemporary clientele in Kerala and beyond, strengthening the buyer range and patronage base that they have been losing steadily.

The colours of the peacock emerge from a white egg.
- ascribed to the *Rig Veda*

WEARING STYLES – KERALA

STYLE 1: ADIVASI/Tribal style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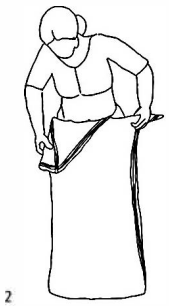
STYLE 1: ADIVASI/Tribal style
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Tribal community
AREA: Northeast Kerala, especially Wayanad and Palakad disctricts

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at centre.
2. Bring free end-piece around waist anticlockwise to right front waist, leaving loose portion at left waist.
3. Bring free end-piece across breasts right to left and wrap it twice.
4. Bring free end-piece over right shoulder back to front.

STYLE 2: DANDA MUNDU/Two-piece, upper-lower drape style

1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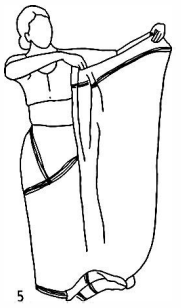
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STYLE 2: DANDA MUNDU/Two-piece, upper-lower drape style
LENGTH OF UPPER DRAPE: 3 yd/ 2.6 m
LOWER DRAPE: 4.5 yd/ 4 m
WORN BY: Nair community
AREA: All over Kerala

1. Take inner end of lower drape and wrap around waist clockwise.
2. Pull inner end outward over free end of lower drape.
3. Make pleats with free end of drape.
4. Tuck pleats into centre front waist.
5. Take upper drape and make broad pleats.
6. Bring over left shoulder till knee-length.
7. Bring other end of drape to back clockwise, and tuck in upper edge at left waist.

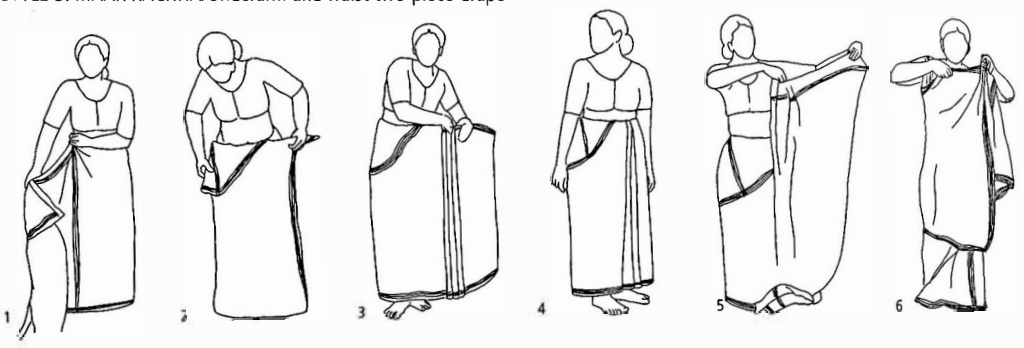
6

7

STYLE 3: MAAR KACHHA/Under arm and waist two-piece drape
LENGTH OF UPPER DRAPE: 2.5 yd/ 2.2 m
LOWER DRAPE: 2.2 yd/ 2 m
WORN BY: Upper-class Namboodri women
AREA: Central and south Kerala

1. Take inner end of lower drape and wrap around waist clockwise.
2. Pull inner end outward over free end of lower drape.
3. Make pleats with free end of lower drape.
4. Tuck pleats into centre front waist.
5. Hold upper drape in front.
6. Take upper drape and make up to six pleats with one end.
7. Hold pleats at front left chest and bring free end-piece around chest clockwise over pleats.
8. Bring free end-piece to right and tuck in turning upper border outwards.

STYLE 3: MAAR KACHHA/Underarm and waist two-piece drape

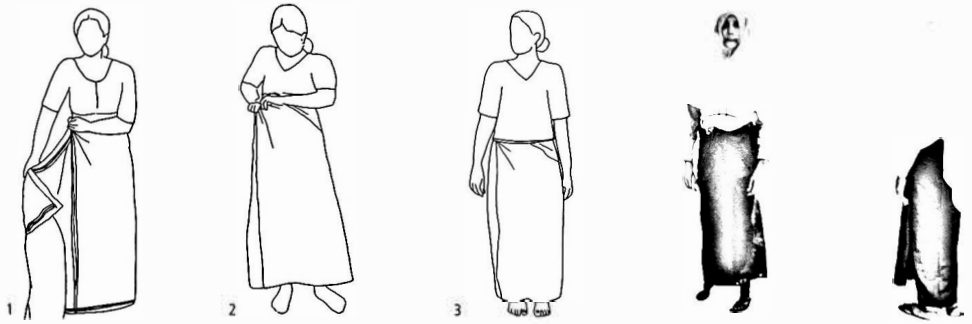


STYLE 4: CHATTA MUNDU/Blouse and lower drape of Christian community
LENGTH: 4.4 yd/ 4 m
WORN BY: Christian community
AREA: All over Kerala

1. Hold inner end of drape and make up to ten pleats.
2. Bring outer end to front left waist clockwise.
3. Take pleats to centre back waist anticlockwise under wrapped layer.
4. Tuck outer end-piece into right front waist.

STYLE 4: CHATTA MUNDU/Blouse and lower drape of Christian community

STYLE 4: VARIATION 1: KACHI upper full sleeve blouse/KAILI lower drape for Muslims



STYLE 4: VARIATION 1: KACHI upper full sleeve blouse/KAILI lower drape for Muslims
LENGTH KAILI: 2 yd/ 1.72 m
WORN BY: Muslim community
AREA: North and South Kerala

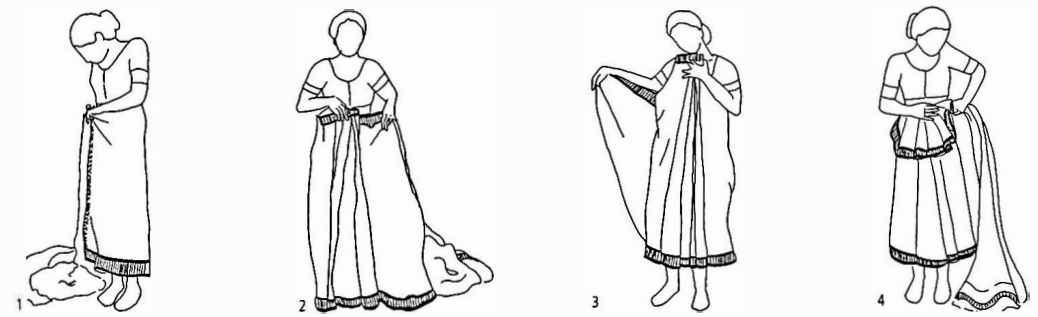
1. Take inner end of lower drip and wrap around waist clockwise. Tie knot at waist.
2. Tuck the free end piece at left and then remaining end at right waist.

STYLE 5: MOHINIATTAM/Dance style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Dancers
AREA: Central and South Kerala

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Make seven to eight pleats of free end-piece in front.
3. Pull gathered pleats upward and hold with chin. Bring free end-piece to right waist over pleats.
4. Leave held gathered pleats down and bring free end-piece from left to right waist anticlockwise.
5. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder front to back.
6. Bring outer end-piece to front anticlockwise and tuck into front waist.

STYLE 5: VARIATION 1: CONTEMPORARY MOHINIATTAM- Stitched sari worn by dancers today

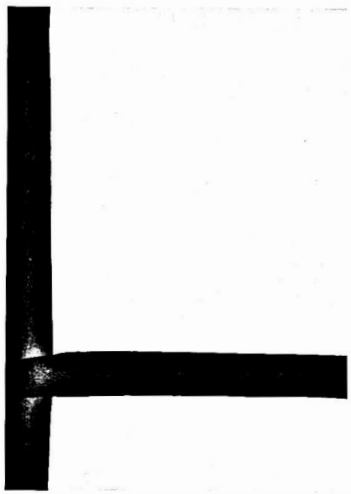
STYLE 5: MOHINIATTAM/Dance style



CONTEMPORARY MOHINIATTAM

■ Patta kara - *Flat border*

1 MEDIUM/FINE COUNT COTTONS



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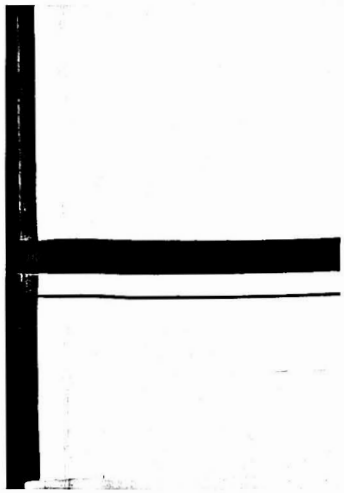

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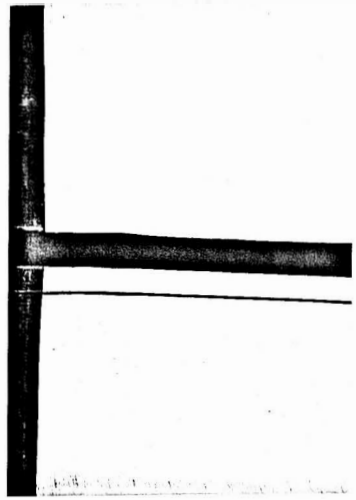

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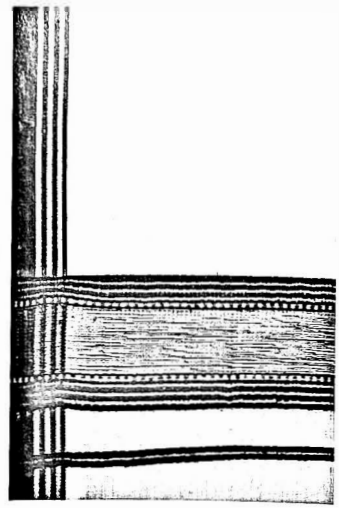

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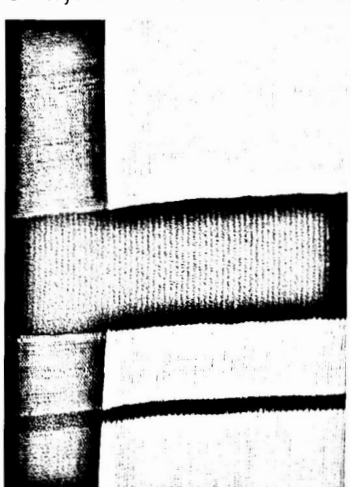
● Puliyila kara/Katti kara - *Flat border ribbed end-piece*

2 FINE COUNT COTTONS



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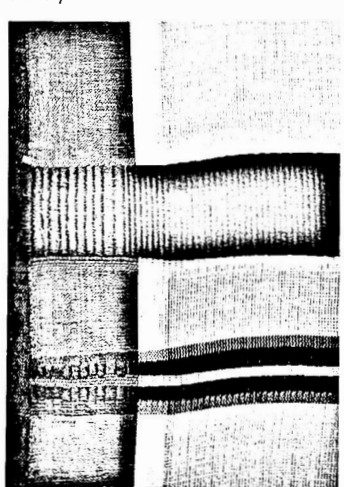

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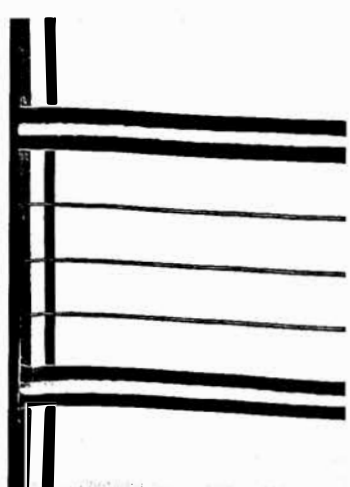

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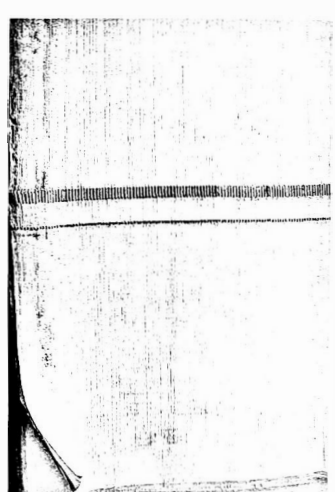


1/8

1/1: Name: *Patta kara neriyad* /Plain black border shoulder cloth; Material: Cotton, 100s/80s; Length: 2.04 m; Width: 1.26 m; Weight: 140 gm; Origin: Devangpuram, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/2: Name: *Pacha patta kara bavanchu sett mundu*/Plain green broad-band, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.28 m/2.04 m; Width: 1.05 m/1.26 m; Weight: 115 gm/140 gm; Origin: Kothampulli, Thrissur district

1/3: Name: *Chuvappu kara sett mundu*/Red broad-band, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.04 m/2.15m; Width: 1.25 m/1.0 m; Weight: 120 gm/ 100 gm; Origin: Neelikad, Palakkad district

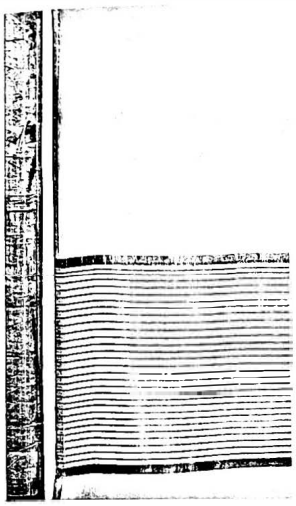
1/4: Name: *Moon kambi patta kara sett mundu*/Three-stripe border, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 2.35 m/3.60 m; Width: 1.35 m/1.30 m; Weight: 140 gm/ 240 gm; Origin: Chendamangalam, Ernakulam district

1/5: Name: *Neela puliyila kara sett mundu*/Blue-ribbed weft, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.20 m/2.02 m; Width: 1.00 m/1.28 m; Weight: 110 gm/125 gm; Origin: Neelikad, Palakkad district

1/6: Name: *Puliyila kara violet sett mundu*/Purple-ribbed weft, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s: Length: 2.20 m/2.0 m; Width: 1.08 m/1.2 m; Weight: 150 gm/155 gm; Origin: Neelikad, Palakkad district

1/7: Name: *Chuvappu sornam puliyila kuri sett mundu*/Red gold-ribbed weft, two end-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s/60s; Length: 2.20 m/5.75 m; Width: 1.27 m/ 1.20 m; Weight: 325 gm/330 gm; Origin: Balarampuram, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/8: Name: *Sornam puliyila kuri*/Gold-ribbed *palla*, two end-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.22 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 125 gm; Origin: Balarampuram, Thiruvananthapuram district



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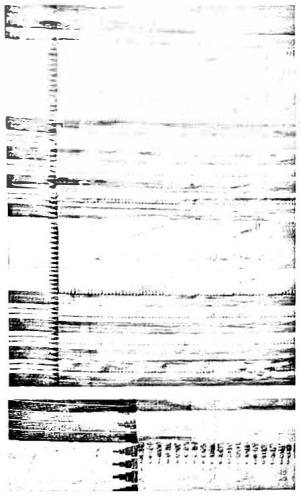

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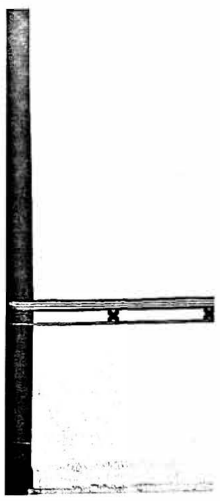
3 FINE COUNT COTTONS



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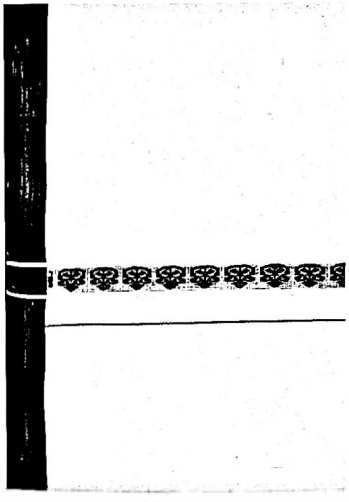

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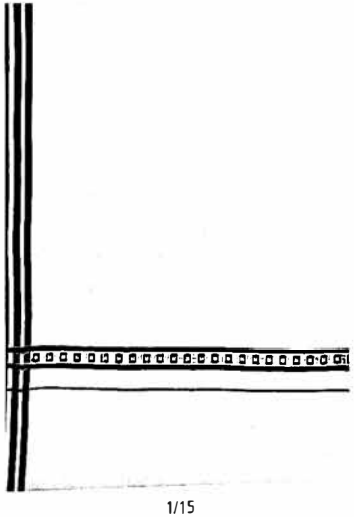

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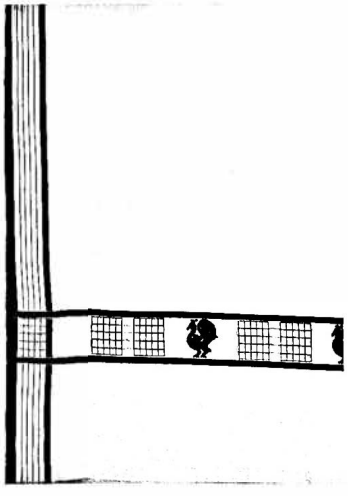

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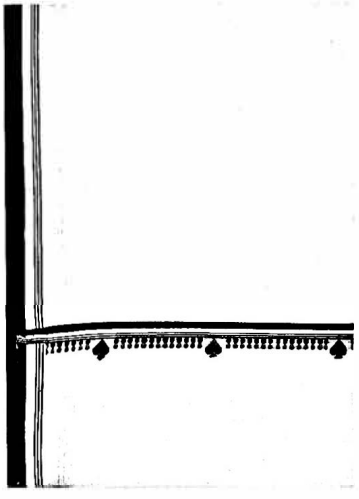


1/17

1/9: Name: *Sornam nedege puliyila kuri*/Gold broad-band border with ribbed weft end-piece, two-piece drape and stripe; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 1.83 m; Width: 0.91 m; Weight: 75 gm; Origin: Balarampuram, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/10: Name: *Puliyila kara pudava*/Broad gold border, ribbed end-piece sari; Material: Cotton 100s; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 350 gm; Courtesy: Shobita Punja, New Delhi

1/11: Name: *Puliyila kara pudava*/Broad gold border, ribbed end-piece sari; Material: Cotton 100s; Length: 5.75 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight 80 gm; Courtesy: Sara George, New Delhi

1/12: Name: *Chuvappu kai patt godam sett mundu*/Red broad band-patterned, cross ribbed end-piece, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100 s/120 s; Length: 2.5 m/2.02 m; Width: 1.28 m/1.12 m; Weight: 125 gm/130 gm; Origin: Kothampulli, Thrissur district

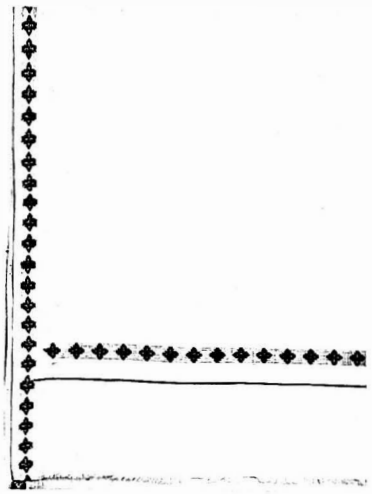
1/13: Name: *Kai patt sett mundu*/Plain-band border with extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 1.70 m/2.20 m; Width: 1.15 m/99 cm; Weight: 150 gm/150 gm; Origin: Chendamanglam, Ernakulam district

1/14: Name: *Kotinch kai patt sett mundu*/Plain broad-band border with extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.02 m/2.5 m; Width: 1.28 m/1.08 m; Weight: 125 gm/130 gm; Origin: Peruvemba, Palakkad district

1/15: Name: *Nedege kai patt sett mundu*/Three-striped borders with extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.00 m/2.08 m; Width: 1.25 m/1.26 m; Weight: 130 gm/125 gm; Origin: Devangpuram, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/16: Name: *Kai palzam nedege kai patt sett mundu*/Banana green multiple-striped border, extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 2.24 m/2.0 m; Width: 1.33 m/1.26m, Weight: 130 gm/125 gm; Origin: Kothampulli, Thrissur district

1/17: Name: *Nedege kara adyan kai patt sett mundu*/Multiple-striped border, betel leaf extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.08 m/ 2.25 m; Width: 1.27 m/1.02 m; Weight: 250 gm/125 gm; Origin: Devangpuram, Palakkad district



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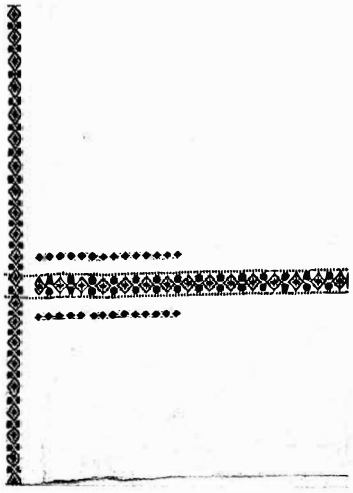

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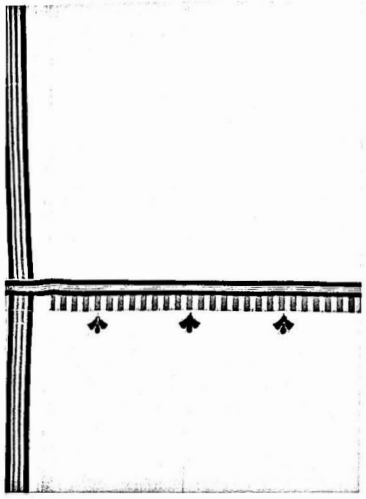

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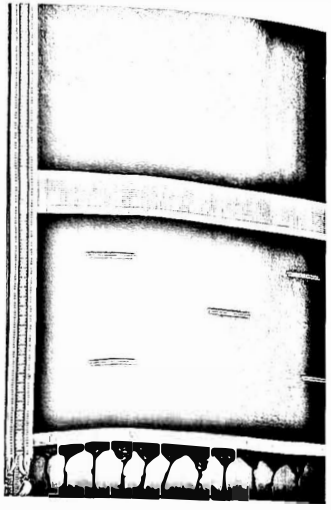

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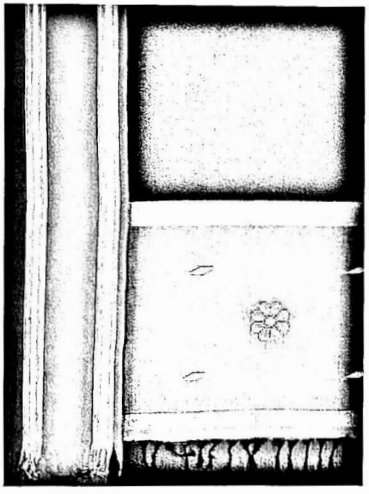

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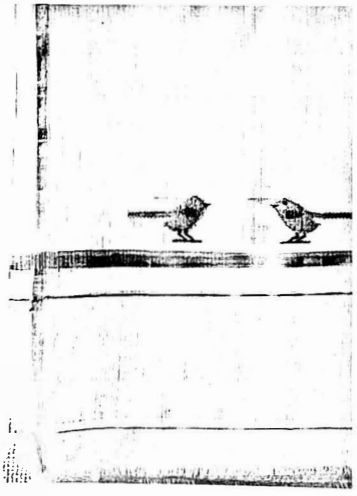

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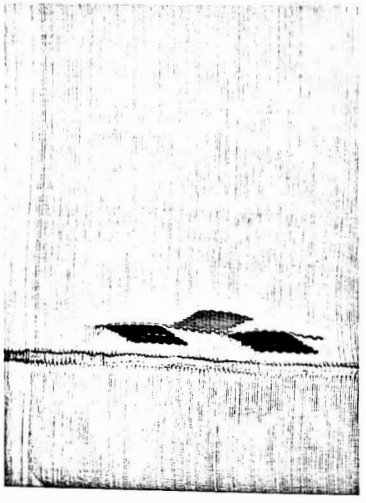

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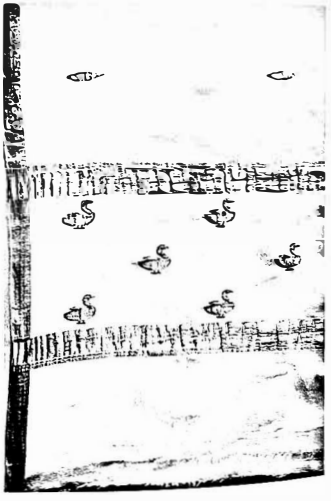


1/25

1/18: Name: *Pushpam kara kai patt sett mundu*/Flower border, extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 1.97 m/2.2 m; Width: 1.25 m/1.02 m; Weight: 125 gm/125 gm; Origin: Devangpuram, Palakkad district

1/19: Name: *Pushpam kara kai patt sett mundu*/Flower border, extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 2.02 m/2.20 m; Width: 1.29 m/1.03 m; Weight: 130 gm/125 gm; Origin: Kothampulli, Thrissur district

1/20: Name: *Nedege kara adyan kai patt sett mundu*/Multi-striped border, betel leaf extra weft-patterned two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.00 m/2.2 m; Width: 1.29 m/1.05 m; Weight: 125 gm/120 gm; Origin: Kothampulli, Thrissur district

1/21: Name: *Pushpam kara kai patt Pudava*/Flower border, extra weft-patterned sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 6 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Kasargode, Kasargode district

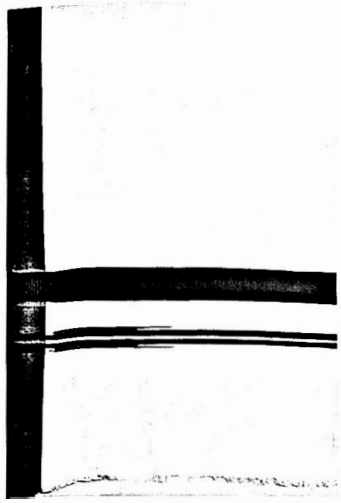
1/22: Name: *Kotinch kara pushpam kai patt Pudava*/Arrowhead-patterned border, flower weft motif, extra weft-patterned sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.88 m; Width: 1.33 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Kasargode, Kasargode district

1/23: Name: *Kili kai patt sett mundu*/Bird-patterned, extra weft two-piece drape; Material: Cotton 100s; Length: 2.20 m/5.4 m; Width: 1.28 m/1.15 m; Weight: 125 gm/260 gm; Courtesy: Madras Crafts Foundation, Chennai

1/24: Name: *Ela kai patt sett mundu*/Leaf-patterned, extra weft two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.48 m/2.20 m; Width: 1.33 m/1.30 m; Weight: 125 gm/140 gm; Origin: Balarampuram, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/25: Name: *Kili kai patt sornam Pudava*/Gold bird motif body end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.10 m/1.30 m; Weight: 320 gm; Courtesy: Vatsala Kumar, New Delhi

4 FINE COUNT COTTONS



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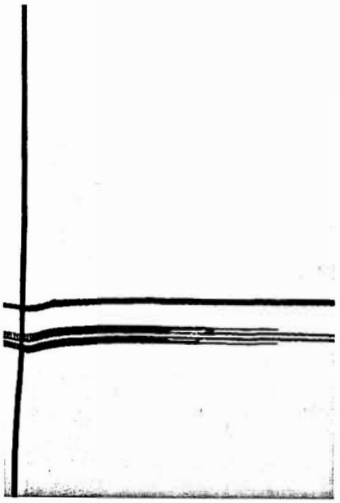

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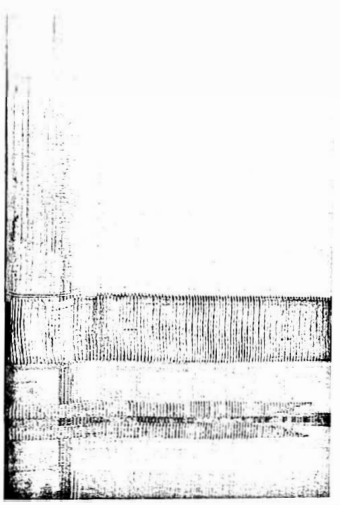

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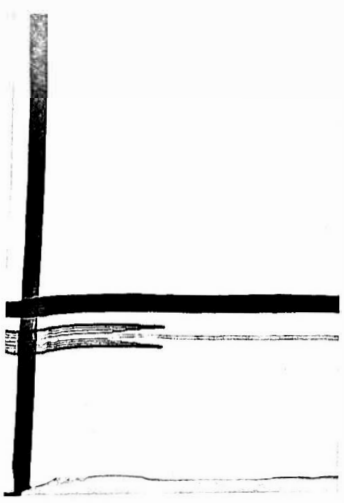

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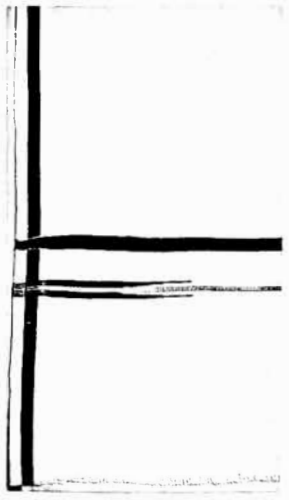

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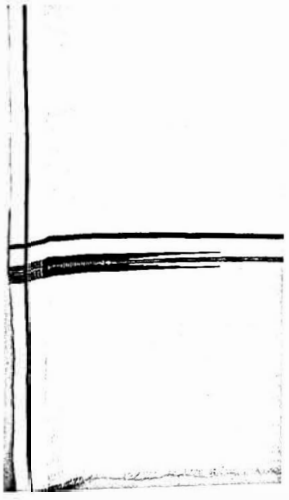

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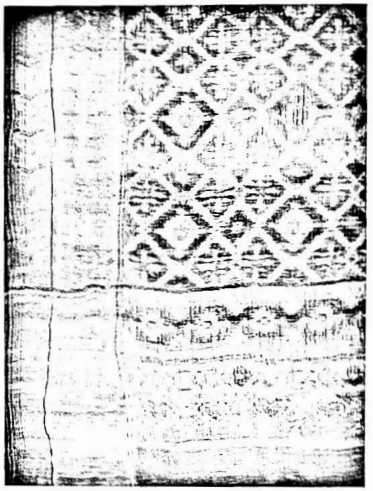
5 MEDIUM COUNT COTTONS

1/32

6 SILK



1/33

1/26: Name: *Sada neela chutti patt sett mundu*/Plain blue arrowhead two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 60s/60s; Length: 2.20 m/2.00 m; Width: 1.28 m/1.08 m; Weight: 155 gm/150 gm; Origin: Balarampuram, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/27: Name: *Sada pacha chutti patt*/Plain-green arrowhead upper drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 2.04 m; Width: 1.03 m; Weight: 125 gm; Origin: Nemam, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/28: Name: *Sornam chutti patt sett mundu*/Gold *zari* plain border and rib *palla* with arrowhead pattern, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 2.22 m/2.0 m; Width: 1.07 m/1.3 m; Weight: 120 gm/130 gm; Origin: Balarampuram, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/29: Name: *Valli chutti patt neriyad*/Arrowhead pattern inlaid end-piece upper drape; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 2.16 m; Width: 1.03 m; Weight: 100 gm; Origin: Nemam, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/30: Name: *Kottaram chutti patt pacha sett mundu*/Green with gold inset arrowhead pattern, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 2.26 m/2.04 m; Width: 1.07 m/1.03 m; Weight: 130 gm/125 gm; Origin: Kalliyoor, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/31: Name: *Kottaram chutti patt pacha sett mundu*/Green with gold inset arrowhead pattern, two-piece drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 2.20 m/2.00 m; Width: 1.33 m/1.07 m; Weight: 125 gm/120 gm; Origin: Kalliyoor, Thiruvananthapuram district

1/32: Name: *Kaili mundu*/Green fabric-resist lower drape of Muslims; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 1.72 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 250 gm; Origin: Kozhikode (Calicut)

1/33: Name: *Veeralipatta*/Yarn-resist silk upper drape; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 1.87 m; Width: .80 m; Weight: 150 gm; Courtesy: Rakesh Thakore, Noida, Uttar Pradesh

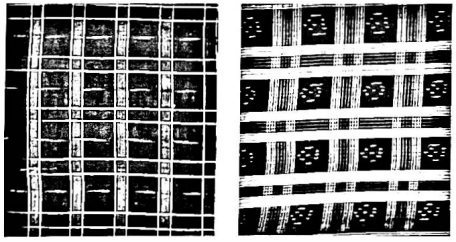
ಉಣ್ಣೆಯ ನಿಗುಚಿ ಸರಿಗೆಯ ಸಮಗೊಳಿಸಿ
ಸಮಗಾಲನಿಕ್ಕಿ ಅಣೆಯೇಳ ಮುಟ್ಟದೆ
ಹಿಡಿದ ಲಾಳಿಯ ಮುಳ್ಳು ಕಂಡಿಕೆಯ ನುಂಗಿತ್ತು
ಈ ಸೀರೆಯ ನೇಯ್ದವ ನಾನೋ ನೀನೋ?
ಓ ರಾಮನಾಥ

Lift the starched yarn, set the strings right
Have equal footing, but don't touch the loom
The shuttle which I am holding has swallowed
the bundle of yarn
Is it you who wove the sari or I?
– *Vachankara* by Jedara Dasimaya

Karnataka

Karnataka provides a soft interface between Maharashtra to its north, and Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, surrounding it clockwise from east to south. A genteel, laidback, yet forward-looking disposition has attracted people to Karnataka not only from neighbouring states, but from all over India. This has simultaneously fuelled an extraordinary industrial, scientific and educational growth in the state, and compelled it to reflect on the nature of the Kannada identity, especially in recent years. The northern areas of the state have shared a vast Maharashtrian and Andhra weaver population, market and a multilingual culture proficient in Kannada, Marathi and Telugu, right up to the central districts of Shimoga, Uttar Kannad and Chitradurga. The northeastern districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur have a common legacy of the Nizam's rule, along with the Marathwada region of south Maharashtra. Further to the southeast, the influence of Tamil Nadu cannot be underestimated in terms of markets, technical ingenuity and aesthetics. Thus, a great deal of merging has taken place among the Andhra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu design sensibilities. This is largely in response to the increasing competition and the growing market reach of Tamil Nadu cotton saris and its silks.

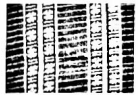
In Dotihal village in Koppal district, weavers were categorical in stating: 'It is not our sisters in Karnataka who have given us food, but our mothers in Maharashtra who have maintained our lives by not changing their sari styles. As long as there is honesty in this society, it will run. Our mentor who had initiated this society, said this years ago.'



Left to Right: **(2/68)** Taramandal/*Yarn-resist dash pattern*; **(2/50)** Bekkina hejje/*Yarn-resist cat's paw pattern.*

Rui phool
(Madhya Pradesh)

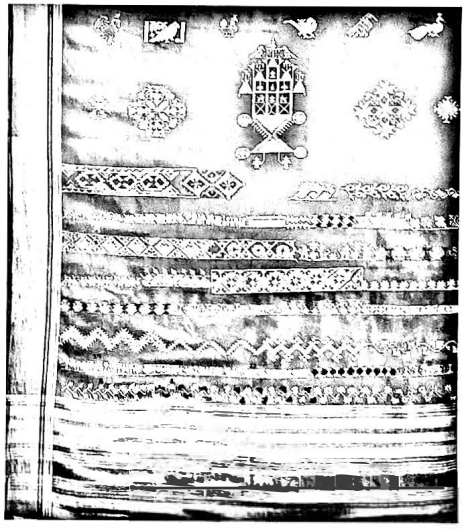
Narayanpet nippani
(Maharashtra,
Andhra Pradesh)



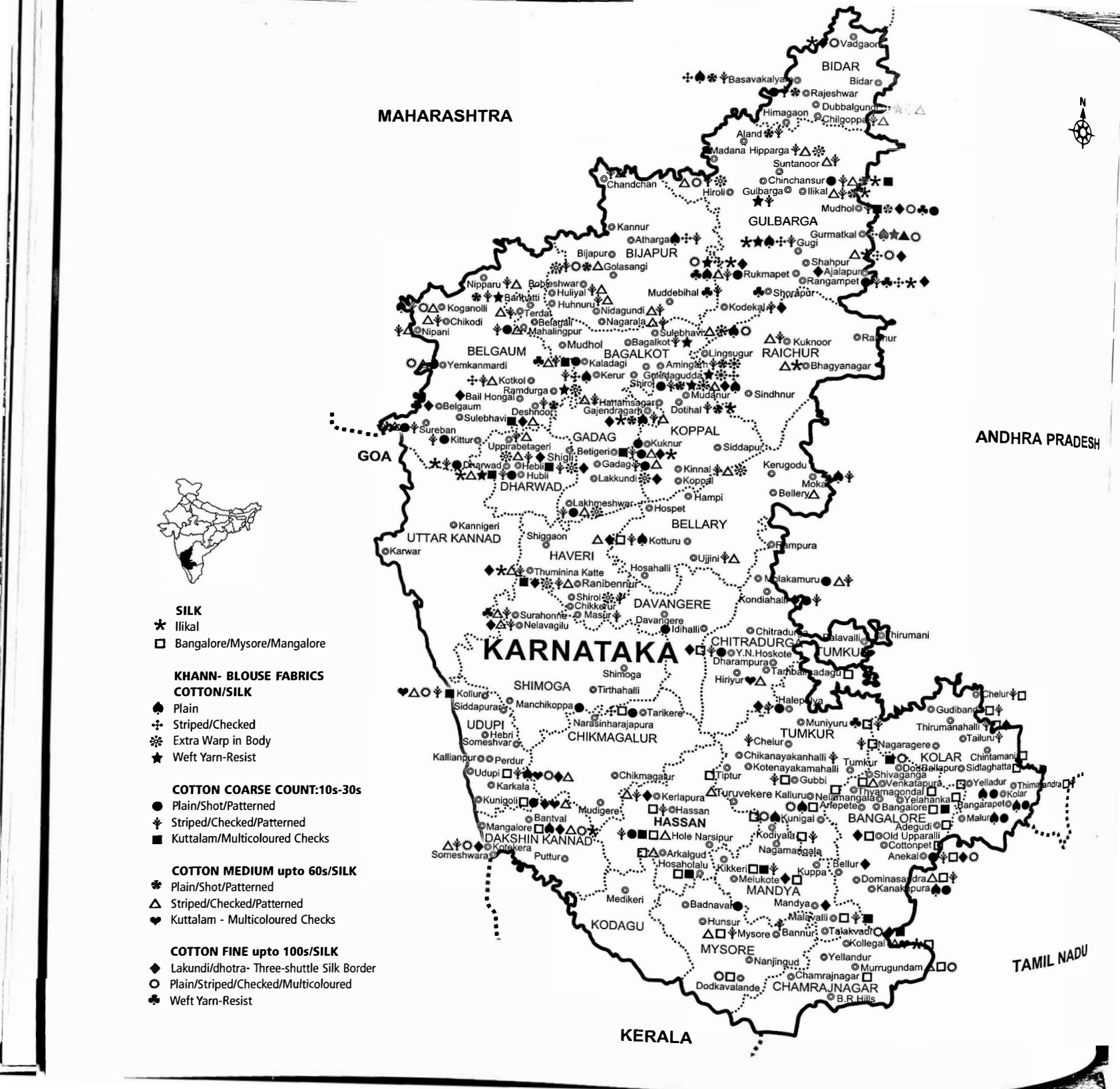
Karnataka dhotra

Although only five broad categories have been determined for the sari and the blouse fabric (*khann*) range of Karnataka, within these there is a degree of variation in colour, count, construction and scale of motif. Along with variations of length and width determined by wearing style, these provide regional character to the saris and blouse fabrics.

There is homogeneity of colour, design sensibility and treatment between the coarse, middle and fine count cottons; and across these categories there is a tendency to combine cotton in the body with silk in the borders and end-pieces. However, the middle and finer counts, especially the stripes and checks, incorporate silk in the body as well, particularly in the multicolour stripes and checks (*kuttalam*). The silk-cotton mixes are said to be the



(2/78) Bavanchu kasuti seere/*Broad border, embroidered sari.*


MAHARASHTRA
GOA
ANDHRA PRADESH
TAMIL NADU
KERALA
KARNATAKA
BIDAR
GULBARGA
BIJAPUR
BAGALKOT
BELGAUM
RAICHUR
GADAG
KOPPAL
DHARWAD
HAVERI
UTTAR KANNAD
BELLARY
DAVANGERE
SHIMOGA
CHITRADURGA
TUMKUR
UDUPI
CHIKMAGALUR
HASSAN
DAKSHIN KANNAD
KODAGU
MANDYA
MYSORE
KOLAR
BANGALORE
CHAMRAJNAGAR
Vadgaon
Basavakalyan
Bidar
Rajeshwar
Himagaon
Dubbalgundi
Chilgoppa
Aland
Madana Hipparga
Suntanoor
Chandchan
Hiroli
Chinchansur
Gulbarga
Ilikal
Mudhol
Kannur
Atharga
Gurmatkal
Gugi
Bijapur
Golasangi
Shahpur
Ajalapur
Rukmapet
Rangampet
Nipparu
Bableshwar
Huliyal
Muddebihal
Shorapur
Bantnatti
Huhnuru
Kodekal
Koganolli
Terdal
Nidagundi
Chikodi
Belagali
Nagarala
Nipani
Mahalingpur
Sulebhavi
Bagalkot
Kuknoor
Mudhol
Lingsugur
Yemkanmardi
Kaladagi
Amingarh
Kerur
Gonedagudda
Bhagyanagar
Kotkol
Shirol
Ramdurga
Mudanur
Sindhnur
Bail Hongal
Belgaum
Hanamsagar
Gajendragarh
Dotihal
Deshnoor
Sulebhavi
Sureban
Kittur
Kuknur
Siddapur
Uppirabetageri
Betigeri
Shigli
Dharwad
Hebli
Gadag
Kinnal
Kerugodu
Hubli
Lakkundi
Koppal
Moka
Bellery
Lakhmeshwar
Hospet
Hampi
Kannigeri
Shiggaon
Kotturu
Karwar
Rampura
Ujjini
Thuminina Katte
Hosahalli
Molakamuru
Ranibennur
Shirol
Chikkeur
Kondiahalli
Surahonne
Masur
Davangere
Nelavagilu
Idihalli
Chitradurga
Talavalli
Thirumani
Y.N.Hoskote
Dharampura
Tambrahadagu
Shimoga
Hiriyur
Tirthahalli
Kollur
Halepuiya
Siddapura
Manchikoppa
Tarikere
Gudibanda
Narasinharajapura
Muniyuru
Thirumanahalli
Hebri
Someshvar
Chelur
Tailuru
Kallianpur
Perdur
Chikanayakanhalli
Nagaragere
Udupi
Kotenayakamahalli
Tumkur
Chintamani
Karkala
Chikmagalur
Tiptur
Gubbi
Shivaganga
Venkatapura
Yelladur
Kunigoli
Kerlapura
Turuvekere
Kalluru
Nelamangala
Yelahanka
Bangarapet
Mudigere
Hassan
Arsikere
Bangalore
Bantval
Kunigal
Malur
Mangalore
Hole Narsipur
Kodiyala
Adegudi
Someshwara
Kotekera
Puttur
Arkalgud
Nagamangala
Old Upparalli
Cottonpet
Hosaholalu
Kikkeri
Kuppa
Bellur
Anekal
Melukote
Dominasandra
Kanakapura
Medikeri
Badnavalu
Mandya
Hunsur
Malavalli
Mysore
Bannur
Talakvadi
Kollegal
Nanjingud
Yellandur
Murrugundam
Chamrajnagar
Dodkavalande
B.R Hills
N
SILK
Ilikal
Bangalore/Mysore/Mangalore
KHANN- BLOUSE FABRICS
COTTON/SILK
Plain
Striped/Checked
Extra Warp in Body
Weft Yarn-Resist
COTTON COARSE COUNT:10s-30s
Plain/Shot/Patterned
Striped/Checked/Patterned
Kuttalam/Multicoloured Checks
COTTON MEDIUM upto 60s/SILK
Plain/Shot/Patterned
Striped/Checked/Patterned
Kuttalam - Multicoloured Checks
COTTON FINE upto 100s/SILK
Lakundi/dhotra- Three-shuttle Silk Border
Plain/Striped/Checked/Multicoloured
Weft Yarn-Resist

most appropriate for marriage as they reflect the union of two distinct materials in the weaving of a single sari.

In places like Gajendragarh in Gadag district, the bamboo reed still survives, and a resplendent variety of fine checks and stripes can be seen with variations in texture and material. As we move northwards to Gulbarga district facing Andhra Pradesh, the checks and stripes are transformed by the appearance of the *taramandal* (yarn-resist dash pattern; 2/68; pg 37) within the check or the *bekkina hejje* (cat's paw-like resist pattern; 2/50; pg 37). The northern districts are akin to the neighbouring districts of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra; sharing a similar range of saris, with only slight variations in the scale and texture.

The *rui phool* (pattern inspired by the cotton flower; pg 37) of central India becomes *nippani* in Maharashtra, and in Belgaum, north Karnataka it turns to a finer scale in the rail-track repeat of *gaadidhadi*, akin to Narayanpet in Andhra Pradesh. Similarly, the *karvat kathi* (three-shuttle cotton body/silk border) of Umred, in Nagpur district in Maharashtra, becomes the *iruki paddike* in

Brush-sizing of cotton yarn to settle fibres and pre-shrink yarn.

north Karnataka or *dhotra* (2/38; pg 41) elsewhere. The production of *lakkundi* in central Karnataka is similar, but silk is not necessarily used in the borders.

In the central and northern districts of Dharwad and Bijapur, it was normal to embellish the plain/shot-body saris and end-pieces with *kasuti* (cross-stitch embroidery) (2/78; pg 37). Plants as auspicious symbols, birds and animals (especially peacocks, elephants and camels), *gopuram* (temple spires), and chariots; all found their way into the embroidery in the *jwari* (double-sided stitch) and *negi* (weave-like stitch).

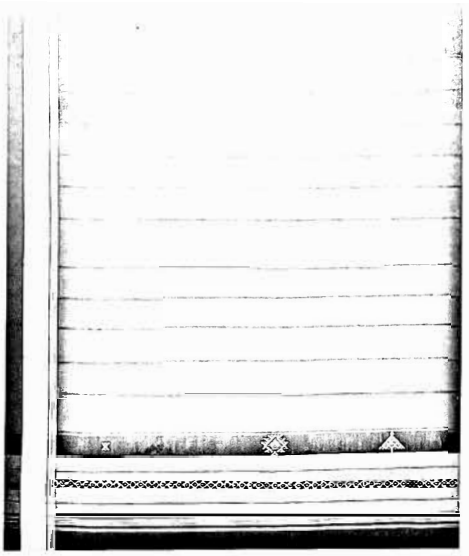
At first, the silks imitated the cottons in their colour and motif range, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they broke free to explore a more complex design directory as weavers began to discover the possibilities of the pattern harness, which probably came to them, from Varanasi in North India, sometime during the nineteenth century.

In the category of *khann* blouse fabrics, Maharashtra and Karnataka share the unique distinction of a long-standing tradition of weaving these in colours and patterns that provide both contrast and relief from the expanse of rich and dense sari colours. Their understanding of mix-and-match is unique, as they celebrate a joyful exuberance of colour and texture in the body and borders of blouse fabrics that acquire a jewel-like quality against the plain spread of the sari. The blouse seems to have made an early appearance in Maharashtra and Karnataka, compared to other parts of India.

The *kacche* (between the legs) wearing style is also a shared legacy between the southern and central states of India. What varies is the tightness of the drape, the degree of leg exposure, and subsequently, the nature of mobility it provides. The demands of work, occasion and economic status, apart from customs and aesthetics, affected wearing styles. For instance, a farm-labouring woman rarely wore her sari far below her knees, for it was considered both inappropriate and impractical. If it was worn longer she was asked, 'Are you sweeping the floor?'

COARSE COUNT COTTON 10s TO 30s

Until the mid-twentieth century, there was a broad base of coarse-count cotton sari-weaving distributed all over Karnataka. The skill base for *sada* (plain; 2/5 and 2/1), *selari* (stripe; 2/41), and *kaddi seere* (check; 2/13) saris, *kuttalam* (multi-coloured checks; 2/20) and *kirige* (children's sari) were at par with the finest cotton saris. These plain and shot saris are exceptional in their ability to achieve a high-contrast pure colour in the borders and the weft bands of the end-piece. The *kirige*, providing a training ground for the young to be initiated into the profession, was woven in three to four lengths and widths for girls of different ages, and could also be custom-made. Till the early twentieth century, the *serugu* (end-piece) was often yarn attached and therefore, referred to as the *tanna seere*, with a contrasting red, three-shuttle band alternating with a white band, in a three/five band formation known as *shahpuri serugu* or *ilikal serugu*. In saris for special occasions, silk was used for the end-piece with a three-shuttle *teni* (serrated edge facing the borders). With the advent of art silk in the 1950s, the red-and-white were replaced with art silk entirely, which provided the lustre, if not the sophistication and finesse, of pure silk. The range of borders came from a common limited pool of heald-lifted patterns that were adapted to the lattice dobby in the 1940s and 50s. The *gumi* (arrowhead border pattern), placed in parallel lines referred to as *gaadidhadi* (railtrack); *goddanchu* (honeycomb); *nalli* (wave); *paras* (mat pattern); *rudraksh* (seed flower); *kakni*

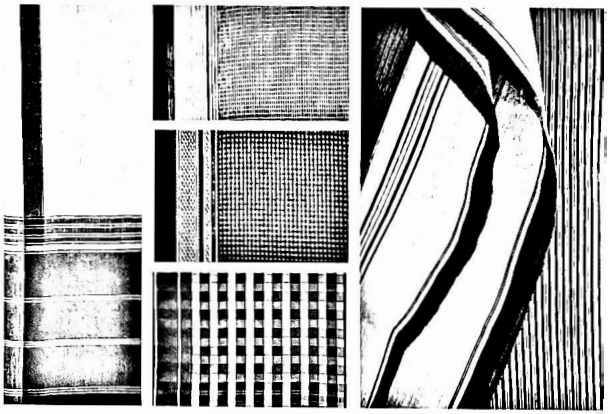


COARSE COUNT COTTON: **(2/5)** Kaladagi sada pattedanchu seere/*Red selvedge, 3-band border sari.*

(ladder); and *lahiri/Benaras* twill were the mainstay of this pattern range preceded by the *sada patta* (plain border)and *dundu* (divided border) saris.

The range of plain colour is limited to *kora* (unbleached white), *rani* (Indian pink), *kirmanji* (red), *hasru* (green), *arshina* (turmeric yellow), and *neeli* (indigo blue); occasionally crossing each other as shot colours. The favoured stripes and checks begin with red and black on an unbleached white ground, before the colours are added on. Stripes happen to be a cheaper version of checks, though the number of colour and width variations are as varied as the checks. The split borders culminate in a broad band right up to the selvedge, or the selvedge itself turns into a broad band in the colour of the stripe/check, binding the turmeric yellow border bands and framing the sari as a whole.

Left to Right: COARSE COUNT COTTON: **(2/1)** Sada patta seere/*Plain body / border sari;* **(2/13; 2/18; 2/20)** *Variations of* kaddi/*checks;* FINE COUNT COTTON/SILK: **(2/41)** Anekal dundu selari seere/*Split border, cotton silk stripe sari.*



Winding yarn for warp measure.

From the finest *kaskasi* (poppy seed check) 2 x 1, 2 x 2 threads, the range progresses to bold checks referred to as *tuhimalkala;* usually in black and red. There is also a check-within-check range in either red, black/indigo and green. The distinct red and dark blue checks of Belgaum and Dharwar districts, *mungi* (lentil); red and black checks (2/16 on pg 51), and the dark blue and white checks of Bijapur district (2/12 on pg 51), are typical examples. The *anjure* with one end green and the other red develops the concept of the *anjari* that we see again in Maharashtra.

In the single village of Kodiyala in Mandya district, we found the following descriptions of checks:

Jaddane seere – 3 ends red, 1 black, 3 red, 3 black; *phutani* – 6 x 6 in 2 colours (2/8; pg 50); *ratan popli* – 4 ends yellow, 1 black, 4 red, 1 black, 4 yellow, 1 black; *chowgatan* – 4 ends black, 1 yellow, 4 black, 2 yellow; *rail popli* – 1 end yellow, 1 black, 7 yellow, 1 black, 1 yellow, 7 black; and *mithai popli* – 20 ends red, 2 black, 20 yellow, 3 black (2/20; pg 39). These, and a similar range of stripes and checks, are found in each production area.

The stripe and check variations build up towards the borders until their advance is absorbed by the *dundu seere* (split border bands; 2/41 pg 39); usually one main and three narrow echoing bands, in contrasting colours, often including *arshina* (tumeric yellow). By the use of 2-ply warp yarns, at times in a basket weave in the borders, submerging the dark weft of the ground colour, the weavers strike a stark balance between the body and the borders. The range of border patterns and end-pieces maintains continuity with the plains, stripes and checks seen elsewhere.

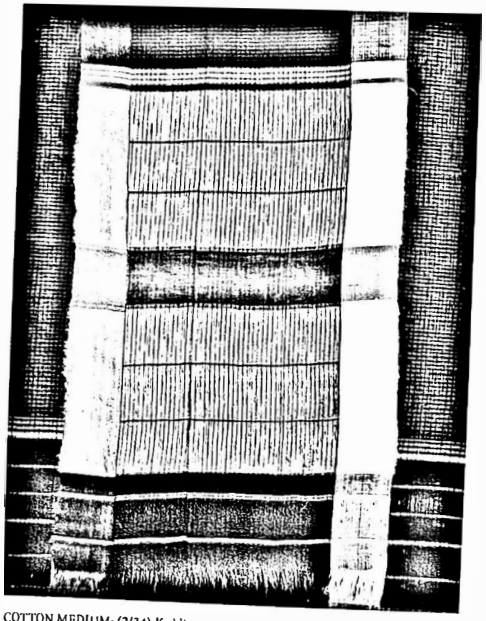
The treatment of the *serugu* endpiece has many interpretations of weft bands in the border colour, interspersed with the main colour of the body check. The warp stripes of the body invariably run through the end-piece and are only obliterated at times when the weft plying or the beating is heavy enough to conceal them.

In the *kaladagi* (2/5; pg 39) saris of Bagalkot district, we see the finest example of the *sada patta* (plain border) variety of saris which have elements of extra weft patterning in the end-pieces.

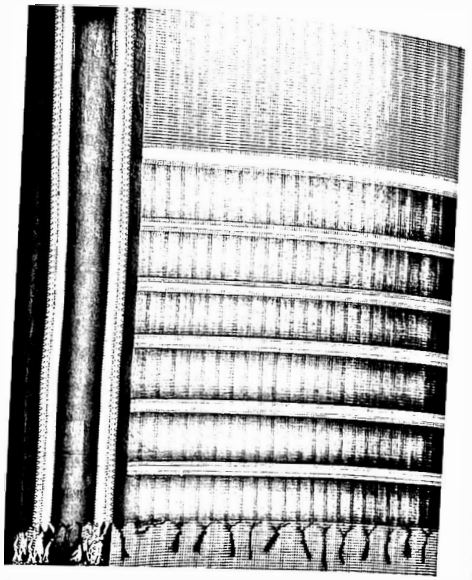
The *kuttalam* saris take the check range to another level by introducing more than one colour in the check; beginning with two colours and going up to five or more. This multicolour check variety makes a scattered appearance in south Maharashtra, but by the time it reaches Karnataka, it has come into its own. The multicolour check, though akin to the *kornad* checks of Tamil Nadu, is distinct in its colour combination and its multiple subdivisions of checks (2/20; pg 39).

COTTON MEDIUM COUNT UPTO 60s/SILK

As we move on to medium and fine counts, there are some additional features, as the main justification for these finer counts is either the presence of a wealthier clientele in the area or the saris having a trade value that goes beyond the region.



COTTON MEDIUM: (2/34) Kaddi patte seere/2 x 2 *double check/2 colour border sari.*



COTTON MEDIUM: (2/35) Kadalat kuttalam seere/*Multicoloured check sari*

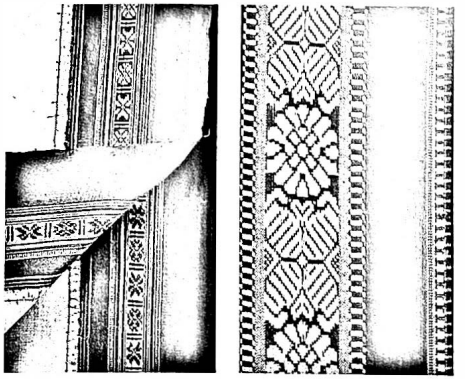
Plain/shot/patterned: A sari similar to that of Narayanpet (in Andhra Pradesh) is woven in several northern weaving villages of Gulbarga district, with Ilikal, Mudhol and Chinchansur being the major centres, as also Gajendragarh in Bagalkot district.

Ilikal has been a major sari-weaving centre in pure cotton, cotton with silk in borders and end-pieces or all silk and now even art silk to cut costs. Ilikal in its finest counts combines silk in the borders and end-pieces (2/39 or 2/42; pg 54) with cotton bodies, and a noticeable refinement of colour combinations and fabric structure. The drape of the sari is transformed in fine count when the border weight is enhanced with silk.

Striped/checked/patterned: In saris such as 2/43 of Rukmapet in Gulbarga district (pg 54), we see a further elaboration of the *shahpuri* multi-band end-piece with extra weft, heald-lifted patterning in two or more colours. We also see the influence of Urvakonda (in Andhra Pradesh) on the dark indigo ground with turmeric yellow multiple stripes and checks (2/34) with *ganga jamuna* (double-colour borders) in red and turmeric yellow.

The *molakalmuru* cotton saris akin to 2/86 in silk (pg 42) are a case apart, binding the single yarn-resist *chukki* (dash-like pattern) in the body within a woven check in white, with or without extra warp/weft patterns in the end-piece and borders.

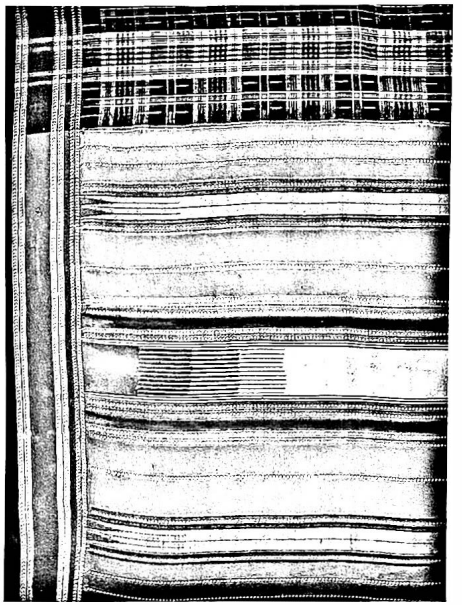
Kuttalam - Multicoloured checks: Another range of medium and fine counts appears in the vicinity of Udupi district, reflecting the influence of Tamil Nadu in their narrow-patterned elements placed on a broad border at



Left: **(2/38)**Lakundi panchhe with a silk border; *Right*: Bond sari.

Left to Right: Elderly weaver wearing a dhotra; ILIKAL SILKS: **(2/73)** Ilikal gumi dhadi anchu tanne seere/*Arrowhead border attached end-piece ilikal sari;* **(2/75)** Paras anchu kaddi seere/*Mat pattern border, double colour check sari.*

the body and selvedge ends with a plain coloured space between them (2/35). The stripes and checks continue with an advance in complexity, but in this case they do not enter the borders, returning the coloured check yarn at border's edge. Thus, the weaving proceeds with two or more shuttles, depending on the number of weft colours in the check. The narrow extra warp elements are akin to the Tamil Nadu range of floral bands, anklet patterns, chain bands and vines. The delineation of end-pieces also changes from the broad-band *shahpuri* dominated north, to a finer weft band formation. This dobby-patterned range is increasingly popular and spreading northwards. At times, it finds a variant in the *bond* sari, a 1960s development, in which a broader band of the extra warp patterning moves to the selvedge end or forms the centre of the border, dominating it rather than providing a fine edging.



MEDIUM COUNT COTTON: Kuttalam chukki seere/*Multicolour check, weft yarn-resist sari.*

COTTON FINE COUNT UP TO 100s/SILK

Lakundi/Dhotra – Three-shuttle silk borders: The culmination both in technique and aesthetic of the medium and fine count sari range are the saris and blouse fabrics that have been developed from the three-shuttle men's dhotis woven in and around Lakundi in Gadag district, referred to as *dhotras* when combined with silk borders in the Belgaum area. They are, in their simplicity, the most sophisticated saris of the region, though there are similar saris/*dhotras* woven in Umred in Nagpur district, in neighbouring Maharashtra. The three-shuttle *kora* or turmeric yellow body is offset by pure *kirmanji* (vermillion) borders with *gumi* (arrowhead) or *rudraksh* (seed flower motif), in unbleached white. The three-shuttle interlocking of body and border is either covered over with a warp stripe that further highlights the borders, or it is left as a clean, jagged edged joint that reveals the dexterity of the weaver. Often in finer counts of 80s and above, the borders are woven in silk, sometimes with a gold metallic yarn, in the *muthda* or dash-like broken stripe on either side of the motif.

Plain/striped/checked: These are similar in layout as those described in medium counts.

Weft yarn-resist: There is a body yarn-resist range in the northern region, of Belgaum and Gulbarga, consisting of *chukki* (yarn-resist patterning) held within a broad body check. The border and end-piece patterns follow the layout of the coarse count, except for the art silk that has replaced pure silk in the end-piece weft bands, a three-shuttle serrated-edge treatment is seen.

KHANN – BLOUSE FABRICS COTTON/SILK

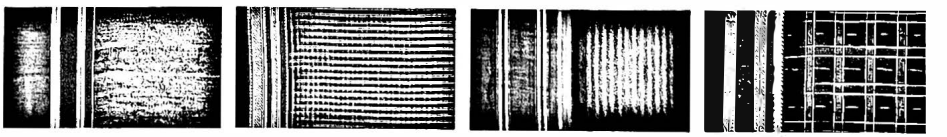
These are woven in 8 yard (7.38 metre) lengths and echo the basic format of the coarse, medium and fine count cottons consisting of:

Plain: A plain body and patterned border as in 2/52.

Striped and checked: *Rasta kaddi* (plain coloured stripe) and *lavang kaddi* (clove check; 2/58) body, range from 40s to 80s count in the body, edged with a mercerised cotton or art silk border previously woven in pure silk.

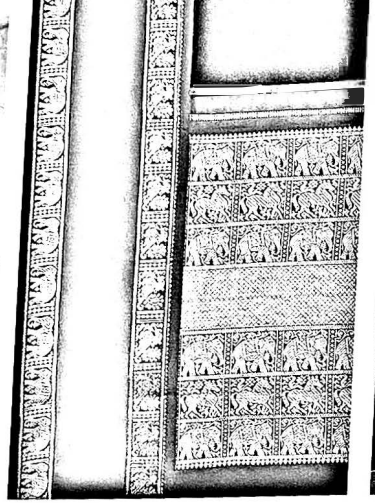
Extra warp in body: A *varsal jamial* (diagonal twill stripe; 2/60) range in two or more colour tones or a dash-like body pattern referred to as *manmohan varsal*, with the *gumi* (arrowhead borders) in multiple formations and other body patterns (pg 55).

Weft yarn-resist: A yarn-resist body range, *chukki khann*, echoes the sari range of north Karnataka (2/68).

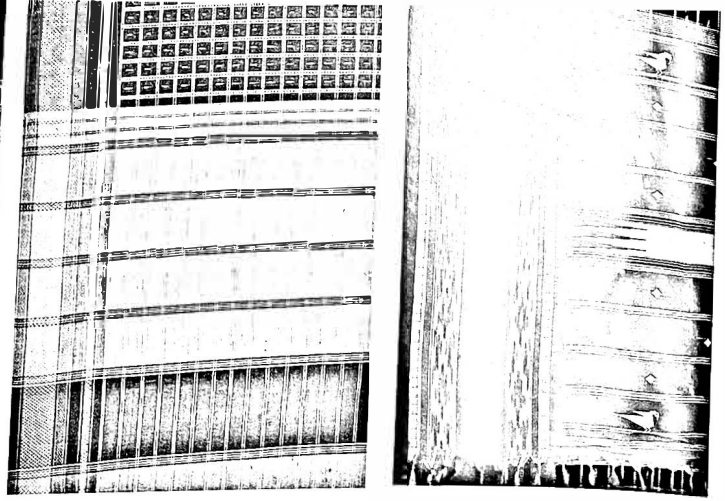


Left to Right: **(2/52)** Adoni khann/*Plain body patterned border blouse fabric;* **(2/58)** Lavang kaddi khann/*Clove check blouse fabric;* **(2/60)** Varsal Manmohan Jamial khann/*Twill warp patterned stripe blouse fabric;* **(2/68)** Chukki kaddi khann/*Weft yarn-resist pattern within check blouse fabric.*

Creature with elephant trunk flanking temple steps.



BANGALORE/MANGALORE SILKS: Pettu pattad kudre ane serugu seere/*Horse, elephant end-piece/border sari*



BANGALORE/MANGALORE SILKS: (2/86) Molakalmuru chukki seere/ yarn-resist pattern within check body sari; (2/85) Molakalmuru malimugu ginni serugu motichur chukki seere/*Broken check body, yarn-resist border, patterned endpiece sari.*

SILK

Ilikal silks: The silk sari range largely emerges from its cottons, especially the pure silk ilikal sari (2/73 and 2/75; pg 41) that acquires a refinement in the attached warp end-piece. The sari body is often enhanced with the finest *kasuti* (2/78; pg 37) in Ilikal and even as far away as Hubli and Dharwad.

Karnataka's most successful mulberry and silk rearing venture was first encouraged by the eighteenth century ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan and later promoted by the British. By the mid-nineteenth century, the British had established mulberry silk rearing as a large-scale, non-agricultural yet viable, activity both for the planters as well as those associated with its reeling, plying, dyeing and weaving. Although mulberry silk was available from Bengal and Kashmir, and also imported from China, it was its increasing availability from Karnataka that propelled the growth of silk weaving, not only in the state, but also in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

Bangalore/Mysore/Mangalore silks: In the late nineteenth century, we find a new kind of exploration of motif beyond the *avul/rudraksh* (cotton seed flower); the *chakra* (wheel); and the other heald-lifted and later, dobby-lifted patterns. The *latha* (creeper) and the auspicious symbols of the *mamidi* (mango paisley) as *konia* (corner motif); *hamsa* (swan); *gajendermoksh* (crocodile), with *pattad hasu* (cow); *pattad ane* (elephant with upturned trunk) and *pattad kudre* (horse); and the *gandaberunda* or double-headed eagle (2/91; pg 59), the royal insignia of Mysore, were all expressions of the desire to incorporate the imagery of temple sculpture into saris. This was made possible by the advent of the *belu* (pattern harness). The range of Mysore and Bangalore silks influenced the other major centres in south Karnataka to establish their distinct identity. The *chikanchu* (narrow border) and *doddanchu* (broad border; 2/89) silks of Bangalore and Mysore provide a strong base, with or without end-piece patterning, from which we see the chiffons develop in the 1930s in Mysore.

Molakalmuru silks (2/86) are distinguished not only by the *chukki* (yarn-resist) in the body check, but at times by the warp tie-dye of the borders too (2/85). Its most sober refinement is seen in a similar body layout with fine honeycomb patterned borders, referred to as *goddanchu*.

The *simhasana seere* (2/92) was developed for the second Visvakarma exhibition in 1985, on the basis of an old heirloom textile owned by Chimi Nanjappa of Bangalore. We learnt from her daughter;who is carrying forward the *Vimor* sari developing legacy, that it probably came from Cambodia as a trade textile to be produced in Karnataka. The sari is outstanding in weight. Its all over body, borders and end-piece ground pattern, gives it texture and drape in the most subtle of colour combinations.

The organza, *tarban* (tissue; 2/87) and chiffon range of Mysore, a post-1930s development, was probably fuelled by the growing demand for imported fabrics. These began by emulating the finest of Mysore and Bangalore silks and transformed them, in accordance with the demand for lighter, translucent silks.

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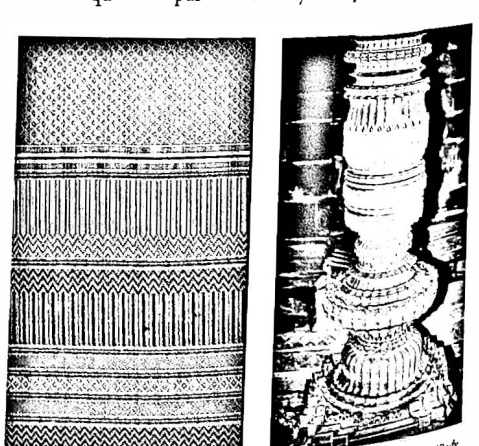
ನೇಕಾರ ಎಷ್ಟೇ ನೇಯ್ದರೂ, ನೇಕಾರನ
ಹೆಂಡತಿ ಯಾವತ್ತೂ ಚಿತ್ತಲೆಯೇ

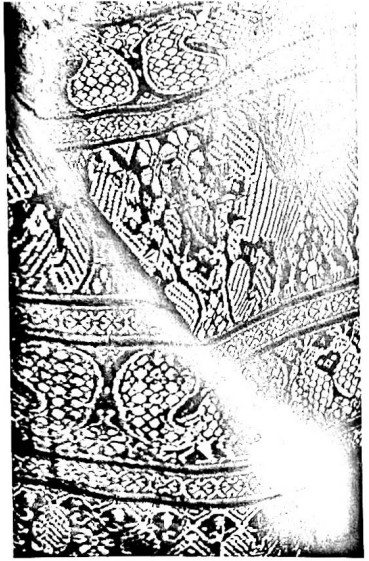
Whatever the weaver weaves, the weaver's wife will be naked.

– Kannada proverb

From 1638, when Forster Williams recorded 50,000 weavers in Hubli alone, the circumstances have changed markedly due to a constant exodus of young people from the profession since the 1920s. Today, the cost of raw material rises everyday along with the cost of living while wages stagnate at abysmal levels. A weaver in Chinchansur village in Gulbarga district told us, 'Today politicians ask, "who are weavers?" We have become the poorest and most inconsequential part of society.' They look upon the

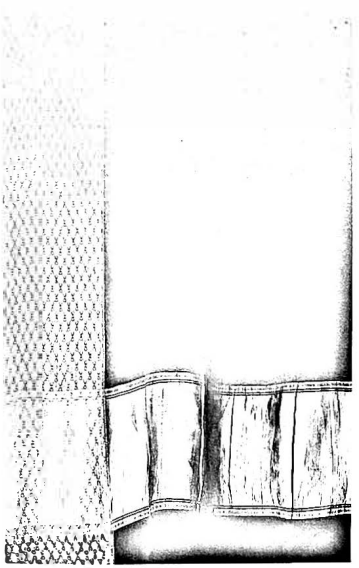


Left: BANGALORE/MYSORE/MANGALORE SILK (2/92) Simhasana seere/*Body border patterned sari; Right: Detail of temple pillar.*

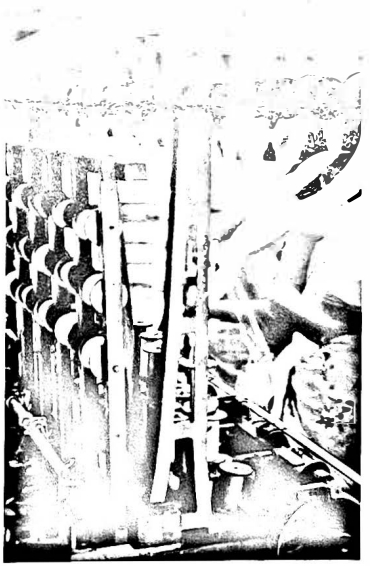


BANGALORE/MYSORE/MANGALORE SILK: *Mysore silk border patterned end-piece sari.*

(2/87) Tarban kaddi seere/*Gold tissue check sari.*



(2/89) Doddanchu selari chiffon seere/*Wide floral border chiffon sari.*



Machine reeling of silk.

Nizam's rule as well as the British period as the golden days of their profession, largely because of the greater purchase value of money and the patronage they received. Now, only those who have nowhere else to go or fear losing the only livelihood they know, continue to weave. They have had to face stiff competition not only from other production areas in the country, but also from cheaper power loom products. The production of power loom saris has gradually increased within Karnataka, as well as in Maharashtra and Gujarat, despite the fact that traditionally saris were to be woven only on handlooms. However, there is no agency, government or private, to implement regulations.

In several villages, elder weavers were afraid to share information on patterns that were once woven, as the younger weavers who had already opted for power looms would feel threatened and betrayed by them. The internal equations between handloom weavers, who were once competing with each other to move ahead skill-wise, are now being pushed aside by the dictates of mechanized production. 'It is difficult to go back,' is a constant refrain. One weaver said, 'The days of brush sizing, getting up before sunrise, and having everyone in the household helping with winding, warping, reeling are gone.' The few handloom weavers that remain now weave low-skill plain fabrics that are easier to churn out. The common understanding is that it's only a question of time before they also collapse, because the very strength of the handloom product was its ingenuity and skill in patterning. In Bobleshwar, Bijapur district, weavers were vociferous in their demand for subsidized yarn; 'Give us raw materials, not comforts, as they will eat us up. With raw materials we can fill our stomach.' These weavers are artistically inclined and talented; active in traditional Yakshagana theatre; which itself has seen a decline with the growing popularity of films.

From the coarse, heavy cottons to medium and fine counts with or without silk in combination, there has been a gradual shift towards finer counts and increasingly towards silk, pure or artificial. As in other parts of India, there is a growing dislike for the weighty, coarse saris and a preference for finer counts and silks, and from plain to the more heavily patterned, brighter colours and smoother finishes.

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The high road to technological development has taken Karnataka away from its handloom base, though capability, in terms of skill, is still visible in the commissioned weaves it produces. Its ability to combine materials, specifically cotton and silk, with colour and texture in a design sensibility that enhances both form and function, is particularly significant. Such a balance between skill and sensibility is arrived over hundreds of years of experiential insight and cannot be overlooked for any future textile developments in the region.

Since the early 1990s, with growing liberalization, technological advancement in the textile mill sector has caused further offloading of its obsolete machinery into what is referred to as the 'power loom' sector. Handlooms are being further pushed into oblivion despite being important reference points for technical and design innovations. Higher-end mills have not yet realized their value as important reference points. They need to maintain their contact with the tactile skills that have created and nurtured design directories, which in turn, have grown with exposure and demand. Karnataka could well provide the lead in the enhanced cultivation of its mulberry silk, as well as research support to other indigenous silk varieties including tussar and eri which need improvement in filament strength.

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ಬಿಡಿಸಿದರೆ ಜಗದಗಲ

Black...white...yellow is the sari
Flies afar when I inhale
Soaks up the tears
Fits under the fingernails and into a matchbox
A cover for the world wide.

- Tulu Paddana (folk narrative)

STYLE 1: HALAKI VOKKALIGA/Tribal agriculturist
LENGTH: 6 yd/ 5.5 m
WORN BY: Tribal agriculturist community
AREA: Central Karnataka

1. Take outer end-piece under left arm to right shoulder and knot with front upper border of sari.
2. Take inner end-piece around waist clockwise under front draped portion.
3. Continue wrapping from right to left.
4. Make pleats of loose end portion in front and take inner end-piece around gathered pleats.
5. Make knot around pleats, leaving three to four pleats free on right side. Tuck knotted pleats inwards into centre front waist.
6. Take freed pleats to back waist, spread out and tuck in.
7. Outer end-piece may be left at back or brought in front with right hand.

STYLE 2: GOBBE SEERE/Gowda agriculturist
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m
WORN BY: Gowda landholders
AREA: South and Central Karnataka

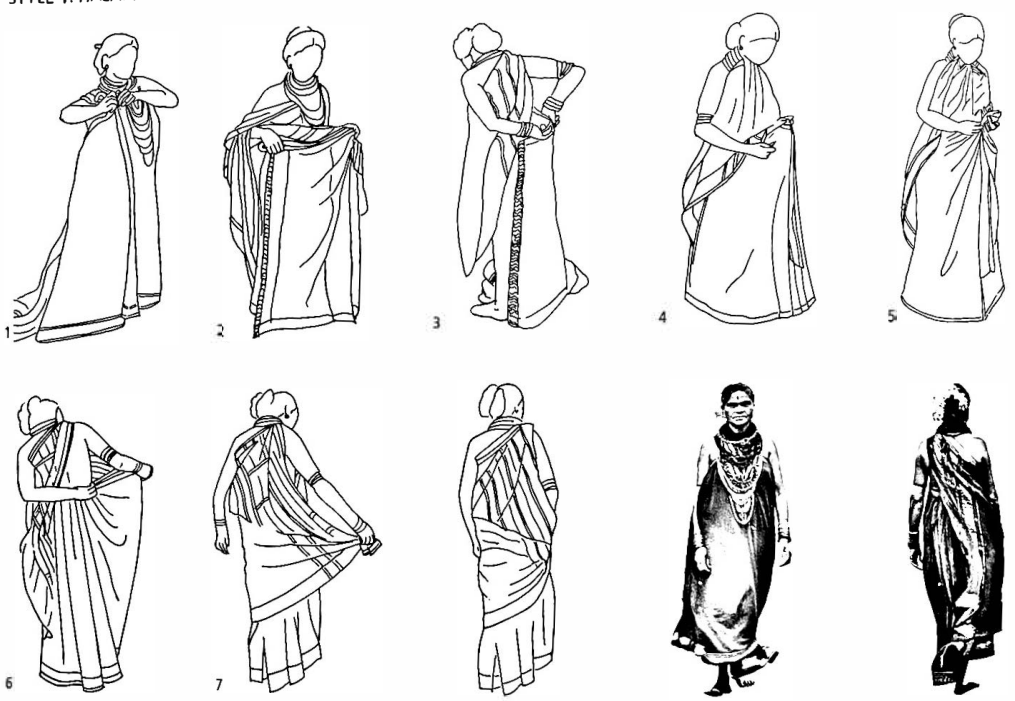
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Make five to six pleats of free end-piece in front.
3. Tuck gathered pleats at centre front waist.
4. Take loose end around waist anticlockwise.
5. Gather free portion and take around waist anticlockwise, forming a waistband.

6-7. Take loose end of sari through centre back under waistband.

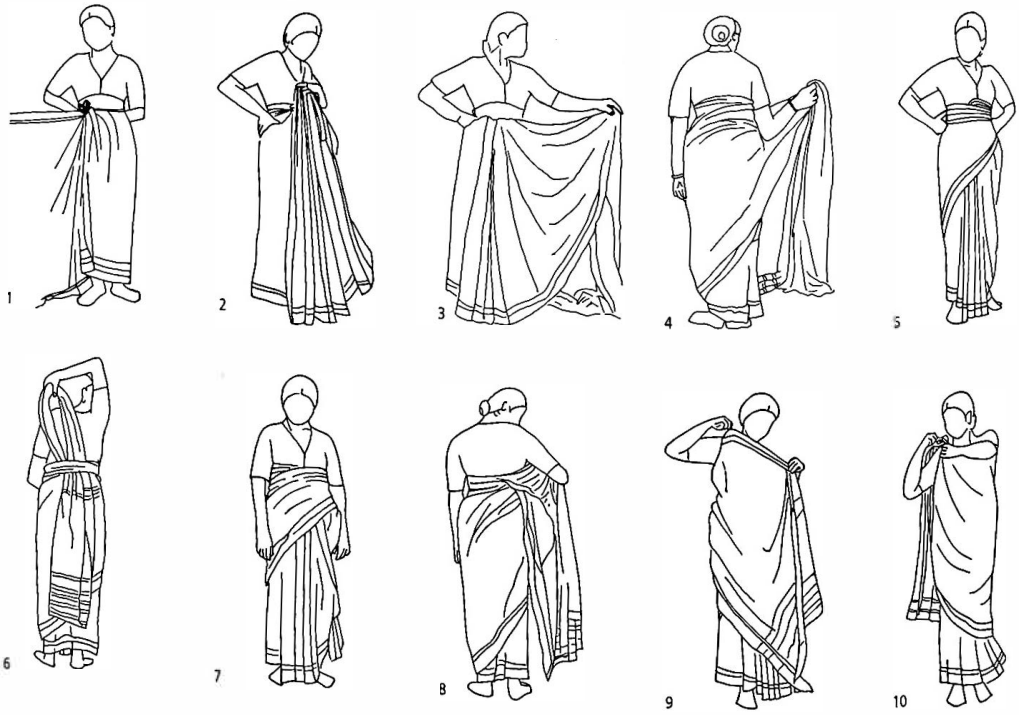
8. Hold outer end-piece with right hand at right waist.
9. Bring free end to right front waist and hold upper border at right shoulder.
10. Take outer end-piece to back over right shoulder anticlockwise, and tie knot with upper border of front drape.

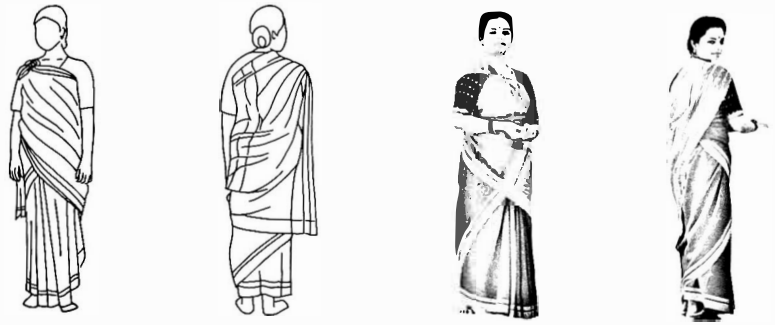
WEARING STYLES – KARNATAKA

STYLE 1: HALAKI VOKKALIGA/Tribal agriculturist

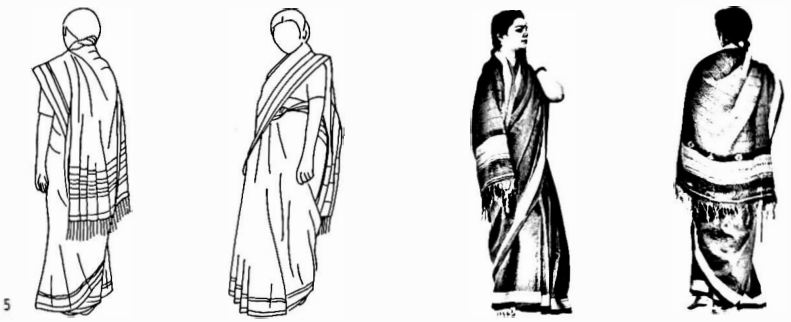


STYLE 2: GOBBE SEERE/Gowda agriculturist

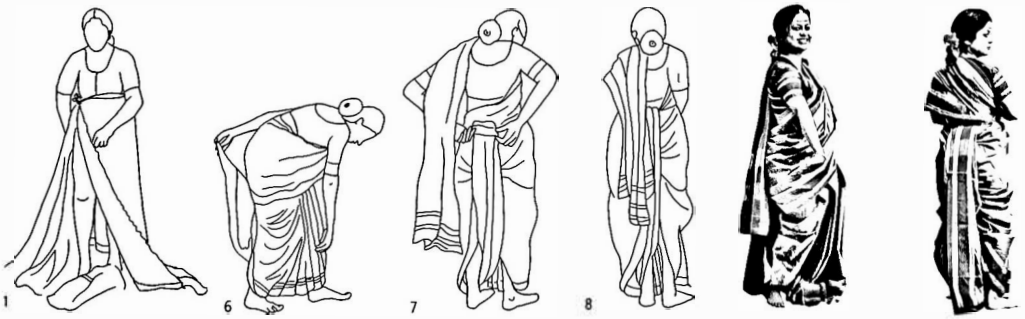




STYLE 3: MYSORE SHAILI/Mysore style



STYLE 4: KARNATAKA KACHHE/Karnataka between-the-legs style



STYLE 3: MYSORE SHAILI/Mysore style
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m
WORN BY: Mysore upper-class
AREA: South and Central Karnataka

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Make five to six pleats with free end-piece.
3. Roll pleats outwards and bind with innermost tied layer to make kela-/banana-like form at centre waist.
4. Bring outer end-piece from right to front and throw over left shoulder.
5. Outer end-piece may be left at back or brought forward over right shoulder.

STYLE 4: KARNATAKA KACHHE/Karnataka between-the-legs style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Upper-class
AREA: North and Central Karnataka

Stages 2-5 are common with Style 3

1. Bring inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist leaving two cubits of inner end-piece on floor.
6. Take the two cubits of inner end-piece left in front at stage 1, between legs front to back.
7. Make pleats widthwise border to border, so that both borders are shown at back.
8. Tuck in gathered pleats at centre back waist.

STYLE 5: IYYENGARI KACHHE/Between-the-legs style of Iyengars
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m
WORN BY: Tamil Iyengars settled in Karnataka
AREA: South Karnataka

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Lift sari from centre back and tuck into left back waist.
3. Make three to four pleats and tuck in over right knotted end.
4. Bring free end of sari anticlockwise around back to front and gather it with right hand.
5. Tuck in gathered portion at left waist.
6. Take free end of sari between legs front to back.

7-8. Hold down lower border with right toe and bring sari anticlockwise around waist.

9. Take outer end-piece of sari across left shoulder to floor length and stretch lower border of sari with left toe.
10. Bring outer end-piece across waist to tuck in at left back.

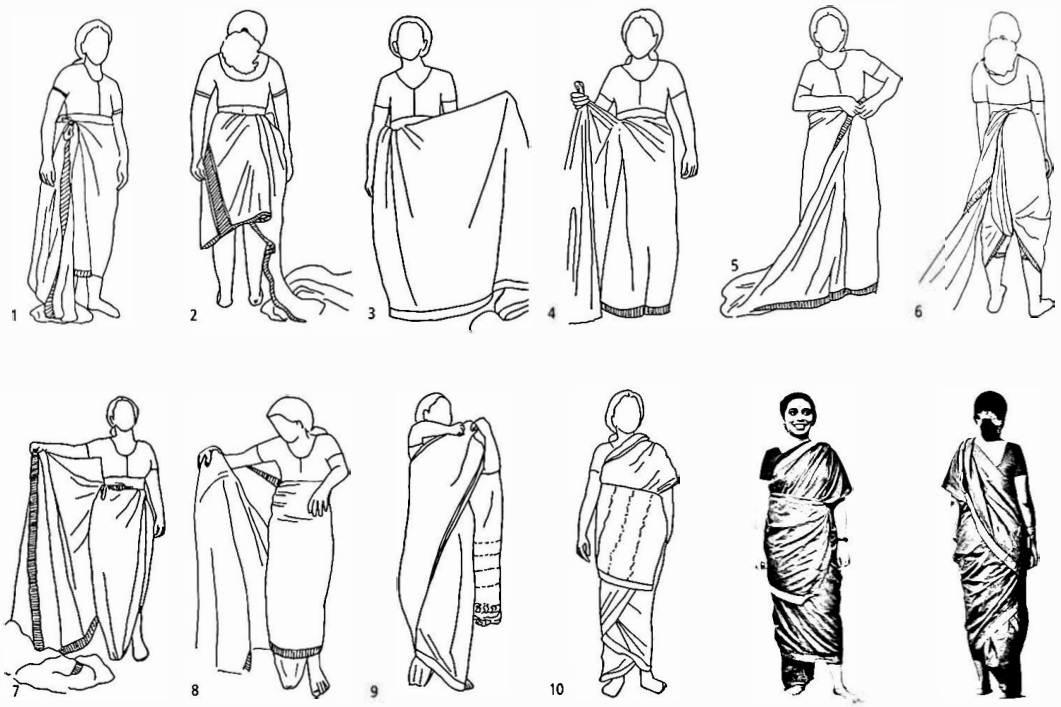
STYLE 6: MADHAVA KACHHE/Between-the-legs style of Madhavas
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Upper class Brahmin women
AREA: Central and South Karnataka

1. Take inner end of sari around waist clockwise.
2. Tie knot at right waist, take outer endpiece around waist anticlockwise and throw over left shoulder till floor length.
3. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari in front. Roll them outwards and bind over with innermost tied layer of sari to form banana-like form at centre waist.
4. Pick lower centre back border and bring to front between legs.

5-6. Pull it up and tuck it into centre front waist under banana-like form.

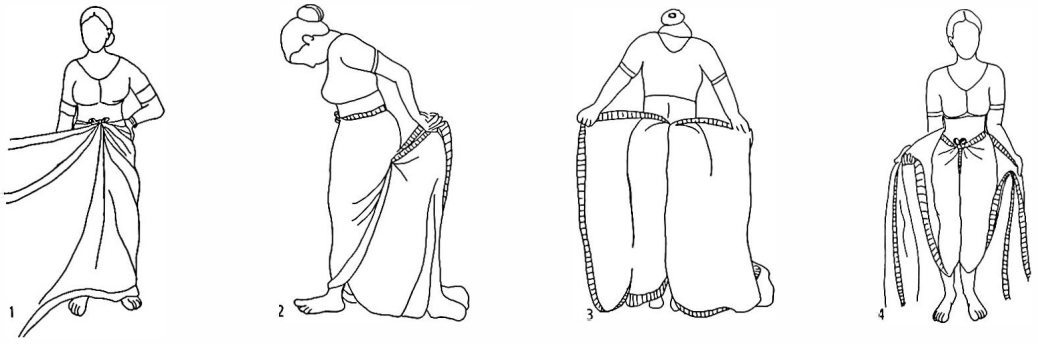
7. Lift centre front pleats between legs front to back, and fold into two pleats to show borders parallel.
8. Tuck into centre back adjusting sari length with heel.
9. Outer end-piece may be left flowing at the back or brought across right shoulder to drape back entirely.

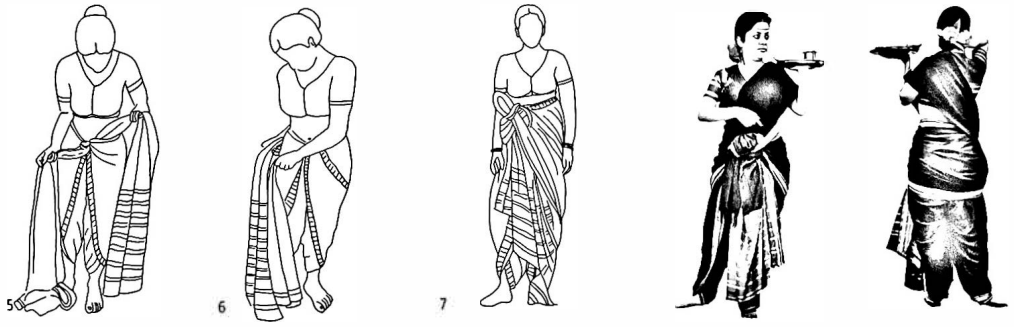
STYLE 5: IYYENGARI KACHHE/Between-the-legs style of Iyengars



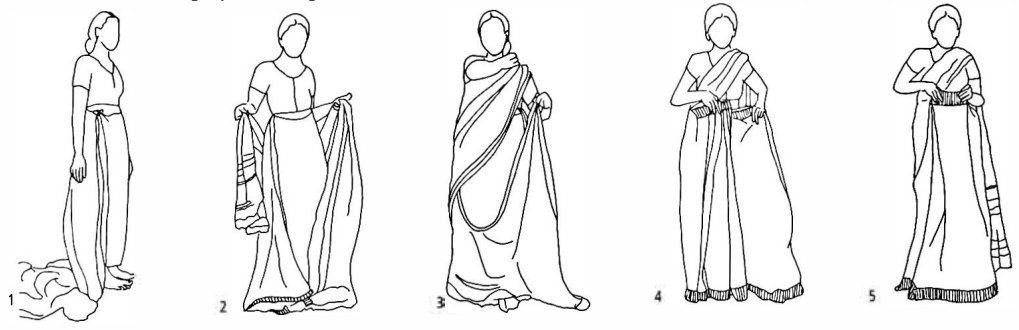
STYLE 6: MADHAVA KACHHE/Between-the-legs style of Madhavas

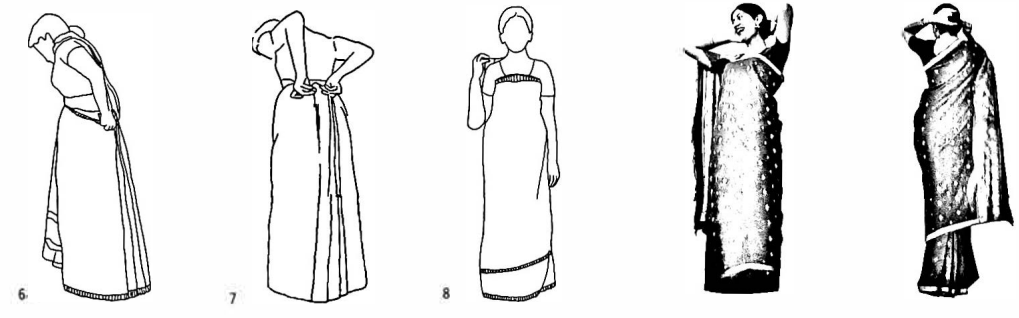
STYLE 7: BHOOTHEYARA/Nomadic performer's style





STYLE 8: COORG/Wearing style of Coorg





STYLE 7: BHOOTHEYARA/Nomadic performer's style

LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m
WORN BY: Nomadic ceremonial performers
AREA: Bidar and Gulbarga districts

1. Divide sari into half and take around waist. Knot tightly at centre front waist.
2. Take both loose ends between legs front to back, and tuck in at centre back at least 10-12 inches.
3. Bring both loose ends back to front.
4. Hold both ends with either hand.
5. Knot them together at centre front waist.
6. Bring left loose end around waist anticlockwise.
7. Tie knot at right waist with both ends. Separate drape may be taken over left shoulder and tucked in at right waist.

STYLE 8: COORG/Wearing style of Coorg

LENGTH: 7 yd /6.44 m
WORN BY: Landowners of Coorg
AREA: Southwest Karnataka

1. Wrap inner end-peice around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Bring outer end-peice around waist anticlockwise.
3. Throw over left shoulder.

4-5. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari.

6-7. Bring pleats to back anticlockwise and tuck in at centre back waist.

8. Bring outer end-piece around chest over right shoulder. Secure outer end-piece with brooch where it meets upper border of front drape.

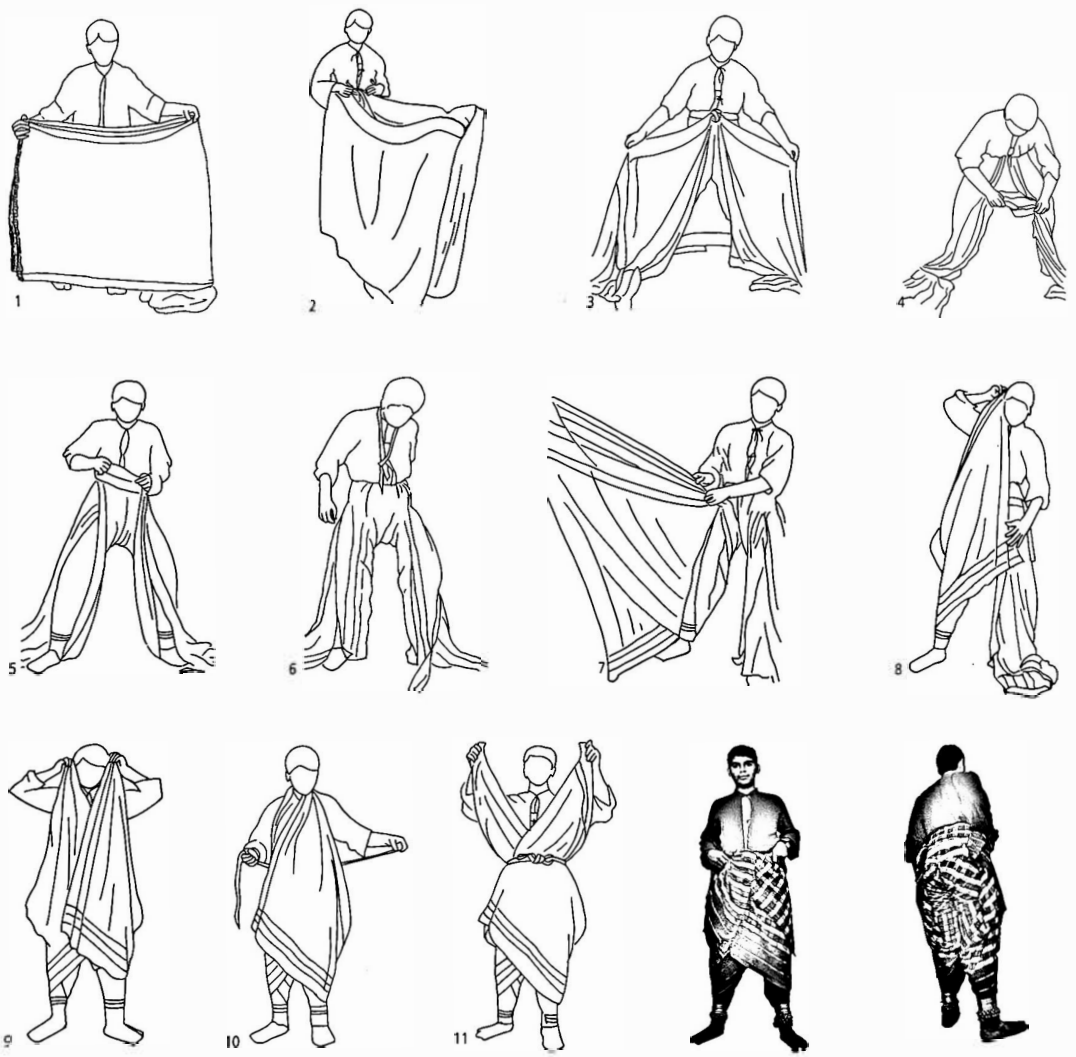
STYLE 9: YAKSHAGANA MALI KASE/Male characters of *Yakshagana* theatre style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Male characters of *Yakshagana* theatre
AREA: South coastal Karnataka

1. Fold sari into half.
2. Wrap around waist from middle and knot inner layer of sari at centre waist. Similarly, knot outer layer of sari over it.
3. Take both front drapes on either side.
4. Lift centre back layers to front between legs.
5. Pull up to front waist.
6. Tuck in at right and left centre.
7. Hold right portion of sari.
8. Take it to right shoulder.
9. Similarly, take left portion of sari to left shoulder overlapping right drape and tie them around neck (can be worn thus by women).
10. Secure at waist with drawstring.
11. Untie two ends from back of neck. Leave loose portion on either sides.

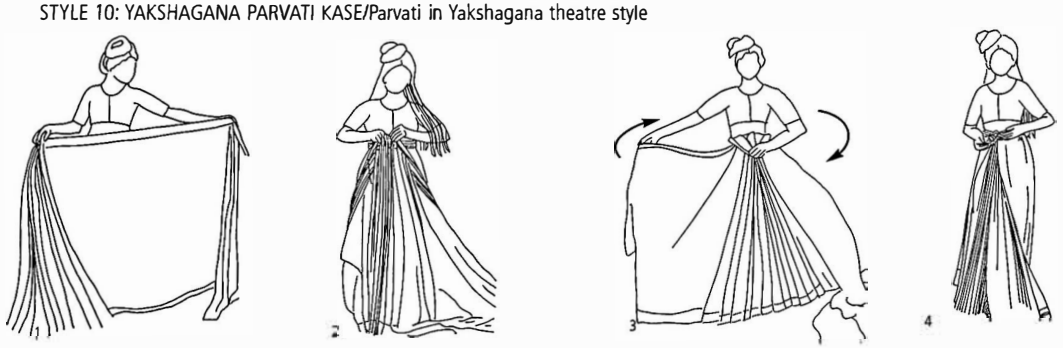
STYLE 10: YAKSHAGANA PARVATI KASE/Parvati in *Yakshagana* theatre style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Female characters of *Yakshagana* theatre
AREA: South coastal Karnataka

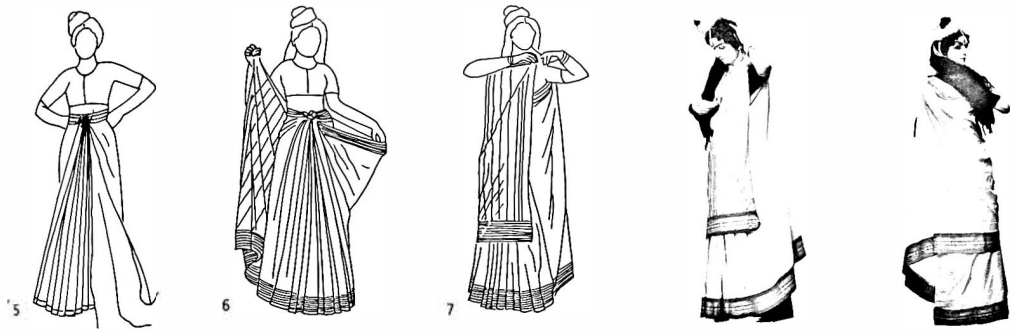
1. Take inner end of sari and make up to twenty to twenty five pleats.
2. Hold pleats under right foot and make parallel pleats of other end of border.
3. Leave last five pleats free and bring around waist clockwise.
4-5. Tie knot with inner end-piece and uppermost pleat over gathered pleats at centre waist.
6. Bring outer end-piece from left side to front under right arm.
7. Bring over left shoulder and tie knot with upper border of back drape.

STYLE 9: YAKSHAGANA MALI KASE/Male characters of Yakshagana theatre style

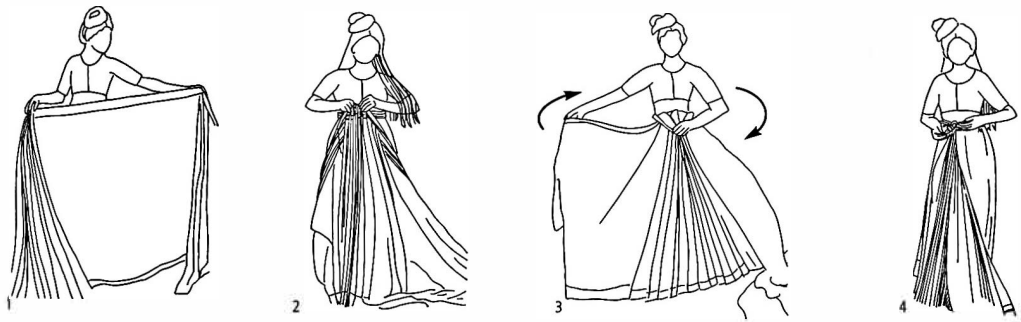


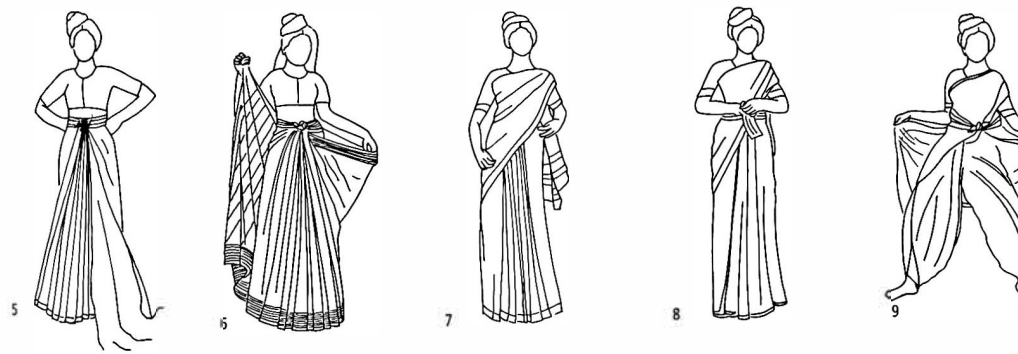
STYLE 10: YAKSHAGANA PARVATI KASE/Parvati in Yakshagana theatre style





STYLE 11:YAKSHAGANA KASE/Yakshagana theatre style





STYLE 11: YAKSHAGANA KASE/*Yakshagana* theatre style

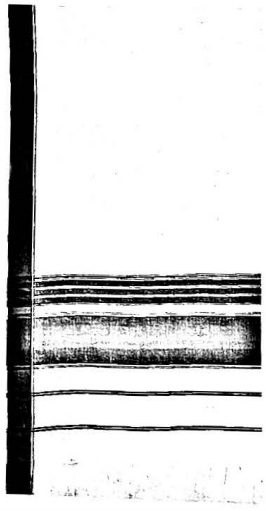
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Male characters of *Yakshagana* theatre
AREA: South coastal Karnataka

1. Take inner end of sari and make up to twenty to twenty five pleats.
2. Hold pleats under right foot and make parallel pleats of other end of border.
3. Leave last five pleats free and bring around waist clockwise.

4-5. Tie knot with inner end-piece and uppermost pleat over gathered pleats at centre waist.

6. Bring outer end-piece from left side to front under right arm.
7. Throw free end of sari over left shoulder.
8. Bring both border ends of outer end-piece to centre front and tie knot.
9. Divide front pleats into two halves and take centre between legs to back holding both borders apart on either side.
10. Draw in both ends of border to front and knot at centre waist.
11. For securing ankle bells a drawstring is tied over borders above ankles and below knee.

● 1.1: Plain/Shot/Patterned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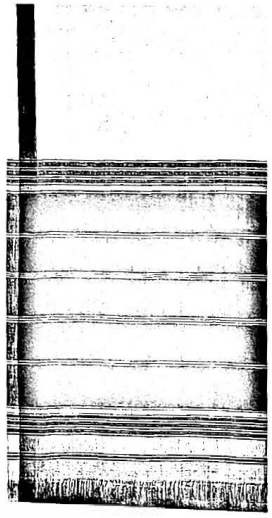
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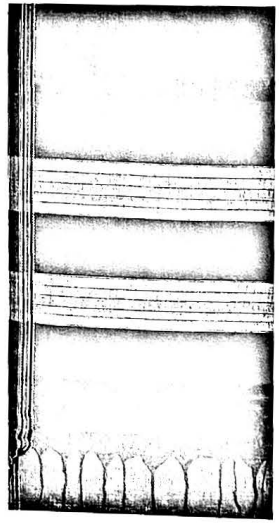
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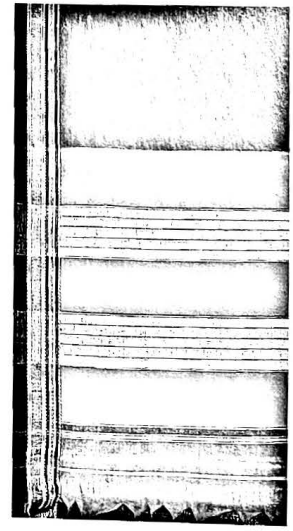
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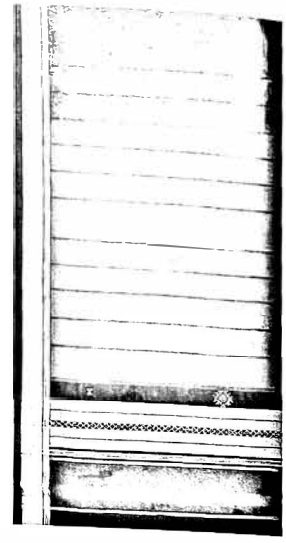
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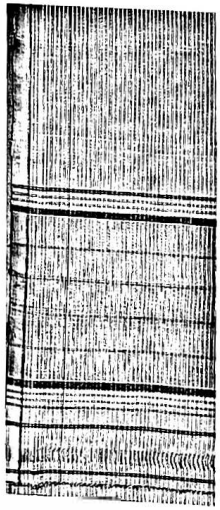
✟ 1.2: Striped/Checked/Patterned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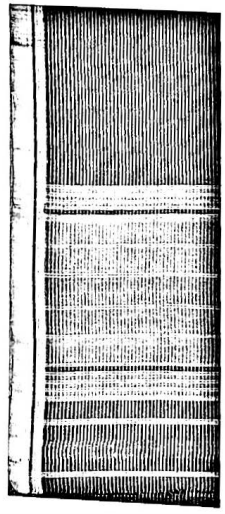
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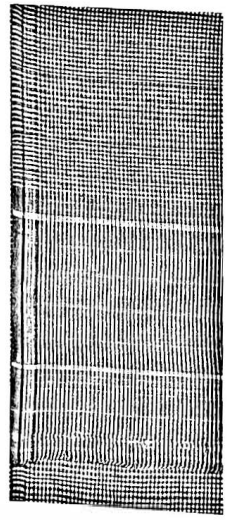
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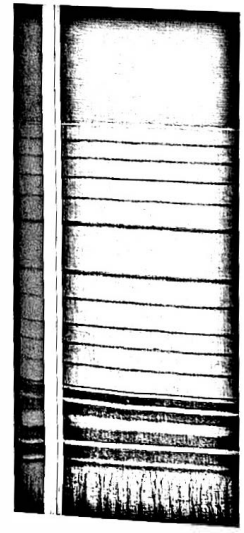
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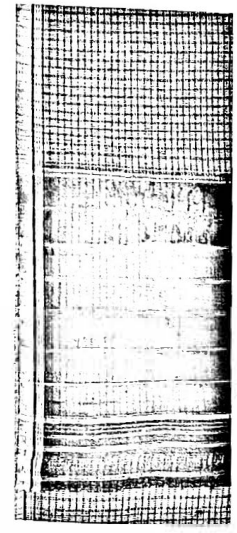
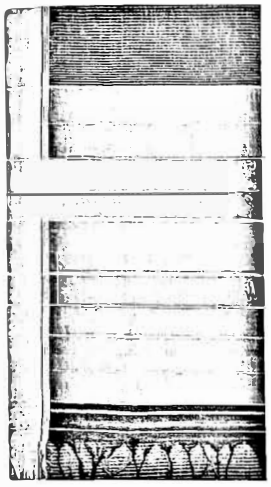

2/11

2/1: Name: *Gawlia sada patta seere*/Cowherd plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.65 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 680 gm; Origin: Kunigoli, Udupi district
2/2: Name: *Sada patta seere*/Plain body/border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Rajeshvar, Bidar district
2/3; 2/4: Name: *Sada paras seere*/Plain mat pattern border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.84 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 715 gm; Origin: Mudhol, Gulbarga district
2/5: Name: *Kaladagi sada pattedanchu seere*/Red selvedge, 3 band border sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 6.60 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 820 gm; Origin: Kaladagi, Bagalkot district
2/6: Name: *Haldi anehu selari seere*/6 x 2 stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.72 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 630 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district
2/7: Name: *Kempu selari seere*/Black and red striped sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.44 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 580 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district
2/8: Name: *Gumbalyanti kaddi seere*/6 x 6 check sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.68 m; Width: 1.00 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district
2/9: Name: *Neeli kaddi seere*/Indigo blue check body sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.20 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 725 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district
2/10: Name: *Pattudanda kaddi seere*/2 x 4 check double-band border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.74 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 730 gm, Origin: Hubli, Dharwad district
2/11: Name: *Gajjutagi kaddi seere*/Double check, plain band border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 660 gm; Origin: Kodekal, Gulbarga district



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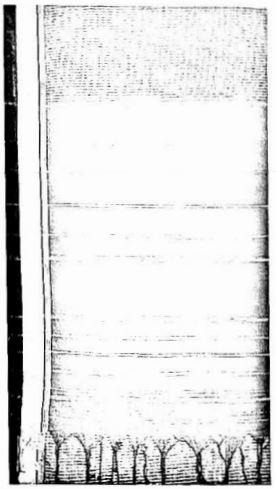

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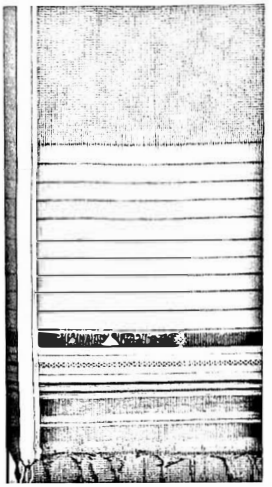

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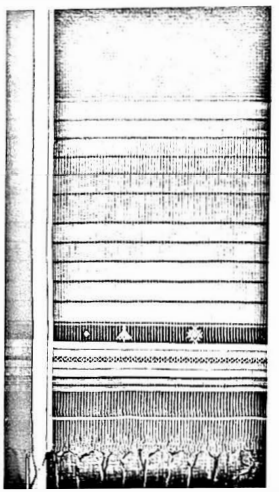

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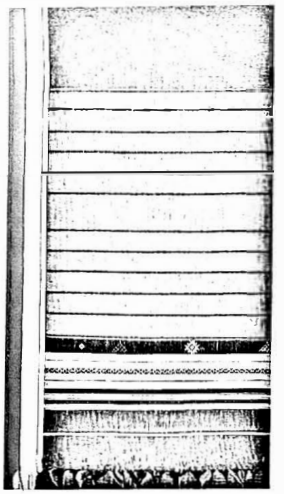
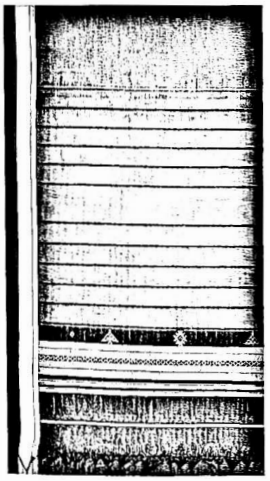


2/16

1.3: Kuttalam - Multicoloured checks



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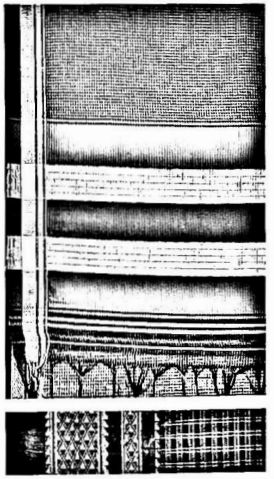

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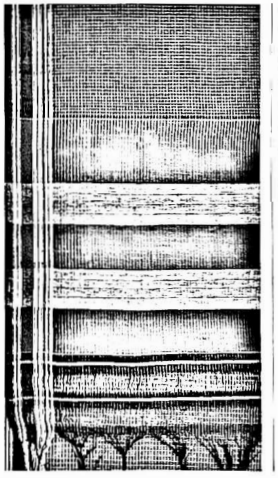

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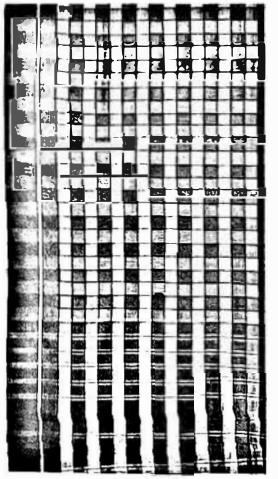

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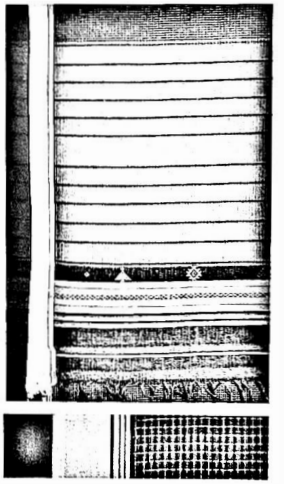


2/21

2/12: Name: *Kaddi seere*/2 x 10 check broad band border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.74 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 680 gm; Origin: Golasangi, Bijapur district

2/13: Name: *Muddebihal pattedanchu kaddi seere*/2 x 8 check broad-band border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.85 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 700 gm; Origin: Muddebihal, Bijapur district

2/14: Name: *Kaladagi pattedanchu kaddi seere*/2 x 6 check, divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 760 gm; Origin: Kaladagi, Bagalkot district

2/15: Name: *Kaladagi pattedanchu kaddi seere*/4 x 8 check, divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.60 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Kaladagi, Bagalkot district

2/16: Name: *Kaladagi pattedanchu mungi kaddi seere*/2 x 4 check, divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.86 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 680 gm; Origin: Kaladagi, Bagalkot district

2/17: Name: *Kaladagi pattedanchu kaddi seere*/2 x 4 check, 3 band border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.66 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Kaladagi, Bagalkot district

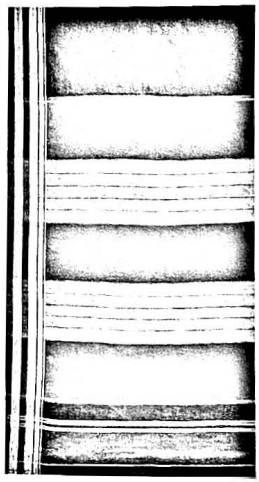
2/18: Name: *Doddachikk paras anchu kaddi seere*/3 x 2 check, mat pattern border sari; Material: Cotton. 40s; Length: 6.88 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 590 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/19: Name: *Gaadidhadi kaddi seere*/2 x 4 check, double arrowhead pattern border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.76 m; Width: 1.03 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/20: Name: *Yakshagana kuttalam kaddi seere*/Multicolour check sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 7.14 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 700 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Bangalore

2/21: Name: *Kaladagi kuttalam dundu seere*/2 x 2 x 6 multicolour check, divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 660 gm; Origin: Kaladagi, Bagalkot district

✽ 2.1: Plain/Shot/Patterned



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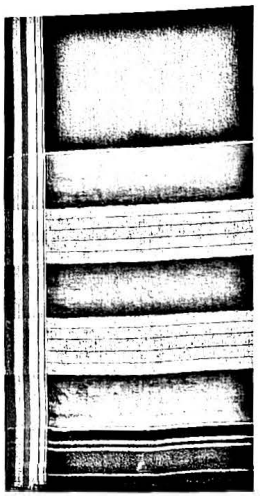

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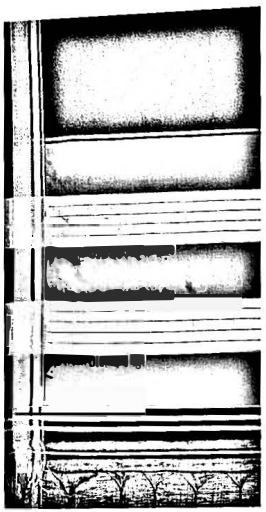

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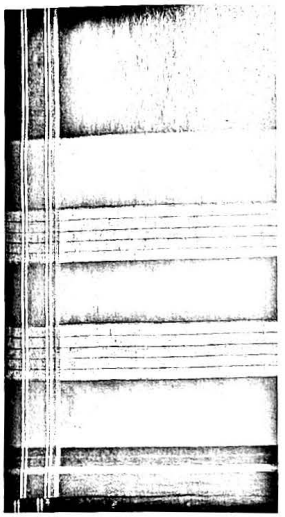

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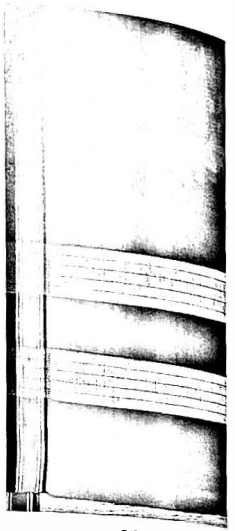

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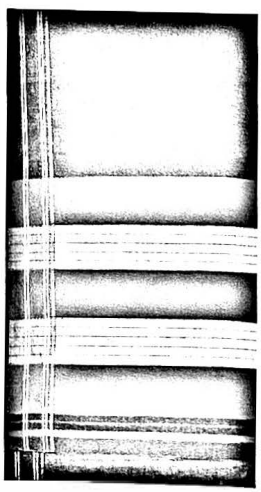
△ 2.2: Striped/Checked/Patterned



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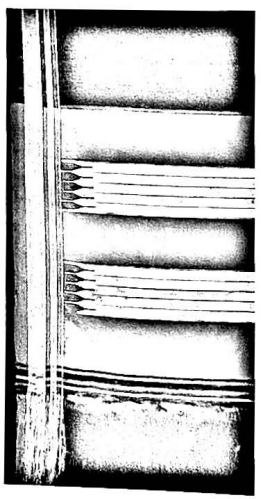

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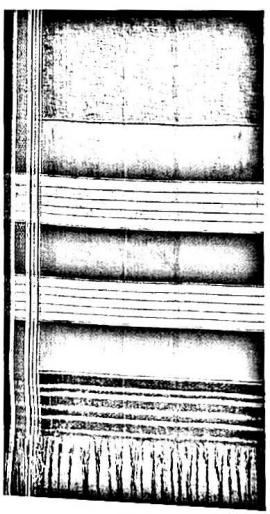

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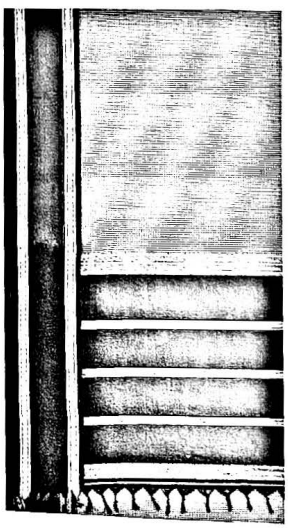

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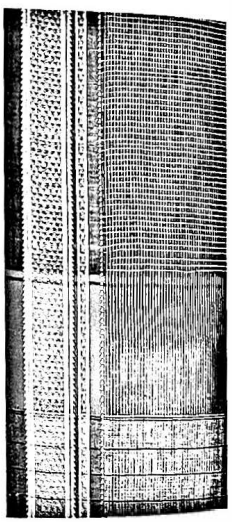


2/31

2/22; 2/23: Name: *Gaadidhadi dhoop chhaon seere*/Double track border, shot body sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.28 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 460 gm; Origin: Gajendragarh, Gadag district

2/24: Name: *Paras anchu sada seere*/Plain body, mat pattern border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.39 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 545 gm; Origin: Golasangi, Bijapur district

2/25: Name: *Gaadidhadi seere*/Double track border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.30 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 475 gm; Origin: Banhatti, Bagalkot district

2/26: Name: *Gaadidhadi seere*/Double track border, plain body sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.32 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 470 gm; Origin: Banhatti, Bagalkot district

2/27: Name: *Dhoop chhaon seere*/Shot body; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.29 m; Width: 1.21 m; Weight: 470 gm; Origin: Banhatti, Bagalkot district

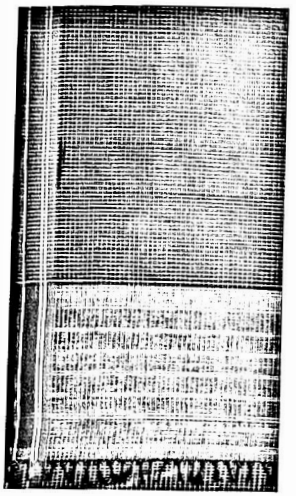
2/28: Name: *Paras anchu sada seere*/Mat pattern border, plain body sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Silk, 88 dn; Length: 7.56 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 560 gm; Origin: Gajendragarh, Gadag district

2/29: Name: *Paras pettu kaskasi kaddi seere*/1 x 1 check body, mat patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.24 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 590 gm; Origin: Gajendragarh, Gadag district

2/30: Name: *Kalpana avu dhadi kaddi seere*/6 x 4 check body, flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.82 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 380 gm; Origin: Kunigal, Udupi district

2/31: Name: *Paras kaddi seere*/2 x 4 check body, mat patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.30 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Gajendragarh, Gadag district

2/32: Name: *Sujatha kaddi dhoop chhaon seere*/8 x 2 shot body check sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.86 m; Width: 1.11 m; Weight: 380 gm; Origin: Mangalore, Dakshin Kannad district



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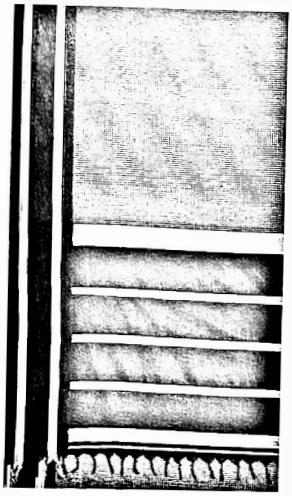

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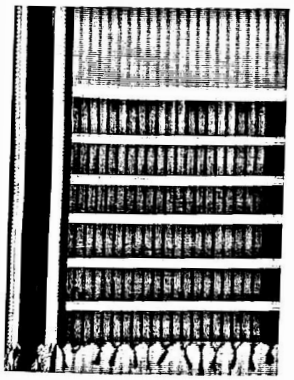
❤ 2.3. Kuttalam - Multicoloured checks



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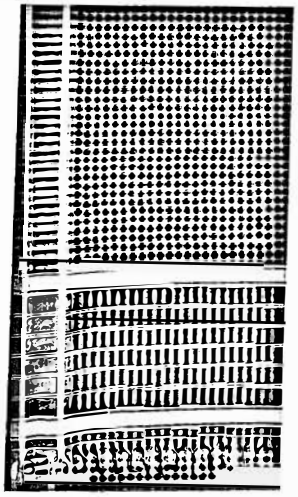
2/35A



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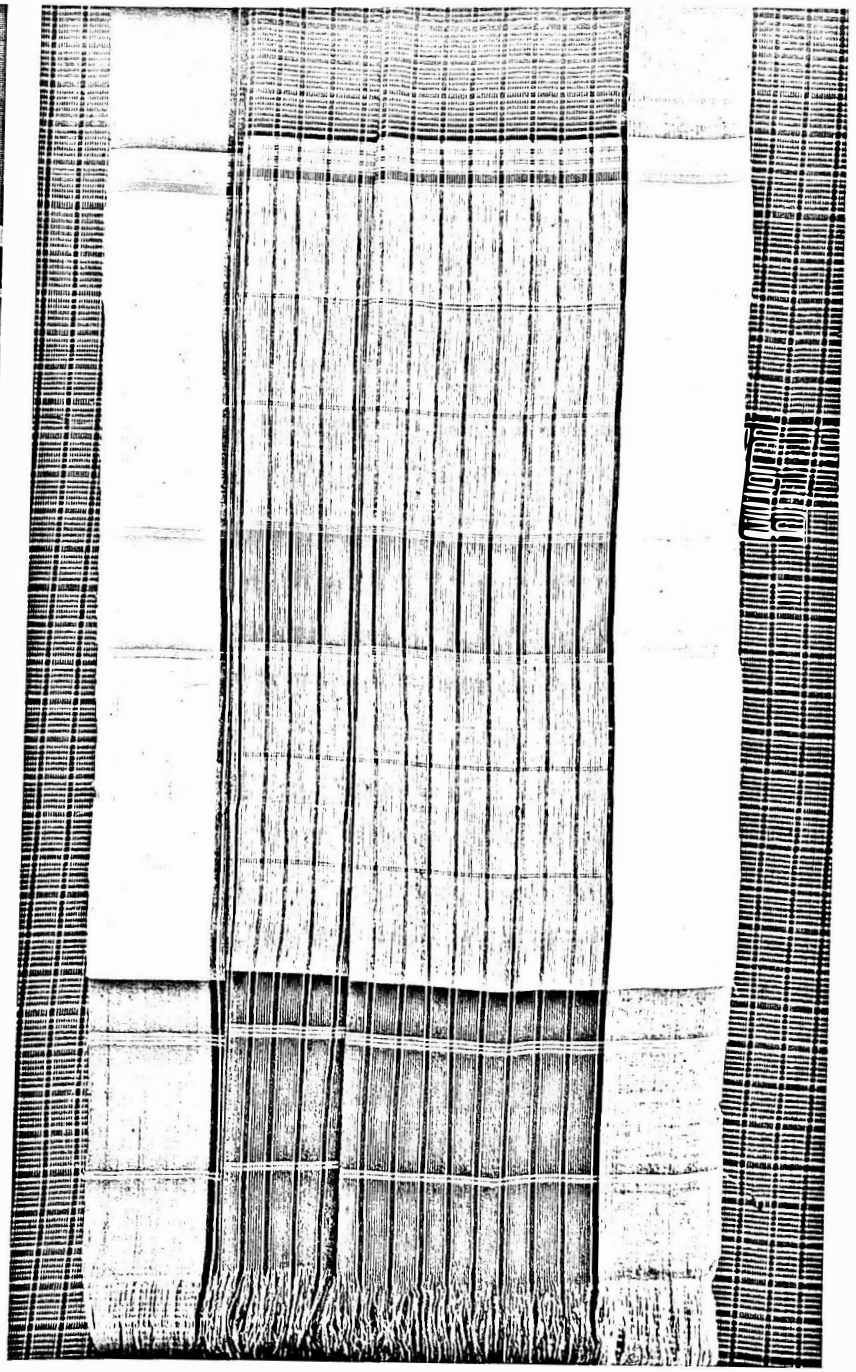

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2/33: Name: *Sudha kaddi seere*/2 x 10 check body, patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s, Silk; Length: 4.86 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 380 gm; Origin: Mangalore, Dakshin Kannad district

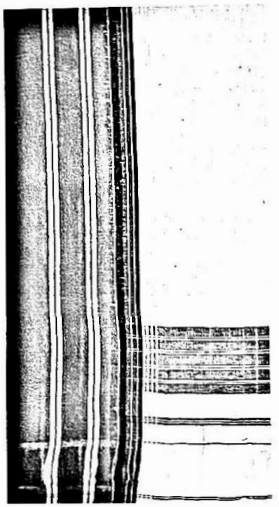
2/34: Name: *Kaddi patte seere*/2 x 2 double check/2 colour border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s, Silk; Length: 7.28 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 600 gm; Origin: Hiriyur, Chitradurga district

2/35; 35A: Name: *Kadalat kuttalam seere*/6 x 2 multicolour check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.32 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 390 gm; Origin: Udupi, Udupi district

2/36: Name: *Sujatha kuttalam seere*/2 x 10/17 x 7 multicolour check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.04 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 445 gm; Origin: Kunigoli, Udupi district

♦ 3.1: Lakundi/Dhotra - Three-shuttle silk border

✿ 3.2: Plain/Striped/Checked/Multicoloured



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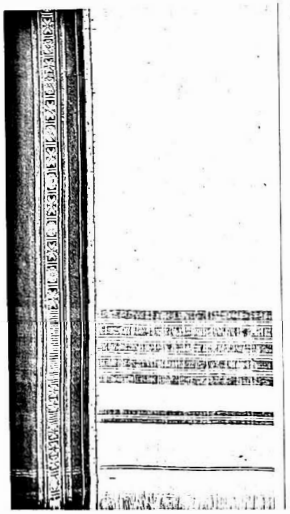

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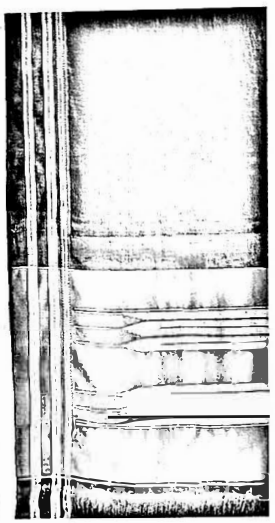

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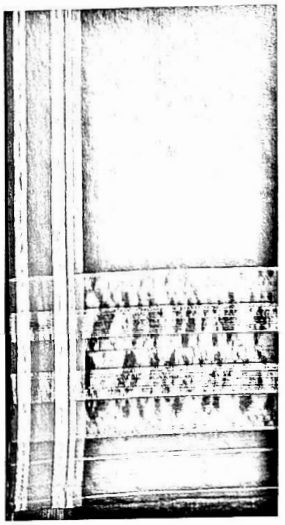

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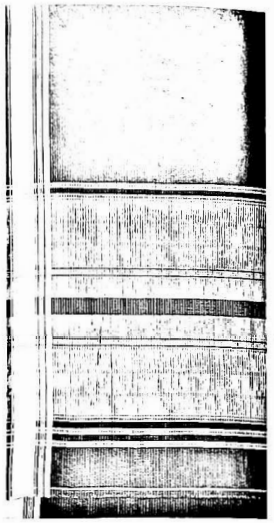

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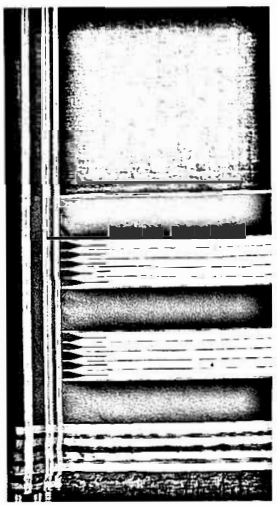

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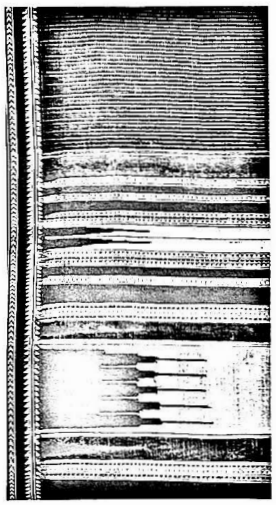

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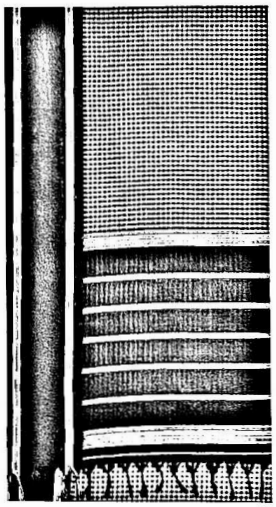

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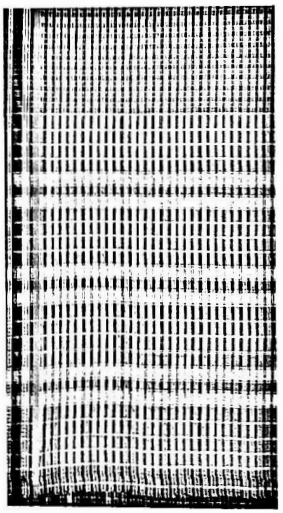

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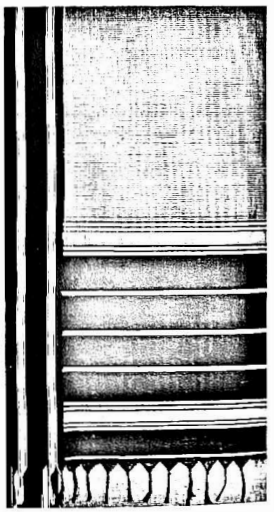


2/46

2/37: Name: *Dhotra/Panchhe/*Cotton body, silk border upper drape; Material: Cotton body, 60s; silk border, 13-15 dn; Length: 1.60 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 140 gm; Origin: Kotekera, Dakshin Kannad district

2/38: Name: *Lakundi panchhe/*three-shuttle upper drape; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 2.04 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 250 gm; Origin: Kunigoli, Udupi district

2/39: Name: *Ilikal gumi anchu seere/*Arrowhead double-border pattern sari of Ilikal; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 7.14 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 460 gm; Origin: Shahapur, Gulbarga district; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Bangalore

2/40: Name: *Yakshagana sada seere/*Plain body sari for Yakshagana theatre; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 8.28 m; Width: 1.16 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Udupi, Udupi district

2/41: Name: *Anekal dundu selari seere/*Split border cotton silk stripe sari of Anekal; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Bangalore

2/42: Name: *Garmangi kaddi seere/*2 x 2 green and black check, arrowhead-border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 6.44 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/43: Name: *Motichoor garmangi kaddi seere/*2 x 2 green and black check, arrowhead border sari; Material: Cotton and viscose rayon, 60s; Length: 6.44 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/44: Name: *Sudha kaddi chukki seere/*Fine multiple line check sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Kotekera, Dakshin Kannad district

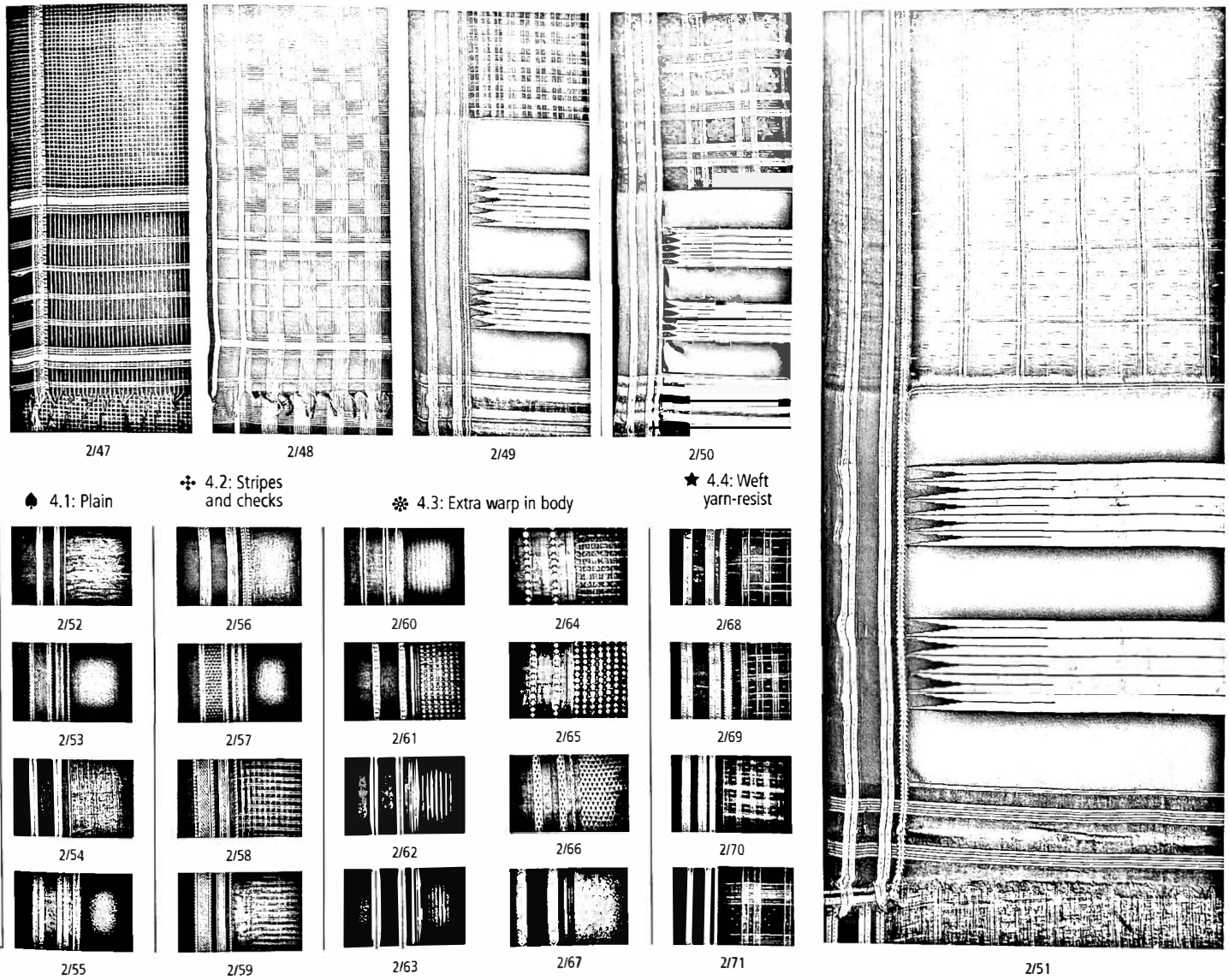
2/45: Name: *Chinnpuvanchu kuttalam seere/*Small flower patterned border, multicoloured check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 520 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore

2/46; 2/47: Name: *Sudha kuttalam bavanchu seere/*Broad border, multicolour check body sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.84 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Kotekera, Dakshin Kannad district

2/48: Name: *Yakshagana kuttalam seere/*Multicolour check sari for Yakshagana theatre; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 6.15 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Dakshin Kannad district

2/49: Name: *Garmangi kuttalam gaadidhadi seere/*Multicolour check, arrowhead pattern border sari; Material: Cotton viscose x rayon, 30s; Length: 6.16 m; Width: 1.21 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/50: Name: *Panka popli bekkina hejje kuttalam seere/*Double check, cat's paw weft resist patterned sari; Material: Cotton x Silk, 40s; Length: 6.34 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district



2/52; 2/53: Name: *Adoni khanni*/Plain body, silk patterned border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/54; 2/55: Name: *Ilikal khanni*/Indigo blue Ilikal blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/56; 2/57: Name: *Rasta khanni*/Stripe body, patterned border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/58; 2/59: Name: *Lavang kaddi khanni*/Fine clove check blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

2/60; 2/61; 2/62; 2/63: Name: *Varsal manmohan jamial khanni*/Twill warp patterned stripe blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Guledagudda, Bagalkot district

2/64: Name: *Manmohan Haradi khanni*/Green, yellow clove check blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Guledagudda, Bagalkot district

2/65: Name: *Manmohan haradi rudrakshi khanni*/Clove leaf/Seed flower patterned blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Guledagudda, Bagalkot district

2/66: Name: *Yellaki irake khanni*/Fruit patterned body blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Guledagudda, Bagalkot district

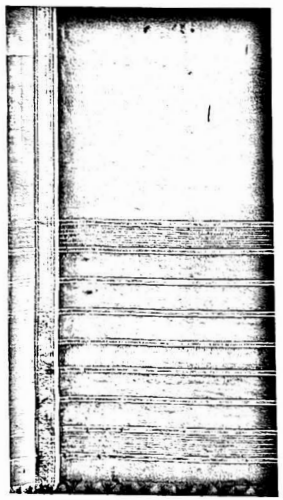
2/67: Name: *Sidheshwar manmohan chitramala khanni*/Sun face patterened body, blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Guledagudda, Bagalkot district

2/68; 2/69; 2/70: Name: *Taramandal chukki kaddi khanni*/Weft resist dash pattern within check blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Guledagudda, Bagalkot district

2/71: Name: *Bekina hejje kaddi khanni*/Cat's paw pattern within check blouse fabric; Material: Cotton x Silk; Length: 7.40 m; Width: 0.50-0.55 m; Weight: 240-420 gm; Origin: Guledagudda, Bagalkot district

2/51: Name: *Bekkina hejje taramandal kaddi seere*/Cat's paw weft resist pattern within check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 6.52 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 475 gm; Origin: Rukmapet, Gulbarga district

✱ 5.1. Ilikal



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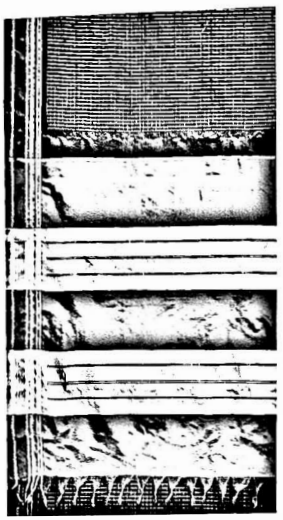

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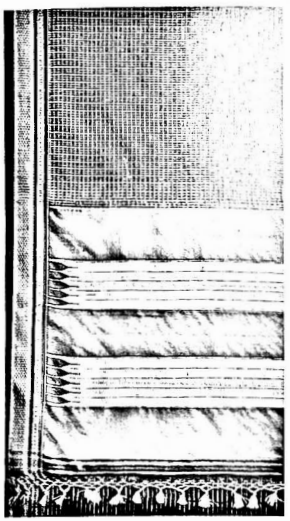

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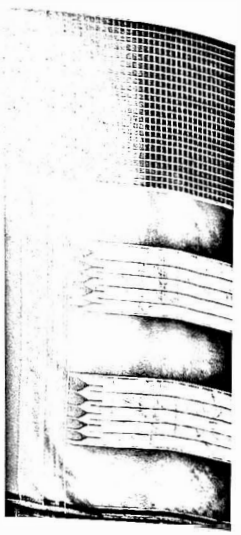

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◻ 5.2: Bangalore/Mysore/Mangalore

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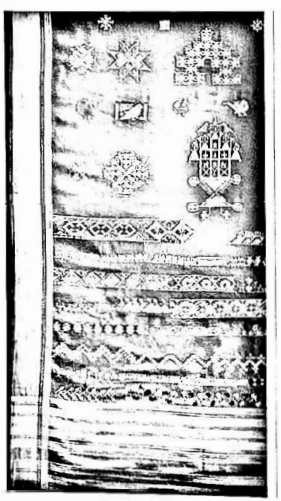

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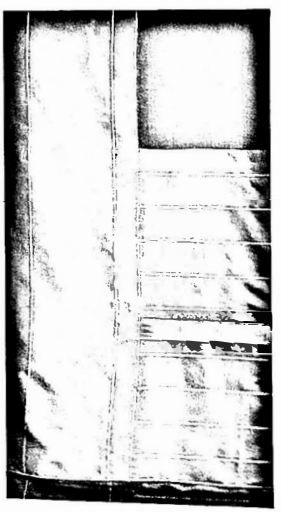

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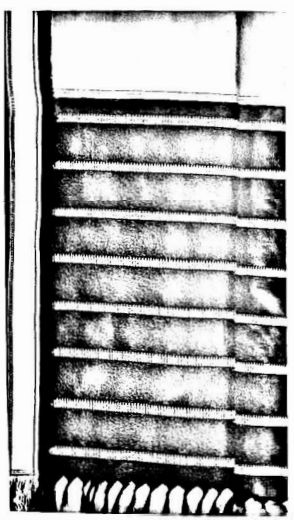

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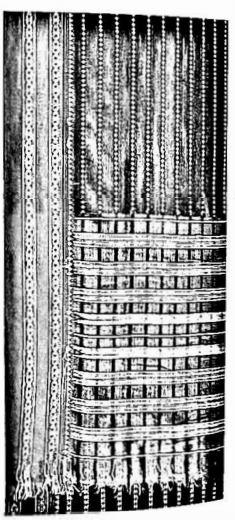


2/81

2/72: Name: *Sada paras anchu seere*/Plain body, mat pattern border sari; Material: Silk, 11-13 dn; Length: 5.36 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 390 gm; Origin: Mangalore, Dakshin Kannad district

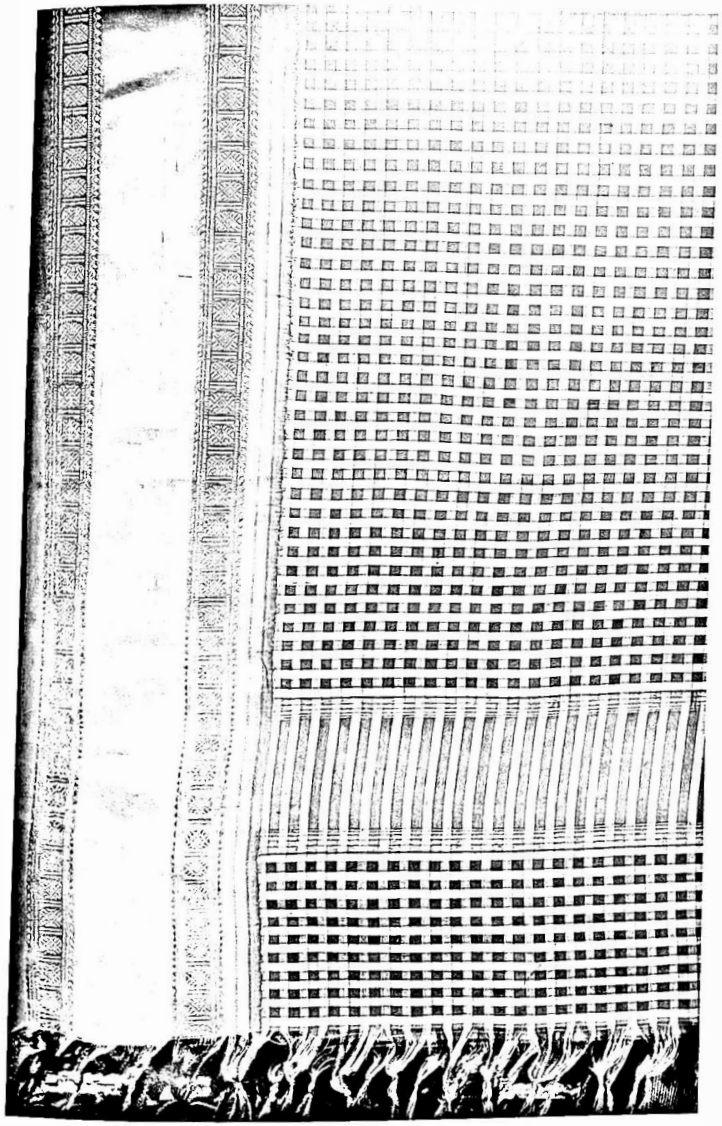
2/73: Name: *Ilikal gumi anchu tanne seere*/ Attached end-piece ilikal sari; Material: Silk, 11-13 dn; Length: 6.24 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 470 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Bangalore

2/74: Name: *Muttu bettu ilikal seere*/Broken stripe in body Ilikal sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 6.30 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Vimla Rangachar, Bangalore

2/75: Name: *Paras anchu kaddi seere*/Mat pattern border, double colour check sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 6.30 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore

2/76: Name: *Paras anchu muttu kaddi seere*/Broken check body, mat pattern border; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Cotton, Length: 6.15 m; Width:1.15 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Vimla Rangachar, Bangalore

2/77: Name: *Paras anchu kasuti ilikal seere*/Mat pattern border, embroidered body sari of Ilikal; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 510 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Bangalore



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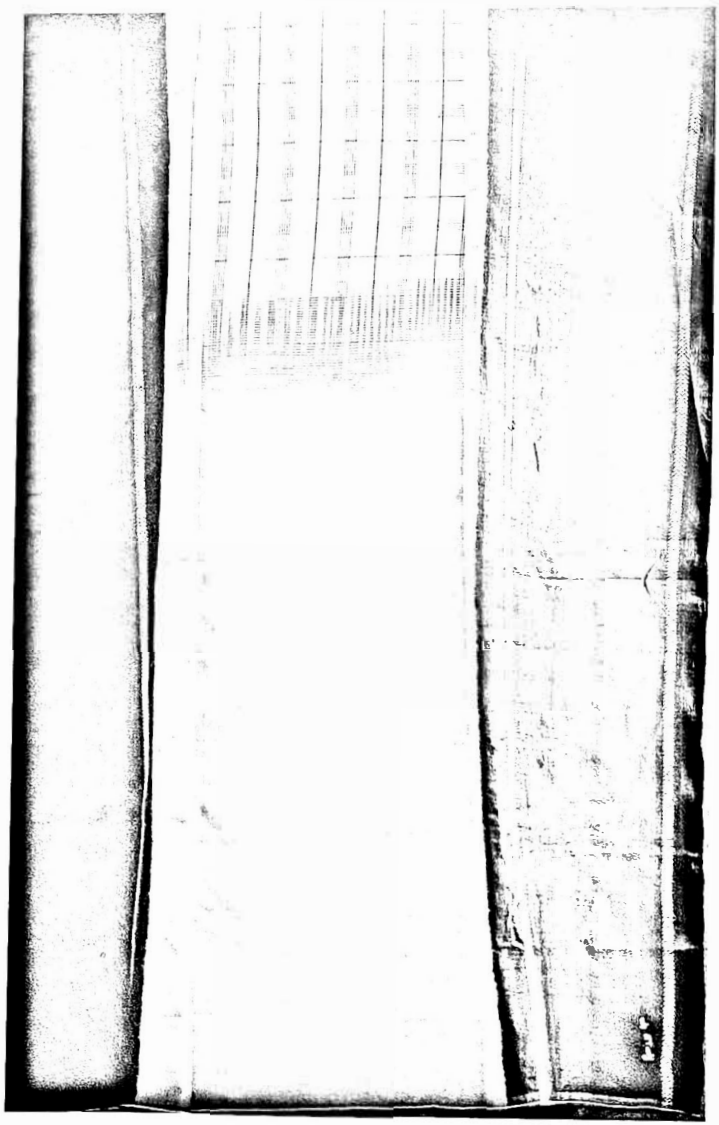
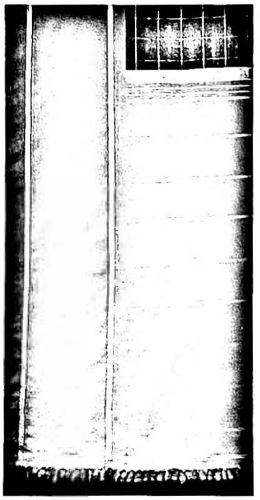


2/83

2/78: Name: *Bavanchu kasuti seere*/Broad border, embroidered body sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore
2/79: Name: *Sada Tiruvanchike seere*/Plain body, three-shuttle broad border sari; Material: Silk, 11-13 dn; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore
2/80: Name: *Chikanchu sada tiruvanchike seere*/Narrow three-shuttle border, plain body sari, Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Dhanalakshmi Fordyce, Bangalore
2/81: Name: *Kardanchu selari patte seere*/Narrow border, warp patterned stripe body sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 520 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore
2/82: Name: *Rudrakshanchu tiruvanchike kaddi seere*/Seed flower border, three-shuttle check sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 6.15 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 510 gm; Courtesy: Lakshmi Devi Raj, Hyderabad
2/83: Name: *Muru patte adige kaddi seere*/Three part divided body, borders,check sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 6.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 520 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore



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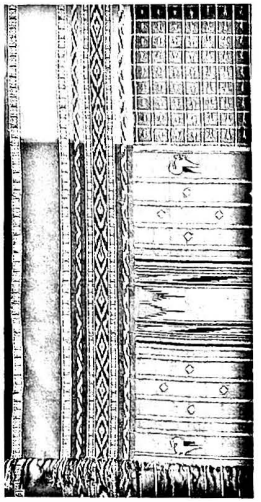

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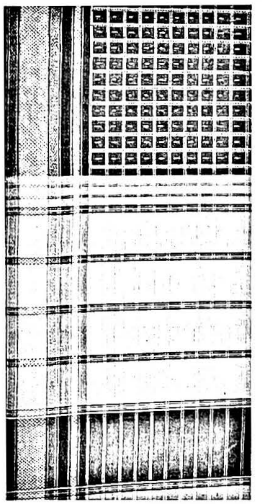

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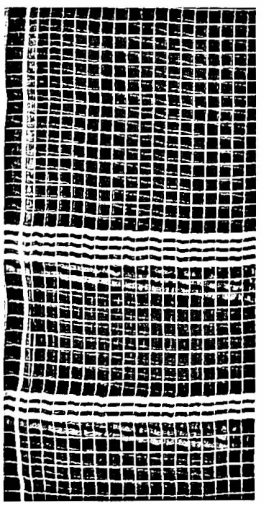

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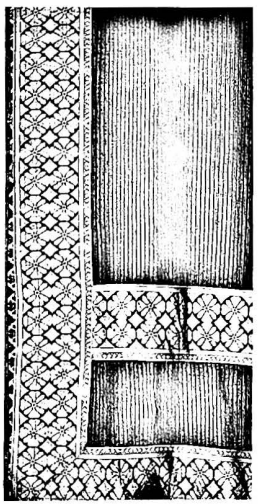

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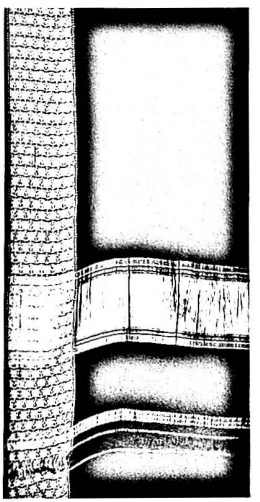

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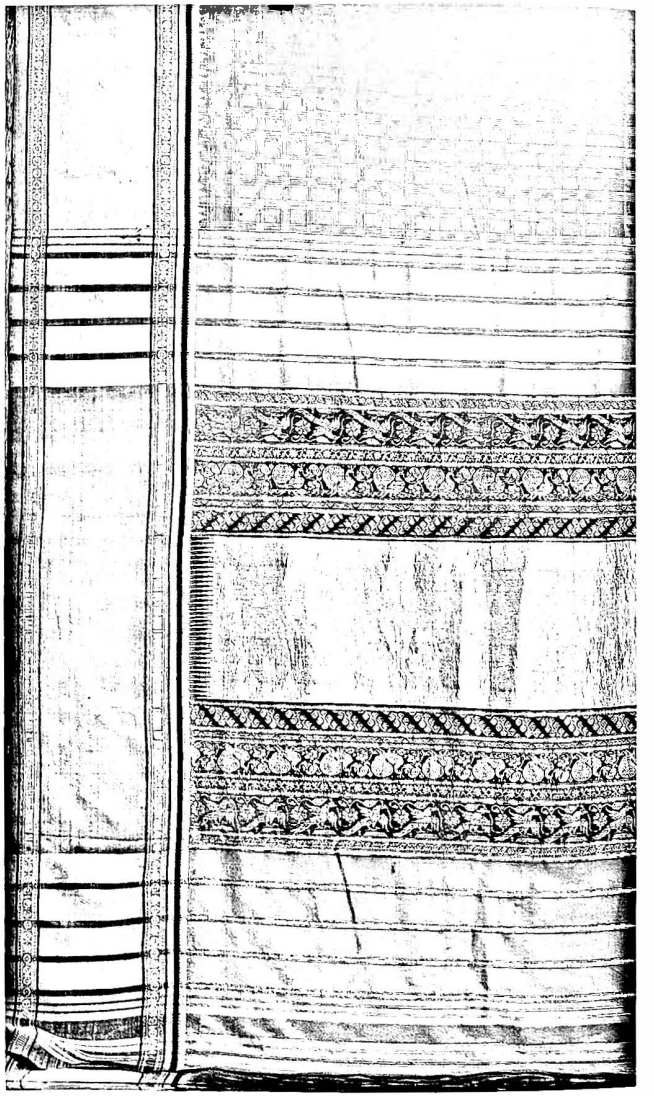


2/90

2/84: Name: *Adige dodanchu tiruvanchike seere*/Double wave patterned wide border, attached end-piece sari, Material: Silk 13-15 dn; Length: 6.15 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore

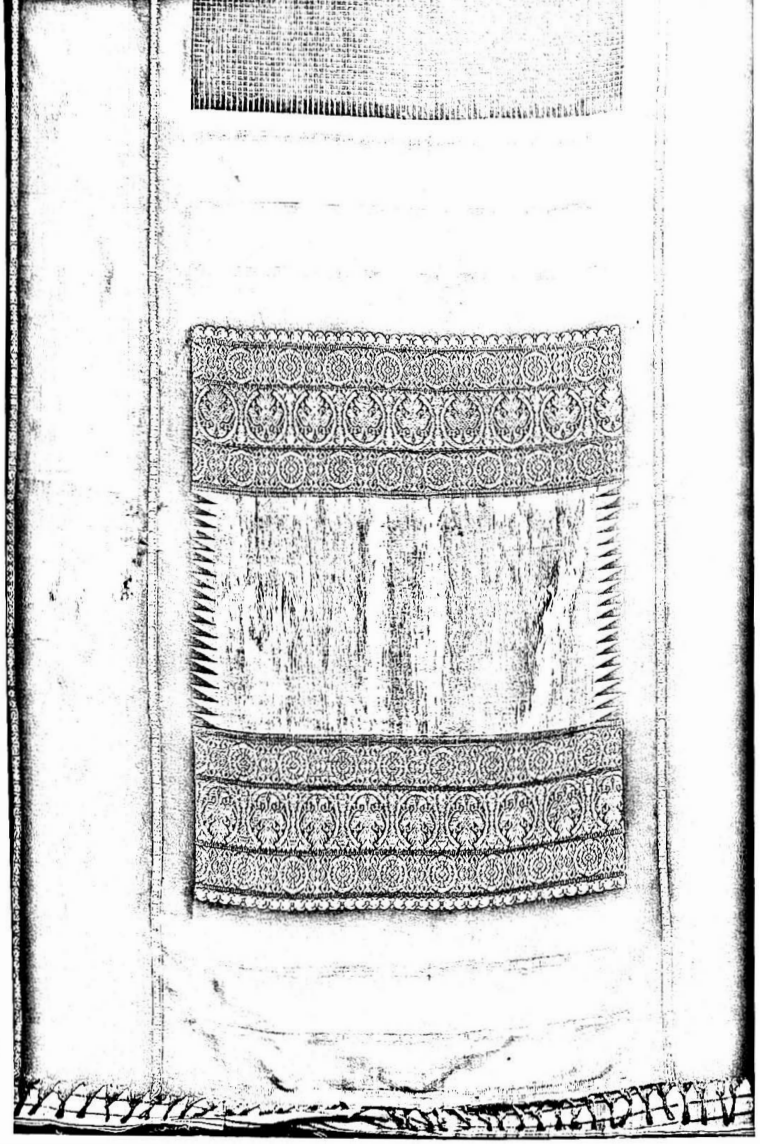
2/85: Name: *Molakalmuru malimogu ginni serugu motichur chukki seere*/Parrot/Bud end-piece, broken check body, yarn-resist border sari; Material: Silk, 15 dn; Length: 6.40 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 540 gm; Courtesy: Uma Rao, Bangalore

2/86: Name: *Molakamuru chukki seere*/yarn-resist pattern within check body; Material: Silk, 12 dn; Length: 6.15 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 700 gm; Courtesy: Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Bangalore

2/87: Name: *Tarban kaddi seere*/Gold tissue check sari; Material: Silk; Length: 6.40 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Urmila Devi, Bangalore

2/88; 2/89: Name: *Doddanchu selari chiffon seere*/Wide floral border chiffon sari; Material: Silk , 60 gm; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Urmila Devi, Bangalore

2/90: Name: *Rudrakshanchu navilu kaddi belu seere*/Seed flower border, peacock/bird patterned end-piece check sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 6.10 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 500 gm; Courtesy: Vimla Rangachar



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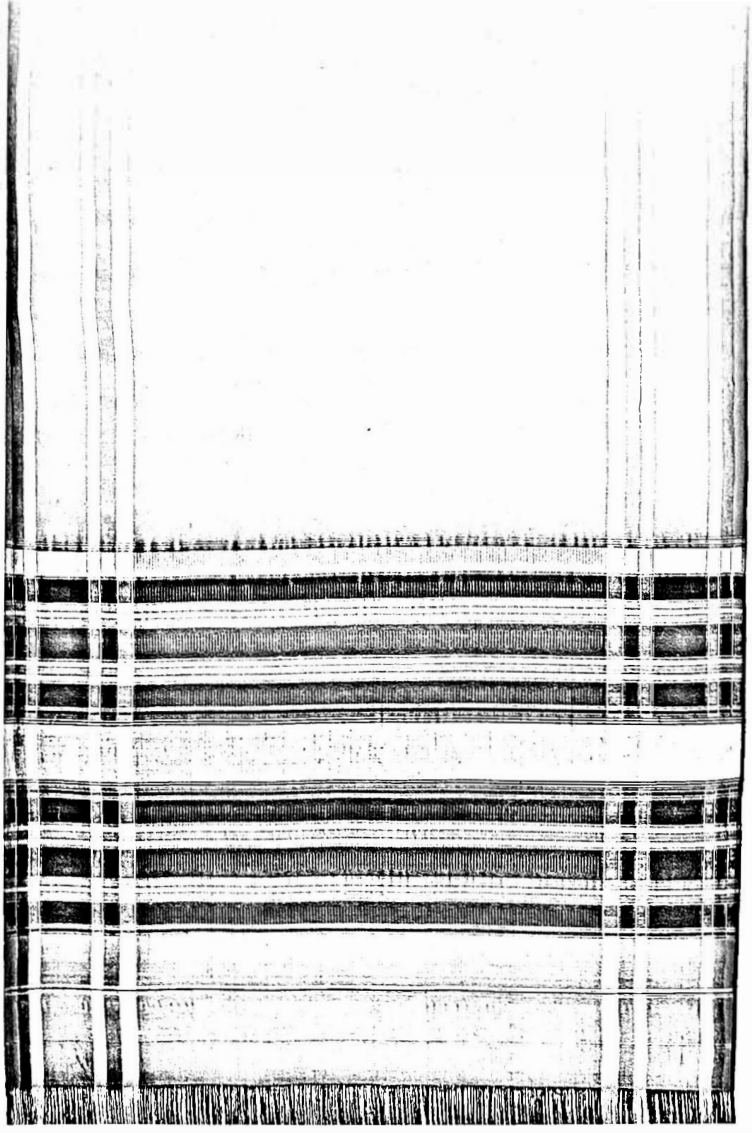


2/92

2/91: Name: *Rudrakshi gandaberunda belu kaddi seere*/Seed flower border, double headed eagle end-piece, check body sari; Material: Silk, 15-18 dn; Length: 7.30 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 590 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, DakshinaChitra, Chennai

2/92: Name: *Simhasana seere*/Patterned body/border sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.16 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Vimor, Bangalore

कुपांत जोगुल, तशी आवोल्यांची फांती
वायंगणावी चोळी, कापड रगत खुणी माती

Your braid decked in abolim flowers
Flashes like lightning in the clouds
Your purple blouse and sari are blood red earth.
– Bakibab Borkar (1910-1984)

Goa

Goa at the threshold of the monsoon, is a muggy haven that catches you in its suffocating grip until the wind turns wild and sea winds rise inland from the beach, followed by rain. You hold on to a tree trunk to avoid being swept away. Despite the dramatic turn of nature, there is an ease in the stride, an unashamed relaxation in the air that is so part of the Goan spirit that it cannot be overlooked or forgotten.

The sari in Goa tells the story of a people being cajoled, compelled and lured away not only from a way of life, religion and culture but also from what they wore and what it stood for. For two hundred years, the Portugese imposed a ban on sari weaving in order to promote the sale of imported fabrics and the 'dress culture'. Yet, large segments of the people stood their ground and held onto their Konkanastha identity within the available space. Late in the 1980s, we found 85-year-old Anton Juan Rasquinha in Akasai, Bardez, weaving saris in a hidden basement below his house on a Japanese automatic take-up motion handloom, brought from South Kannara in 1916. He had come to Goa on a visit from Mangalore, saw the potential and stayed on. Starting with one only loom, he kept adding looms and weavers from the Kannara region. By 1960, there were 460 looms in the area, producing saris and shoulder cloths in clandestine basements. Anton Juan has worked with up to 16-lever heald and dobby-lifted patterns, which seem to have proliferated after 1947. Perhaps because there was a greater inflow of saris and fabrics from other parts of Independent India to compete with, especially neighbouring Karnataka and Maharashtra. 'The loom is still my pride,' says Anton Juan, even though he does not need to weave now, as all his nine children are well settled and independent and have probably all turned to middle-class living, rather than stay with him in a rural ambience. He is unwilling to take up our request for an order to weave samples; he says there are already too many pending orders with him.

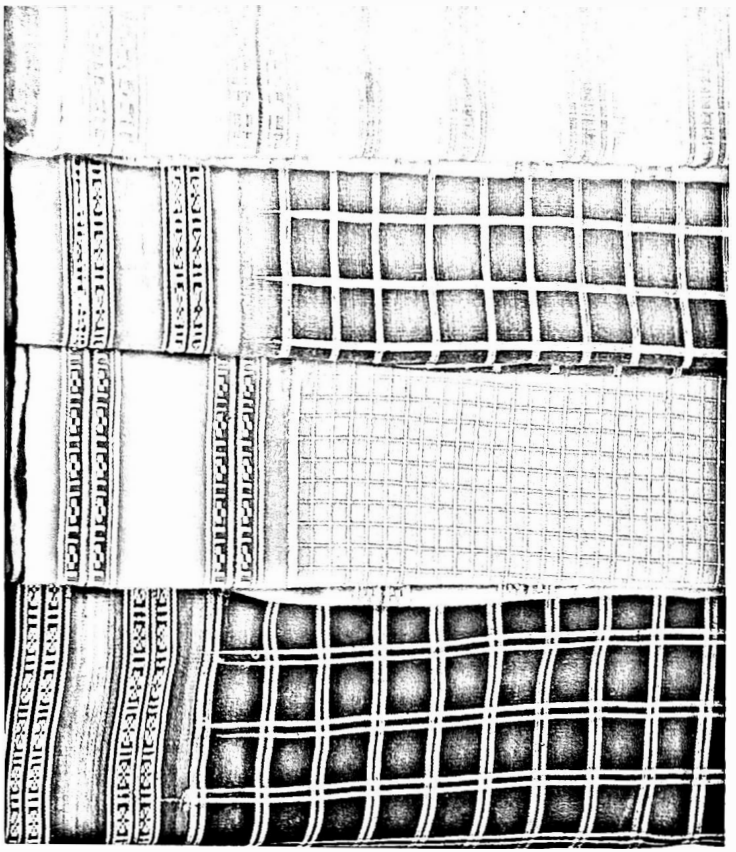
There are a few like him spread all over Goa, and others who came in 1961 after the 'liberation' from neighbouring Konkan, especially Udupi, to cash in on what they thought would be a growing market. There was Keshav Babuso Savant in Talailim, Ponda district, whose grandfather had taken to weaving because of local demand. He seemed to suggest that the sari helped maintain a 'sense of self' as they were facing conversion and 'it was never a relationship of equals.' We also met people like Raghunath in Corgao, Pernem district, the son of a teacher who learnt to weave in Peliem (Pernem) in the 1950s. He continued to keep five looms till the late 1960s and reverted to work on his fruit, cashew and coconut plantations when the demand declined.

The nineteenth and early twentieth century saw many from Karnataka, especially from the Udipi area, move to Goa because of the significant demand in handloom saris and the prospects of a comfortable way of life. Although Mulgaon, in Bicholim district, was the wholesale market centre for this trade, weavers settled

Dhangad *woman wearing a sari in the traditional style.*

MAHARASHTRA
N
Hali
Ker
Paliem
Corgao
Pernem
Malpen
PERNEM
(Peliem)
Macasana
Morgim
BARDEZ
Shivoli
Moira
Mulgaon
Assagao
Khortim
Bastora
Bicholim
Mapicca
Mapusa
Paliem
Nandera
BICHOLIM
Akasai
SATARI
Naroa
Nerul
TISWADI
Panaji
Corlim
Orgao
Taleigao
Gangem
PONDA
Usgao
Candepar
Mormugao
Vasco Da Gama
Ponda
Cortalim
MORMUGAO
Talailim
Durbhat
Arabian Sea
GOA
Siroda
KARNATAKA
Curtorim
Margao
SANGUEM
SALCETE
Saslym
Xeldem
Quepem
Sanguem
Cuncolim
Bali
QUEPEM
CANACONA
(Kankon)
PRODUCTION AREAS FOR
KONKAN
KUNBI HINDU/KOLI
KUNBI CHRISTIAN
DHANGAD

Dhangad *shepherd women boarding a bus.*



(3/10) *Variation of body checks and borders.*

wherever they could, so they would not be too visible to the Portuguese rulers.

We do not know how many there were like Anton Juan who continued to weave, under the threat of imprisonment and punishment, in hidden basements over the two hundred years, but obviously it was lucrative enough for them to persist. The women wearing these saris were the Konkan locals, Koli fisherwomen, Kunbi tribals - both Hindu and Christian - who had become farm labour, and Dhangad shepherds.

Though all signs of brushsizing the 30s and 40s count, even 60s count cottons for the *kapad* (sari) had disappeared by the 1980s, hank-sizing was still prevalent, and pre-sized warps were brought from Karnataka. The saris were usually 7.40 x 1.05 metres, in a relatively high reed and pick, and in 50s and 60s count cotton. The pattern range reveals an interesting mix of both Maharashtra and Karnataka with a distinctive flair, beginning with the simplest *sada phaati* (border band) and the *saru palli/pulla* (arrowhead) and twill graduating to the *aboli phaati* (four-petal flower), *ovel, sevanti, mogri, chafa* (other flower motifs), *toda* (wavy line), and *choked* criss-cross (wavy line); and for the Christians, the flower motif turned into the *kuris* (cross) in the extra warp of the borders. The simplicity of the border motifs is offset with the complex multicolour *palo* (stripes) and *popli* (checks) in *hirwa* (green), *neela* (blue), maroon, *haldi* (turmeric yellow), *rani* (Indian pink) and *lambda* (red), which gives these saris a character that is distinctly apart from both Ichalkaranji in Maharashtra and Belgaum in Karnataka. From the simple 6 ends coloured x 2 ends white, referred to as *sada*, it progresses to the more complex 12 x 2 x 2 checks. The *palvan* (end-piece) is usually a composition of bands with no pattern elements. Wedding saris often came from Belgaum in Karnataka, with elements of silk in the end-piece and at times in the body checks as well.

The social structure in Goa during Portuguese rule consisted of two main sections: the ruling class of Portuguese origin headed by *Reinões*, mainly Portuguese nationals who returned to Portugal on completion of terms of office; and below them were the *Casados*, Portuguese nationals who married local women. Such marriages originated from the orders of Alfonso de Albuquerque (AD 1500), who founded the Portuguese Empire in Goa. He decreed that his commanders marry women of the harem of the Adil Shah dynasty, which had been ousted from Goa. A third tier consisted of *Mestiços* of mixed blood, born of Portuguese and Indian parentage.

The main part of the social structure was made up of *Naturais*, who were the original inhabitants of Goa, subdivided into Hindus and Catholics. The caste system in both communities was retained with adaptations reinforced by the Catholic community even after conversion. An important factor in this retention was to maintain links with the original society of which they were a part, both in blood and tradition, and demonstrate that they were not part of the miscegenated class that were outside the caste system.

Until the mid eighteenth century, a large part of what is now known as Goa, was still ruled by local *rajas* and chieftains (this territory called New Conquests was

Kunbi *farm labour.*

Koli *fisherwomen at work.*

annexed in the mid-eighteenth century). The Hindu population continued with their traditional mode of dress, as did most women in the conquered territories (known as Old Conquests), until perhaps, the late-nineteenth century or the early-twentieth century. However, in the case of well-to-do Catholics, women moved towards Western attire very gradually despite pressures, including edicts and legislations, to coerce Goan converts into a total transformation of their culture. Upper-class women began to wear the *torhop baz* (*pano bhaju* in Portuguese); a design that bridges the East and the West. This Malaccan costume was adapted by Goan women in various stages to suit their needs. It consists of three pieces: the *torhop*, a long loincloth worn like a sarong and bordered like a sari, usually red, with the border also spanning the centre in front; a long-sleeved blouse, heavily embroidered with gold thread, falling well below the waist; and a shawl slung over the shoulder.

Goan fashion designer Wendell Rodricks suggests that the *toropo or saraca*, which are essentially variations of the sarong or the *lungi*, existed in Dravidian culture. From South India it spread to the Far East and in possibly one of the intriguing migrations, returned to Goa via the sea route to become, first, the *pano palo*, and later, the grander *pano bhaju*. The heavy embroidery in gold thread owes much to Mughal influence with embroidered Persian motifs that were popular in Daman with the Parsis. The stitch was a long satin stitch called *gara*, which is essentially Chinese in origin and used in Parsi saris. The dress combined many influences in colour, textile, jewellery and accessory. It mixes the graceful femininity of Indian garments with the modern practicality of Western garments.

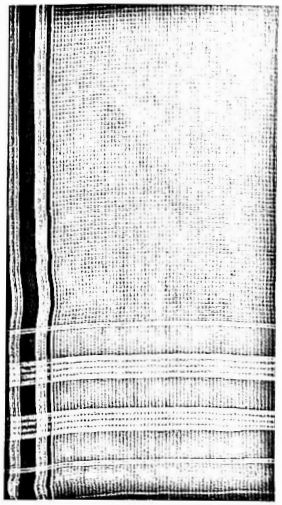
The transformation of culture was more evident among the upper classes, who remained a minority. The furniture, decor and draperies, all added up to create an ambience that was colonial Portuguese, along with stylised photographs and paintings that expressed middle-class Christian etiquette, women holding their arms crossed at the waist and men standing upright alongside an elegant piece of furniture. They illustrated the complexity of worlds distinctly apart, yet intimately linked by political history, economic and social necessity, and a cultural diversity that is the outcome of nearly three hundred years of divergent pressures.

Now in the early twenty first century, the Western wear sweep has overtaken Goa as it has other states, with the difference that there are few weavers left weaving saris. Imports of fine muslin and calico formed the basis for a variety of embroidery and laces of various kinds (crochet, hairpin, bobbin, tatting, fishnet lace). This too, is a dying art, although a little survives along with the sari which can still be seen, and which is now most definitely being woven in Karnataka and Maharashtra. A receding phenomenon that tells a strange story, of how the sari flourished when its weaving was banned and died out once the constraints no longer existed, although it continued to be worn by a large section of the population throughout the long period of Portuguese rule.

कांजिणी न्हेसयलो पितांबर
कांजिणी घातिल्या मदन चोळी

The bride wears a bright pitambar sari
The bride in her sensuous choli.

- *Dhalo* (folk dance) song



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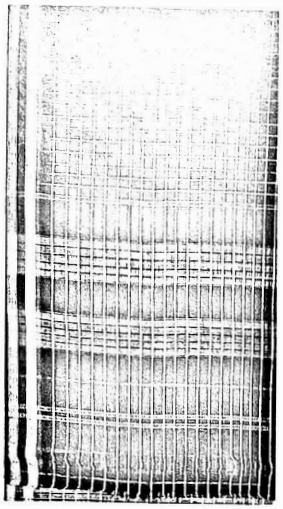

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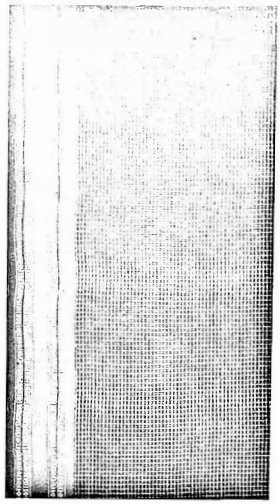

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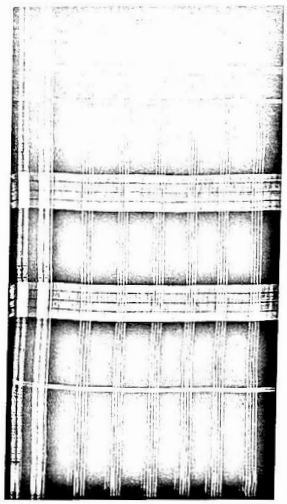

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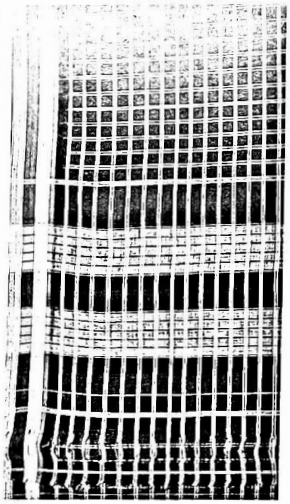

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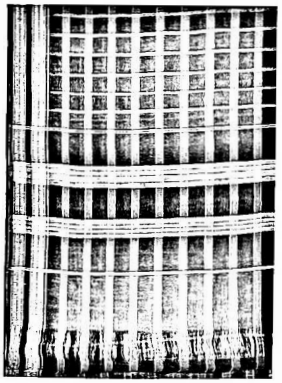

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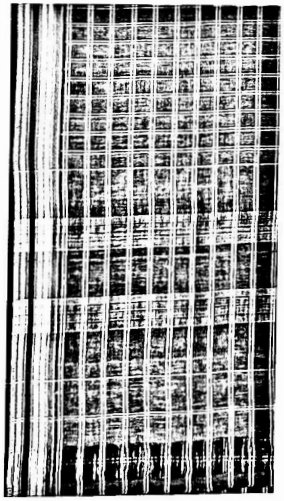

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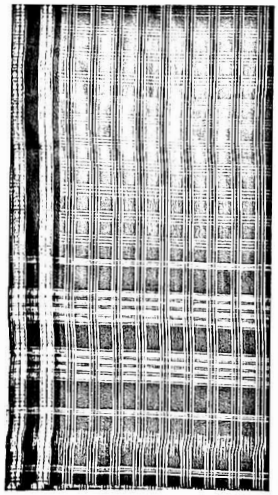

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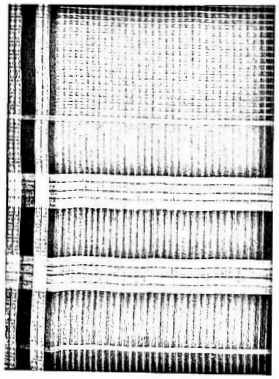

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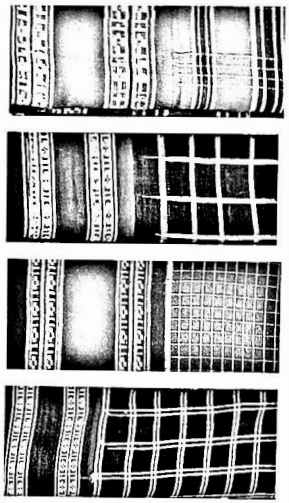


3/10

3/1: Name: *Aboli phaati kaath popli kapad*/Fine check sari, 4-petal flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 500 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Monica Correa, Mumbai

3/2: Name: *Sevanti phaati kaath popli kapad*/Fine check sari, 6-petal flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.00 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 470 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Monica Correa, Mumbai

3/3: Name: *Dhoop chaon aboli phaati kaath popli kapad*/Fine-check shot body, 4-petal flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 3.80 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Margao, Salcete district

3/4: Name: *Aboli phaati kaath popli kapad*/Broad check body, double 4-petal flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.14 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Margao, Salcete district

3/5: Name: *Sado sevanti phaati kaath popli kapad*/Broad check body, double 6-petal flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.14 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 500 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Monica Correa, Mumbai

3/6; 6A: Name: *Dhoop chaon sevanti phaati kaath popli kapad*/Broad-check shot body, double 6-petal flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.06 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 475 gm; Origin: Margao, Salcete district

3/7: Name: *Dhoop chaon aboli phaati kaath popli kapad*/Shot double-check body, double 4-petal flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.28 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Margao, Salcete district

3/8: Name: *Tiranga kuris kaath popli kapad*/Broad check body, double cross-border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s, Length: 5.40 m, Width: 1.10 m, Weight: 575 gm; Origin: Margao, Salcete district

3/9: Name: *Kuris kaath popli kapad*/Fine check body with cross border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.34 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Margao, Salcete district

3/9A: Name: *Kuris kaath popli kapad*/Broad check body double cross-border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 575 gm; Origin: Margao, Salcete district

3/10: Border/check variations

STYLE 1: DHANGAD/Shepherd's wearing style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Shepherd community
AREA: North Goa

1. Take inner end-piece and double-fold it to arm's length.
2. Wrap double-folded piece around waist clockwise.
3. Tie at right waist.
4. Take outer end-piece over left shoulder up to thigh length.
5. Hold loose portion of sari in front.
6. Make a single fold.
7. Pleat folded portion from left to right.
8. Continue pleating.
9. Hold gathered pleats in front and tuck into centre waist.

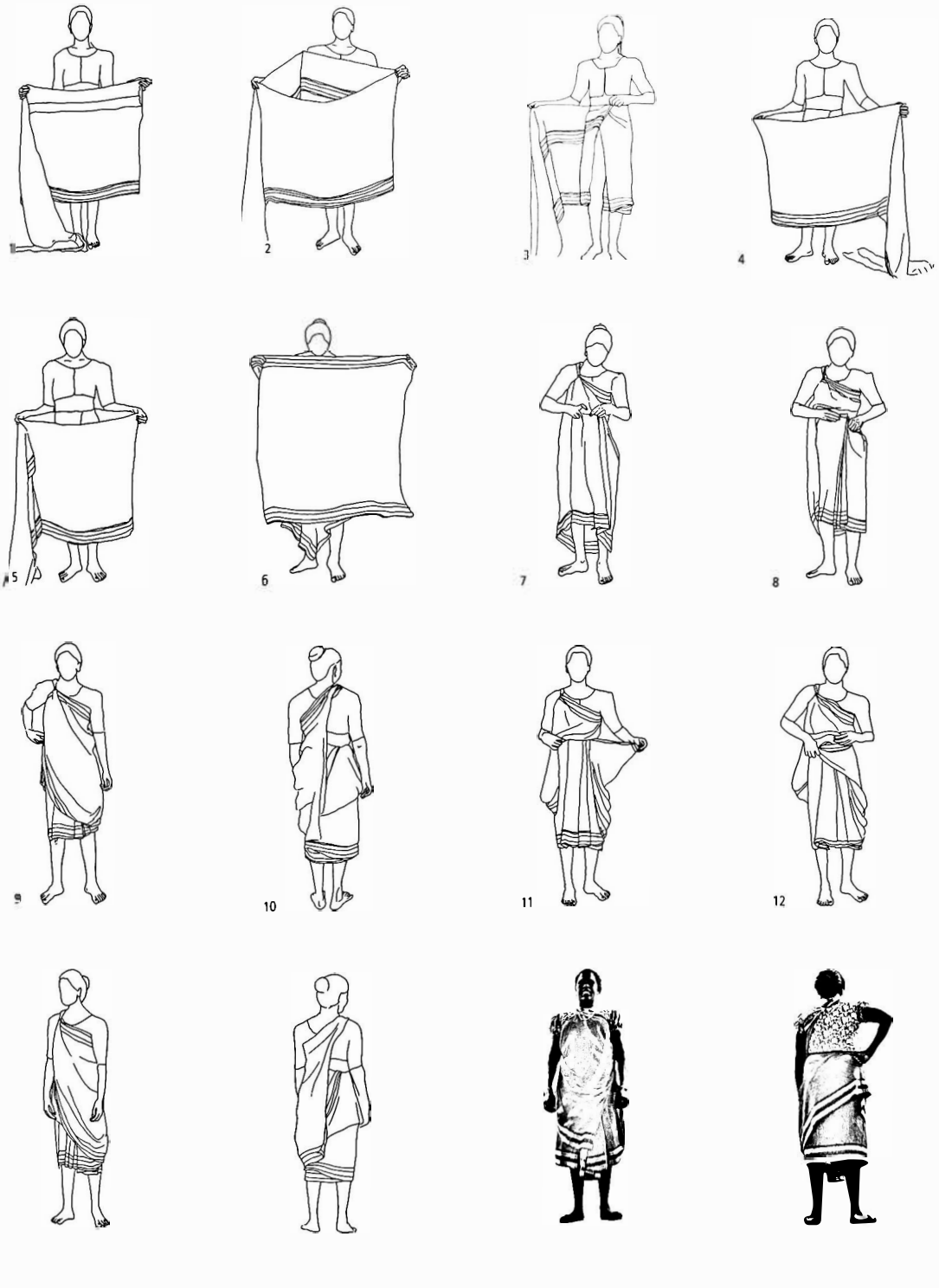
10-11. Lift pleats with right hand and hold loose end in left hand.

12. Similarly, lift right pleats with left hand and pick up loose end over right leg.
13. Hold them with both hands.
14. Tuck into centre front waist.
15. Collect centre pleats with both hands.
16. Bring gathered pleats to back between legs.
17. Tuck into back waist at least 12 inches, spreading borders to either side to form a perfect 'V' shape.
18. Lift outer end-piece from back.
19. Throw over left shoulder.
20. Bring outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise to tuck in at left waist.

WEARING STYLES – GOA

STYLE 1: DHANGAD/Shepherd's wearing style

STYLE 2: CHRISTIAN KUNBI/Farm labour wearing style



STYLE 2: CHRISTIAN KUNBI/Farm labour wearing style

LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.40 m

WORN BY: Farming community

AREA: All over Goa

1. Hold inner end-piece, fold over 1/3 widthwise, so that the sari length is from waist to below the knee.
2. Double-fold at least one metre from inner end-piece.
3. Take double fold of sari around waist clockwise and overlap/knot at centre front.
4. Lift free portion from right side and take around waist anticlockwise.
5. Leave enough loose portion to make three to four pleats in front.
6. Hold outer end-piece in front.
7. Bring around chest anticlockwise under left arm to over right shoulder and tie knot with upper border of front drape.
8. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari and tuck into centre front waist.

9-10. Take uppermost drape from right and tuck in at right back waist.

11. Take out innermost pleat from left front and bring over pleats to bind them.
12. Tuck in at right waist.

STYLE 3: HINDU KUNBI/Farm labour wearing style
LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.40 m
WORN BY: Farming community
AREA: All over Goa

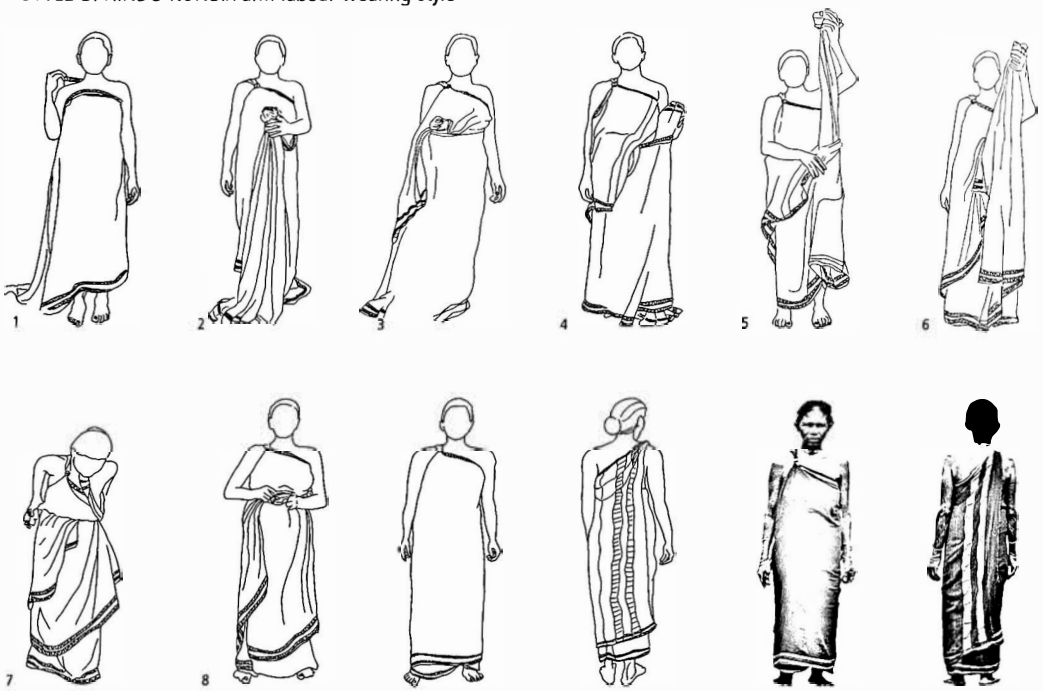
1. Bring outer endpiece anticlockwise around chest and hold at right shoulder.
2. Tie knot with upper border of outer endpiece and upper border of front drape at right shoulder. Bring remaining sari around waist clockwise.
3. Wrap sari's free end around waist, clockwise proceeding from outer to inner layer.
4. Bring to left waist.
5-6. Take out gathered free end-piece from wrapped layers in front.
7. Bring around waist anticlockwise.
8. Tie knot with free endpiece and uppermost wrapped layer at centre front waist.

STYLE 4: KALSI DANCE/Harvest dance style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Upper-caste Hindu
AREA: Central Goa

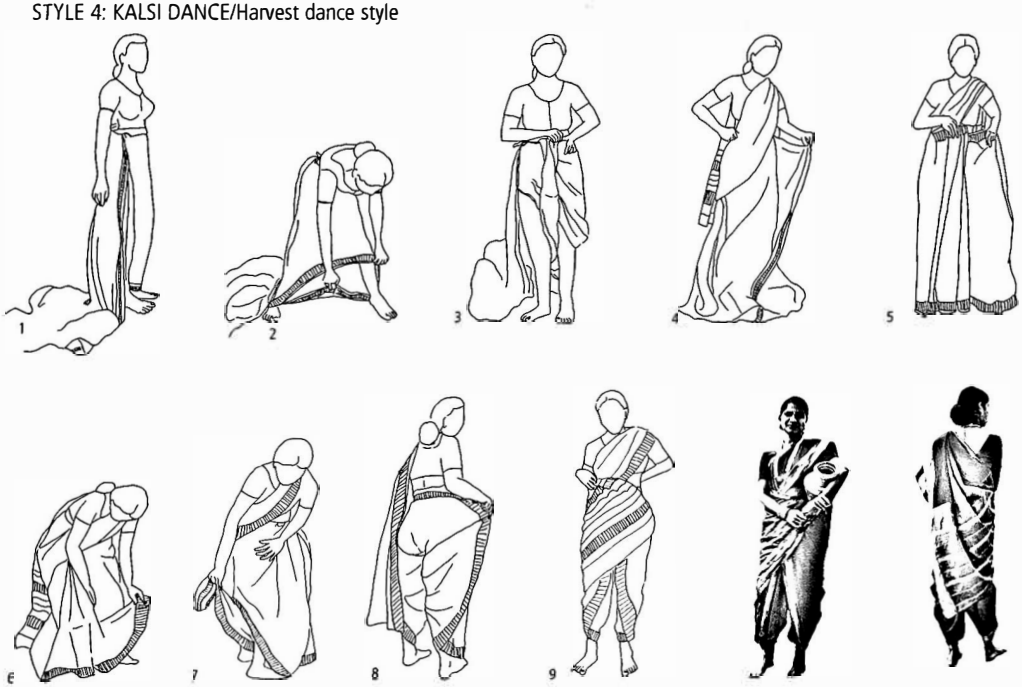
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Pick up lower border of back drape and bring to front between legs.
3. Tuck at centre front waist.
4. Bring outer end-piece around waist anti-clockwise and throw over left shoulder.
5. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari and tuck in at centre front waist.
6. Pick up centre pleat from bottom.
7. Bring to back between legs and pull upwards.
8. Spread and bring either borders from both sides in front.
9. Tuck both border at centre front waist and bring outer end-piece to front anticlockwise and tuck at left waist.

NOTE: For Konkanastha wearing style, refer to style 6 in Maharashtra.

STYLE 3: HINDU KUNBI/Farm labour wearing style



STYLE 4: KALSI DANCE/Harvest dance style



STYLE 5: KOLI/Fisherwomen style

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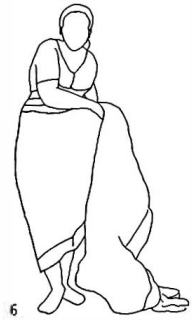
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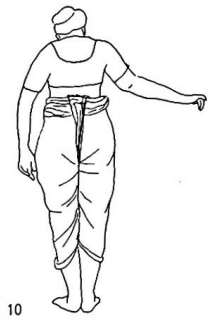
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STYLE 5: KOLI/Fisherwomen style

LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m

WORN BY: Koli fisherwomen

AREA: Coastal Goa

1. Bring inner end-piece across back waist clockwise and knot, twist with free end at left waist.
2. Gather front drape in front.
3. Bring gathered drape to back between legs and bring free end-piece to front at right waist.
4. Hold right lower border between legs and bring free end around waist anticlockwise.
5. Continue wrapping.
6. Pull free end to left waist tightly.
7. Make wave-like form of border in front and twist at left waist.
8. Wrap free end of sari around waist till wound completely like a waistband.
9. Tuck outer end of sari into waist.
10. Take out held-portion between legs at stage 3, into centre back waist up to 12 inches.

"गोऱ्या गोऱ्या पहिनीची अंघाराची साडी
अंघाराच्या साडी चांदयांची खडी
चांदण्यांच्या खडीला बिजलीचा बाण
दादा मला एक पहिनी आण".

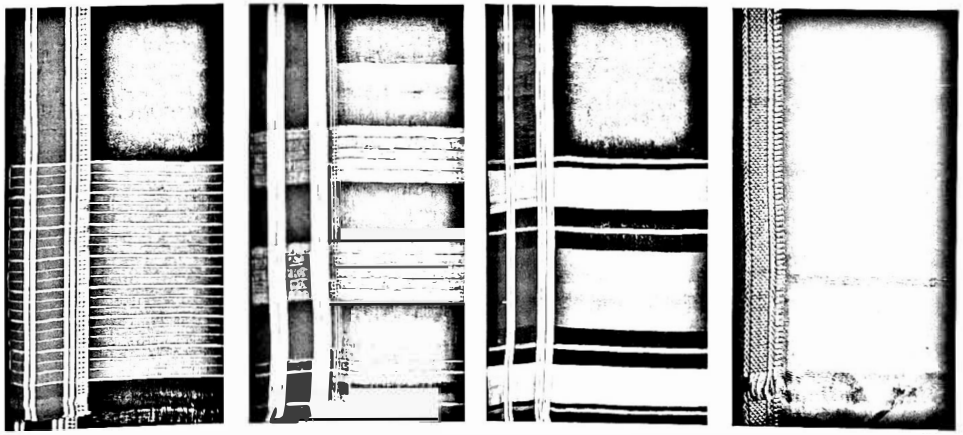
O elder brother, choose a fair sister-in-law for me
wearing a chandrakala night black sari
from which the moon and stars strike like lightning...
– Children's song

Maharashtra

Although Maharashtra was one of the earliest states in India to be industrialized, it has harboured the memory of its traditional textile hand skills. It was the first state to see the rise of power looms in the early twentieth century as the mills began to upgrade their machinery. Their discarded machines were bought by handloom weavers, in an attempt to increase production wherever they had access to electricity, and hence the term 'power' loom. Since then, the grip of power looms and mills has spread from the mills of Mumbai to Bhiwandi, Malegaon, Ichalkaranji and a string of smaller villages, with devastating effect on handlooms and weavers all across the state. In non-electrified villages, handloom weavers were soon converting to fly shuttle looms, discarding the throw shuttle in order to survive. In the process, they overcame the stigma against speed-enhancing devices which had previously prevailed. The story since then is that of an unquestioned rise in production and a marginal improvement of wages, at the cost of the character and quality of local products leading to a decline in skill levels.

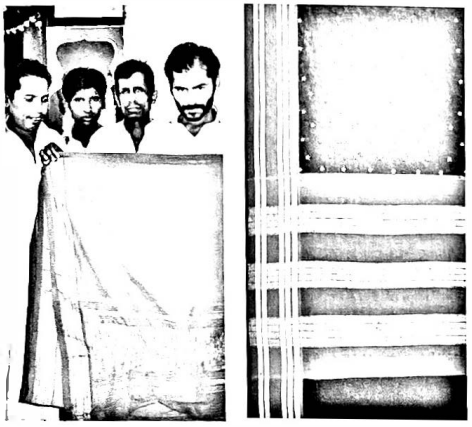
Maharashtra is the first state in which the possible continuation of handlooms threatens power loom owners. During the course of this project we heard of weavers who took up our production orders but were paid to drop them, and in some instances, were lured by more lucrative offers and alternative work opportunities. This is revealing, to say the least, for above all it proves not only the bankruptcy of power looms, but also the inherent fear of the skilled weaver's direct contact with the contemporary market and his ability to dictate quality and prices.

The handloom map of Maharashtra is not a simple hierarchical structure, as there is a great deal of overlapping with several sari types co-existing with a wide variation of materials, techniques and even market range. There is a unique dynamic at work; of a limited design directory re-inventing itself for specific requirements and buying power in society, as in the *bugdi katari* of Nagpur (4/6) and the *raghva neel reshami dhadi* of Saoner, Nagpur district with silk borders (4/36). Yet, the design directory remains largely, a homogeneous one with numerous permutations and variations of material, scale and treatment. Although Maharashtra is seen as a state comprised of three distinct cultural regions - Vidarbha, Marathwada and coastal Maharashtra - there is greater



Left to Right: **(4/6)** Nakshi bugdi katari dhadi baan lugda/*Ear ornament, arrowhead patterened border cotton sari, Nagpur;* **(4/16A)** Khaskhasi chowkda phool bugdi nakshi dhadi baan lugda/2x2 *Check body, flower, ear ornament patterned border, cotton sari, Wadgaon, Parbhani district;* **(4/36)** Raghva neel gomi katari reshami dhadi jote/*Saw-edge, arrowhead patterned silk border, cotton body indigo sari, Saoner, Nagpur district;* **(4/53)** Gomi ardh pharas nakshi dhadi Yeola dhoti/*Saw-edge, half mat pattern border lower drape.*

CHHATTISGARH
MADHYA PRADESH
NANDURBAR
GUJARAT
DHULE
Dhule
Dharangaon
Parola
Nasirabad
Jalgaon
JALGAON
AKOLA
Akola
Akot
Anjangaon
Achalpur
Amravati
AMRAVATI
BULDANA
Buldana
Malegaon
NASIK
Ajanta
Vinchur
Nagda
Yeola
Nasik
Sinnar
Ellora
AURANGABAD
Aurangabad
Deulgaon Raja
Jalna
JALNA
WASHIM
Washim
YAVATMAL
Samgamner
HINGOLI
Hingoli
Basmat
Manwat
Paithan
Bhagyanagar
ANDHRA PRADESH
THANE
Bhiwandi
Thane
Mumbai
AHMADNAGAR
Ahmadnagar
Parbhani
PARBHANI
NANDED
Nanded
Pasodi
Kundalwadi
Deglur
BHEED
Bheed
Wadwani
Wadgaon
Parali
PUNE
Pune
RAIGARH
Raigarh
Sasvad
Pathrud
Bhum
Ausa
Latu
Parinda
Osmanabad
MAHARASHTRA
OSMANABAD
SATARA
Satara
SOLAPUR
Solapur
Pandharpur
Karkamb
Mangalwedha
Wagdari
Akalkot
Maindargi
Mayani
Kolevadi
Diganchi
Atpadi
Kundal
Shegaon
SANGLI
Randal
Jadar Bablat
RATNAGIRI
Ratnagiri
Arabian Sea
Kolhapur
KOLHAPUR
Ichalkaranji
Kagal
KARNATAKA
Bahirawadi
Sindhudurg
Jagamwadi
SINDHUDURG
GOA
NAGPUR
Nagpur
Kamthi
Saoner
Wakodi
Ramtek
Kodamandi
Mohadi
Bhandara
Gondi
BHANJARA
Munori
Ganeshpur
Mauda
Mandhal
Sanghadi
Adyal
Andalgaon
Palandur
Muranagaon
Gail
Manganwadi
Sind
Wardha
WARDHA
Um rd
Bhiwapur
Pauni
Sirsi
Khed
Nagbheed
Navargaon
Sangola
Armori
Hingan Ghat
Shegaon Ku nd
CHANDRAPUR
Chandrapur
Garhchi roli
GARHCHIROLI
Masamgaon
COARSE AND MEDIUM COUNT COTTON (20s-60s)
▲ Baan- Plain Body/Border/Printed saris
● Baan Extra Warp Border/Plain/Check Body saris
★ Baan Yarn-Resist Border/Body saris
♥ Medium Count Khanngadi Blouse Fabrics
■ Khadi- Handspun/Handwoven saris
MEDIUM AND FINE COUNT COTTON/SILK SARIS (60s-100s)
■ Lugda/Jote- Extra Warp Patterned Border Cotton/Silk saris
◆ Tok Padar/Patal Cotton Body Silk End-piece saris
♥ Cotton with Zari saris
SILK/COTTON SARIS
Patal- Extra Warp Patterned saris and Drapes
Paithan- Interlocked Tapestry/Brocade saris



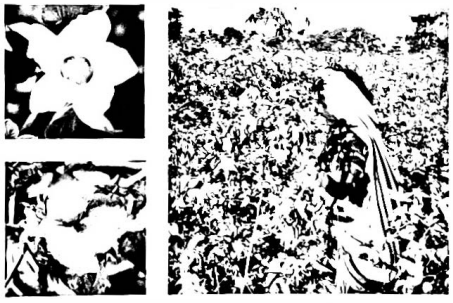
Weavers with Pitambar *sari, Deulgaonraja, Buldana district;* **(4/5A)** Chandrakala baan lugda/*Resin printed body, plain border cotton sari, Khed, Chandrapur district.*

cultural affinity within the state as compared to Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh. Villages many hundred kilometres apart are often found to be weaving a sari similar to that worn as everyday apparel, or on special occasions, by a cross-section of communities. This is seen in the *nakshi bugdi katari dhadi baan lugda*, Nagpur (4/6); *khaskhasi chowkda phool bugdi nakshi dhadi baan lugda*, Wadgaon, Purbani district (4/16A); and *gomi ardh pharas nakshi dhadi yeola dhoti*, Yeola, Nasik district (4/53). It is this range that demonstrates the levels of skilled craftsmanship and a sophisticated use of materials in the expression of a homogenous design directory. The design symbology is also intriguing, the *gomi* (saw-edged), *bugdi* (ear ornament) and *katari* (arrowhead) combine could be deciphered in terms of representation, but not in terms of poetic image. Finding the source of these auspicious motifs was still elusive. Yet, the essential ingredients of an aesthetic judgement, gradually honed to a refined balance, were evident.

We enter Maharashtra through the metropolis of Bombay (Mumbai); vast, unreal dripping diamonds in the daytime at one end, and a manmade disaster on the other. No socialist truths intended, just an overwhelming reality that leaves no room for escape.

There are unexpected meetings amid the bookshelves of the Asiatic Society in Mumbai, with scholars such as Durga Bhagwat, whose wrinkles exude an energy that would put to shame many a thirty-year-old. She recalls the *chandrakala* (4/5A), indigo-dyed with its *kharri* (resin-printed) ground, worn by women on the first *Makar Sankranti* (commemorating the sun's shift towards the Tropic of Capricorn at the culmination of winter) after marriage; the turmeric yellow *shalu* worn with the *paithani* (4/57; pg 93), the most honoured *mae* sari for the bride's mother; and the *pitambar* in yellow, red, blue or white silk with a broad *zari* border. The bride wore turmeric yellow at the start of the wedding ceremony as it symbolized the girl's death for her parents. She left her parents' home wearing green or black which invoked fertility in her new life. An outpouring that steers clear of the romance and yet, retains the wonder of insight.

Although Mumbai can hardly prepare one for Maharashtra, it is a sort of social microcosm of people; not only from the districts of Sangli, Solapur and Savantwadi, but also from other states like Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Bengal. The figure-hugging, knee-length sari of the fisherwomen leads us to an area in Mumbai known as Mahim, which has a few sari-retailing shops. Meeting the Koli community, we picked up our first leads into Goa as a sari-producing and wearing state; contrary to the perception that women there prefer Western-style skirts



Top Left: Cotton flower; Bottom Left: Pod; Right: Cotton picking.

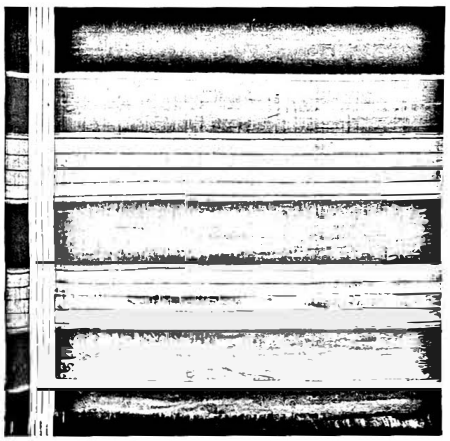
and dresses. Mumbai's composite environs are an eye opener as one encounters everything from fisherwomen to high fashion on the same street, almost at the same time.

From Mumbai, we move on to Nagpur, the small town of eastern Maharashtra better known as the heartland of the ancient state of Vidarbha (comprising the districts of Nagpur, Chandrapur and Bhandara), where we catch our first sight of the short green bushes topped with the fluff of cotton, and some late-flowering, yellowish-red blossoms before the cotton fluff is born. The cotton story begins with cotton pickers, invariably the poorest of women draped in the longer halves of two saris worn together. They drape one leg in the green of one sari and the other leg in the red of another. This is no avant-garde statement as it may seem, but rather the stunning outcome and ingenuity of those who cannot afford another sari till the next 'New Year' on Diwali. They have turned the limitation of a fixed length-width of this unstitched garment into their greatest asset, by wearing the longer halves of last year's saris together, which invariably give way at the tightly draped backsides.

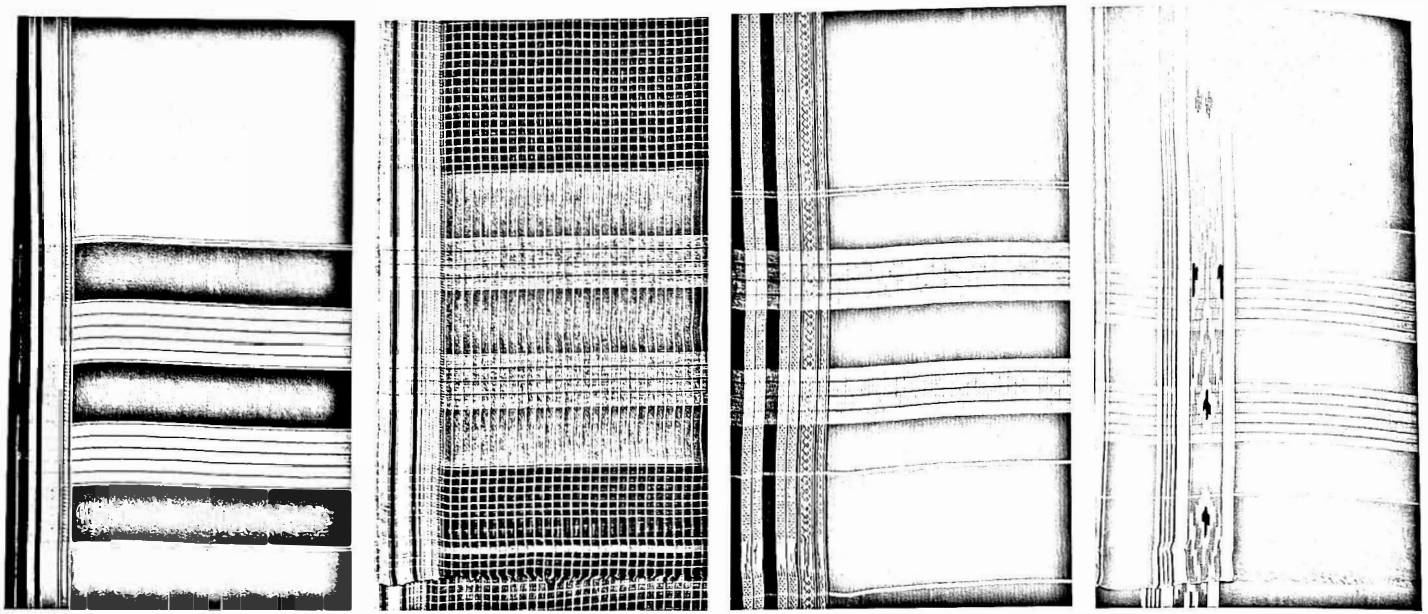
There is an imperceptible change in landscape and temperament, a change of stride and stance as the *mahila* ('woman' in central and eastern India) turns into a *lugda*-draped *bai* ('woman' in western India), with the pleated portion of her sari tucked between the legs, revealing her energetic calves and a swing in the hip.

Much of what is worn in Maharashtra today is mill-made prints or power loom imitations of handloom saris which have confused the original design range, texture and colour palette. The modern urban wearing style has infiltrated even this bastion of casual comfort where the norm was the loose *kastha* (between-the-legs style) among the upper classes. This change has partly been enforced by the gradual thinning of the sari fabric, which has necessitated the wearing of a petticoat under the sari.

Maharashtra is one state where the government wants to seek out what it refers to as 'non-*janta*' varieties, for it has realised it cannot sustain development efforts based only on the highly subsidized, low skill-based *janta* saris and cloths. Fortunately, the Handloom Directorate and the Handloom Corporation of Maharashtra, the administrative and production agencies, are headed by the same person and for once, it happens to be a practical, active, sensitive and aware lady administrator: Chitkala Zutshi. Within days we have scanned all the material and information at the handloom agency, planned the travel route which would take three and a half months to complete, and scanned the royal Bhonsale family collections and other personal collections through which we catch our first glimpse of what Paithan cottons and Yeola silks were. There are even glimpses of *Solapur, Paithani,* old *Nagpuri* and *Punneri* saris, but that is as far



COTTON COARSE AND MEDIUM COUNT: **(4/2)** Sada baan lugda/*Plain body, border sari.*



Left to Right: COARSE COUNT COTTON- EXTRA WARP PATTERN: **(4/11A)** Dholak Kinar baan lugda/*Drum patterned border sari, Kamthi, Nagpur district;* **(4/9)** Chowkda gomi nakshi dhadi baan lugda/*Check body, saw-edge, arrowhead patterned border sari, Budhgaon, Sangli district;* **(4/14)** Rasta vinchur nakshi dhadi baan lugda/*Stripe body, patterned border sari, Vinchur, Nasik District;* **(4/20)** Sada ankhi chukki dhadi lugda/*Plain body, yarn-resist eye-patterned border sari, Achalpur, Amravati district.*

as the sophisticated ventured. There is no evidence of other sari producing centers as well-known as these, and thus, the journey begins to find the following categories.

~

COARSE AND MEDIUM COUNT COTTON (20s - 60s)

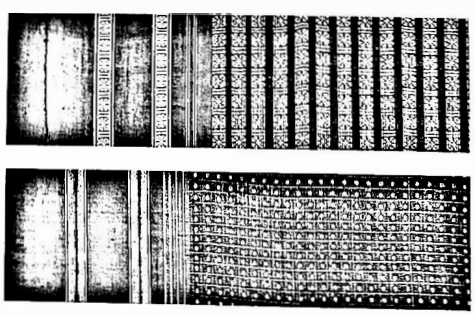
Baan lugda – Plain body/ border/ printed saris: The most widespread underlying presence that emerges in interior Vidarbha, central Marathwada region and coastal Maharashtra is the everyday-wear *baan* sari (4/2) in 20s-40s count in plain or shot body colours for most communities.

Members of the wealthier communities wear it in finer counts in dark, deep colours: usually *neel* (indigo blue), *kumkum* (vermillion), and *baiguni* (purple), or shots between them and an additional use of *haldi* (turmeric yellow). The three or four part divided borders in turmeric yellow are sometimes in silk; if the buyer can afford it, with these ending in a broad selvedge using the predominant body colour. Plain bands in the end-piece in a four or five-band composition are the standard.

In the plain border range there is a pale, plain *kora* (unbleached) body or coloured body and *dhoop chhaon* (shot body) version which is *kharri* (resin printed) in the ground for the *chandrakala* saris (4/5A; pg 84). The multi-striped borders and end-pieces provide both highlighting and a culmination to the delicately printed expanse of star and moon motifs in the body.

Baan with extra warp border/plain/check body saris: The border acquires an extra warp patterning in the *nakshi kinar* (patterned border) saris, which are equally widespread. The most outstanding examples of these were produced for this project in Kamthi, Nagpur district (4/11A), Budhgaon, Sangli district (4/9), and Vinchur, Nasik district (4/14).

Striped and checked versions of saris were also found in many of these areas. Invariably, 8 yard / 7.38 metre lengths of these were woven to be used as *khann* (blouse fabrics). From fine pinstripes to *rasta* (broader stripes) of four ends or more, turning to the finest 2 x 2 *khaskhasi* (poppy seed) checks, 4 x 4 *mungia* (lentil seed) checks and the *chowkda* (broader) checks,

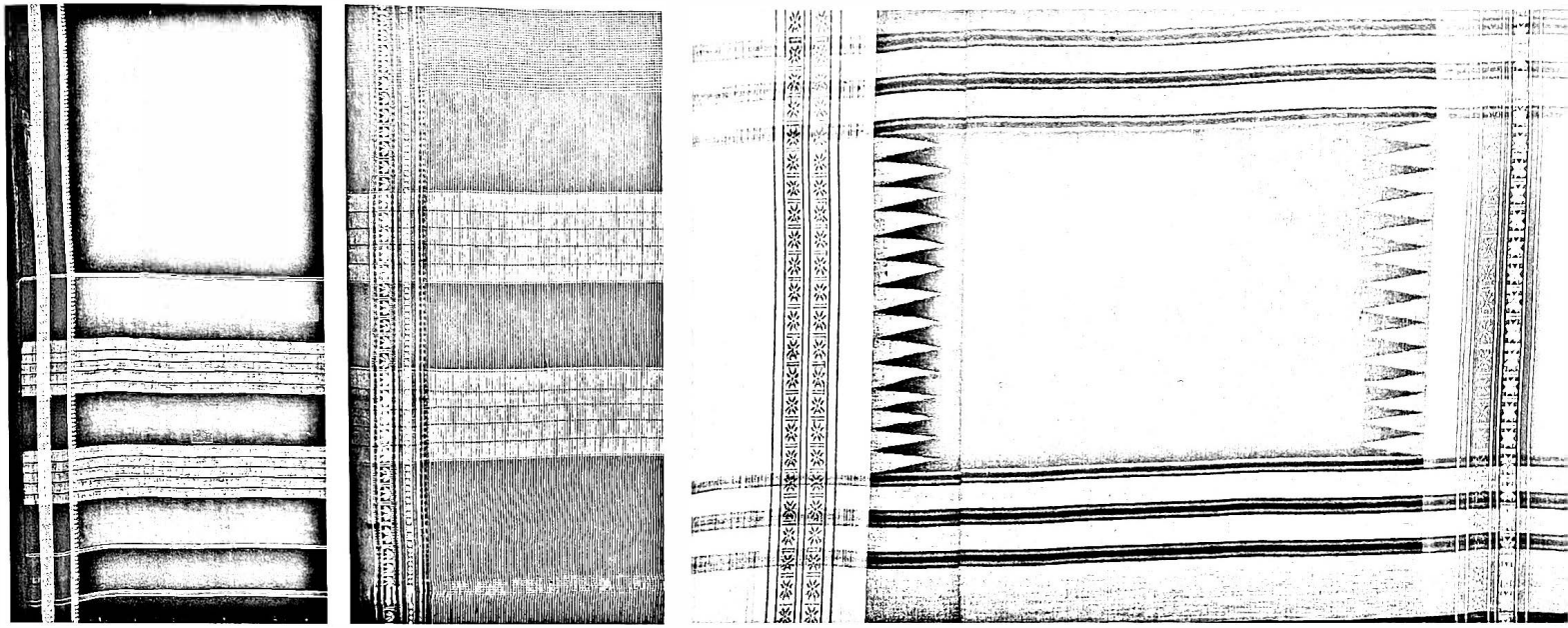


MEDIUM COUNT KHANNGADI: *Top:* **(4/26A)** Phool rasta dhadi khann/*Floral stripe body/border blouse piece; Bottom:* **(4/25C)** Phool chowkda katari dhadi khann/ *Flower check body, arrowhead border blouse piece.*

there was an immense variety in the colour combinations and scale.

Baan with yarn-resist border/body saris: The unexpected find in the range of coarse count saris and fabrics was the yarn-resist *rumal* lengths, with a dash-like pattern set within the square format of their layout, from Nanded district, Osmanabad and Solapur (4/8; pg 85). The square *rumals* are akin to the yarn-resist *rumals* of Pochampalli in Andhra Pradesh. Even more elaborate and spectacular are the warp yarn-resist bordered saris and *khann* blouse fabrics of Achalpur in Amravati district. These were resurrected after long discussions and pouring over fragments that were found in the area with weaver families, who not only retained the memory of the patterns, but also were able to persuade and guide younger weavers to produce them. These saris have clearly enunciated double-colour selvedge and plain-band borders, enclosing a broad warp yarn-resist pattern (4/20), from the simplest *katari* form to its more complex configurations in a range of bright to dark colours. Perhaps the appearance of ikat warp yarn-resist in Amravati, is due to the influence of Gujarat to its northwest; though the weavers could not explain the exclusive presence of yarn-resist only in this area.

Medium count khanngadi blouse fabrics: In medium and coarse count cottons, we find a range of extra warp-patterned *susi* (accessory fabric) and *khann* fabrics that



Left to Right: COARSE AND MEDIUM-KHADI: **(4/27)** Bugdi nakshi dhadi khadi lugda/*Ear ornament border khadi sari, Mangalveda, Solapurdistrict;* MEDIUM AND FINE COUNT COTTON/SILK **(4/30A)** Ardh kamal dhadi khaskhasi chowkda lugda/*Half-lotus border, 2 x 2 check body sari, Khed, Chandrapur district;* **(4/31A)** Nakshi dhadi baal jote/*Cotton body, patterned borders, three-shuttle end-piece sari.*

were used for blouses and pouches - stitched elements associated with the unstitched sari. *Susi* fabrics (4/23; pg 87), mostly with broken stripe patterns in the extra warp are simple in their dark ground colour with the pattern element in a lighter colour, usually being turmeric yellow or green. These are also commonly used by Muslim women for their stitched lower garments. Although the *khann* blouse fabrics are also made with plain colours in the ground, with extra warp patterning in the borders (at times with a yarn-resist stripe; 4/24; pg 87), the large variety has extra warp patterning in the ground in single or double colours (4/26A; 4/25C), which resound in the borders in silk or *zari* gold. Most of them are being woven at present with artificial silk in the extra warp patterning, which has probably replaced pure silk in the finest of the original *khanns*; at the same time, it has replaced plied cotton or lower count cotton that was also used previously for the patterning for those who could not afford silk.

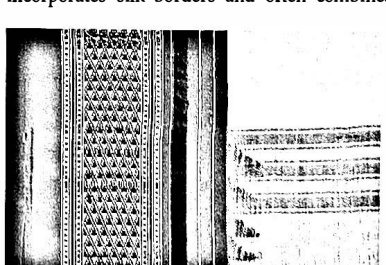
Khadi – Handspun/handwoven saris: Khadi has a widespread presence in Maharashtra, starting from the Wardha cotton-growing belt in the east, all the way to Dhule in the northwest and Solapur and Osmanabad in the south (4/27). Nowadays, hand-spinning is mostly done on the semi-mechanized *ambar charkha* in Maharashtra, while the older *desi charkha* is rarely seen in practice, except on rare occasions for demonstration purposes. The yarn is mostly of medium count; 30s-60s-70s, and is used for a range of saris with coloured, variegated stripes and limited heald/dobby patterning in the borders. *Bugdi nakshi dhadi khadi lugda* (4/27) is a fine example of this.

MEDIUM AND FINE COTTON/SILK (60s - 100s)

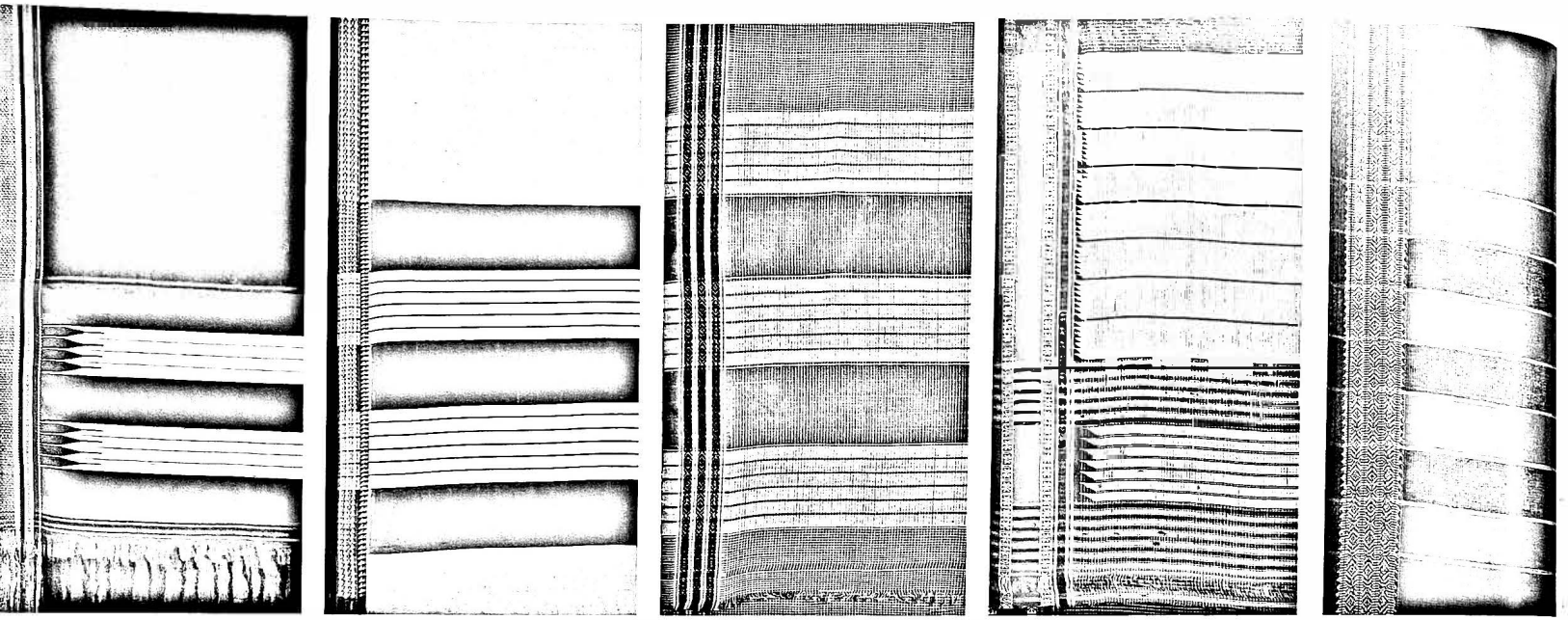
Lugda/jote - Extra warp patterned border cotton/silk saris: The *lugda* (sari) is to be found in many parts of Maharashtra both in coarse and fine counts, and there are many versions of it depending on where it is woven and for whom. For the *koli* (fisherwoman) community, there is a plain/striped/checked body woven in 40s count with heavily dented *ardh kamal* (half lotus; 4/30A) or *pharas* (mat pattern) borders. The variety of stripes and checks is numerous, though today it appears in artificial silk along with the patterned elements accompanied by two similar bands in the end-piece. This is a cheap and lustrous replacement of plain cotton, or silk for those who can afford it. These saris are available even in Mumbai, though they are woven further inland.

The more sophisticated version of the *lugda* is the *baal jote* sari (4/31A) woven largely in the Vidarbha region, consisting of the districts of Nagpur, Chandrapur and Bhandara. Plain or shot grounds in indigo blue, *haldi* (turmeric) and *aal/kiramchi* (red) are combined with *ganga jamuna* (double-coloured) borders in any two of the colours at either end. These were classic colour combinations adorned at the body end of the borders with two rows of the *rui phool* (cotton flower), in contrast with the ground colour and the opposite border colour. There was even a change from the five-band end-piece to a central band with three-shuttle weaving at the borders, which provided not only a pure colour contrast but a grand finale to the sari as a whole, held in on either side with five narrow bands of turmeric yellow. We are told that in the past, these saris were woven in finer counts, with silk borders as well for wealthier clients.

The *jote* sari (4/35) is the next step from the *lugda* (coarse cotton sari) as it actually incorporates silk borders and often combines



MEDIUM AND FINE COUNT COTTON/SILK: **(4/35)** Karvat ardh pharas reshmi dhadi zari padar jote/*Three-shuttle, half mat patterned border, metallic yarn end-piece sari.*



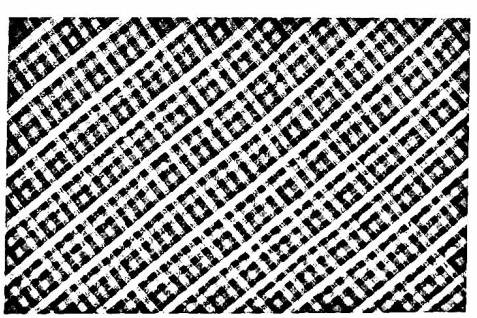
Left to Right: MEDIUM AND FINE COUNT COTTON/SILK: **(4/39)** Gomi ardh pharas tok padar lugda/*Sawedge, half mat-patterned border, attached silk end-piece sari*; **(4/43)** Nagpuri gomi katari lugda/*Sawedge, arrowhead-patterned border, plain body sari*; **(4/42)** Chowkda punneri lugda/**4x4** *check Pune sari*; **(4/40)** Tapshila dhadi jote/*Double flower patterned, cotton/silk border, check body sari*; COTTON WITH ZARI: **(4/45A)** Phool dhadi khaskhasi chowkda lugda/*Metallic yarn, flower-patterned border,* 1x1 *check body sari of Ahmadnagar.*

silk in the stripe or check as well, though it may not necessarily be woven with three shuttles. With the classic *bugdi* (ornament) and *katari* (arrow head) combination in the silk borders, at times interspersed with a yarn-resist *katari*, it acquires a refinement of scale and treatment which had not been seen in cottons previously. The *raghva* sari (4/36; pg 89) with its cotton indigo ground and original *kiramchi* vermilion silk borders uses the same motif combination, again without three-shuttle weaving to achieve a fabric structure that is both sophisticated and functionally strong. In Umred, we find the three-shuttle pure cotton in 40s and 60s count, and the higher-end 80s count with silk borders and *zari* gold in the patterning and end-piece, referred to as *karvat phera dhadi*. In lower counts (4/33; pg 89), the patterned elements are limited to the *katari* with the three-shuttle interlocking simply covered with a green warp stripe; whereas in the finer counts, the *pharas* (4/35; pg75) in full or half repeat, dominates the borders, and the grandeur of gold in the end-piece provides a culmination to the whole.

Tok padar/patal – Cotton body/silk end-piece saris: The *tok padar* (4/39) contrast-colour end-piece saris, largely in pure cotton but sometimes with silk borders and end-pieces, reveal the direct influence of Ilikal in neighbouring Karnataka. These are in a medium to fine count range and the contrast colour may simply be dip-dyed for the end-piece or attached for an inch or so to the body, the two warps woven together before the body warp is detached.

In Nagpur, Jalgaon, Dhule, Nasik and Pune districts, there is a small range of fine cottons, at times combined with silk in the stripe/check and borders (4/42; 4/43). The *nakshi lugda* of Pune and Nagpur and the *tapshila* of Mowad (4/40) are classic examples of these. There is a subtlety to their body checks and the patterning which finds a balance between the rural and the urban.

Cotton with zari saris: The fine cottons with gold *zari* borders, with or without checks, can be of silk warp/cotton weft (*garbh reshmi)* especially in the Nagpur area. The finest examples of compact, pure cotton grounds were to be found in Pune and also against orders placed in Ahmadnagar (which is not usually known for such textiles) for the finest 1 x 1 checks (4/45A).



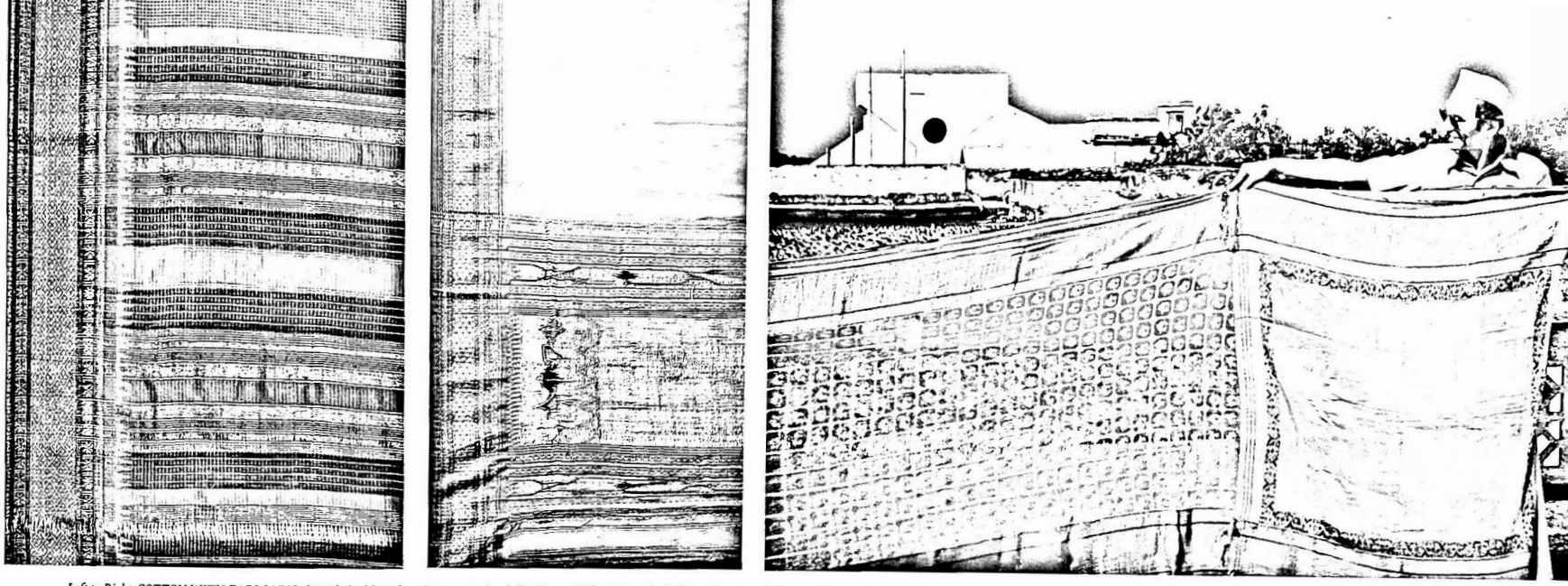
A pure silk multicolour check body patal *sari.*

SILK/COTTON SARIS

Patal – Extra warp patterned saris and drapes: The pure silk *patals* were largely woven in the three districts of Vidarbha (4/49), and were essentially the all-silk versions of the *patal* sari in cotton and silk, and the *jote*, which either had an all-cotton body or cotton and silk in the stripes/checks. The motif range is similar to the earlier saris, with the *rui phul* and *pharas* dominating the body edge of the border and the heavier denting of the silk warp submerging the dark weft.

The silk saris of Yeola in Nasik district and parts of Vidarbha reveal a yet finer silk range, possibly because they were saris that were sold in other parts of India as well. Yeola (4/53; pg 92) also produced a wide range of gold-bordered *safa* (turban cloth), but this declined almost immediately with the rise of the freedom movement and the popularity of the Gandhi *topi* (cloth/cap) that obliterated symbols of the community, caste or region of the people wearing it.

Paithan – Interlocked tapestry/brocade saris: The culminating centre of cotton and silk ground saris with heavy gold borders and end-pieces adorned with interlock



Left to Right: COTTON WITH ZARI SARIS: **(4/49)** Garbh reshami Nagpuri phool dhadi patal/*Silk x Cotton body, flower-border sari, Nagpur, Nagpur district,* PAITHAN -INTERLOCKED TAPESTRY/BROCADE SARI: **(4/57)** Ardh pharas bugdi dhadi paithan patal/*Half mat, ear ornament border, silk sari, Paithan, Jalna district,* Suti paithani/*Cotton sari of Paithan.*

patterning, often woven without the aid of any mechanical device. The *Paithani* **(4/57)** has exerted its influence not only in the vicinity and in Yeola, but it also initiates a colour, texture and patterning influence, especially in the borders, in the silk centres of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. However, the tapestry elements are restricted to the environs of Paithan and reappear at times in Andhra Pradesh.

Weavers explain that prior to Independence, they were financially far more secure as there were enough clients, and they were able to invest in the silk and *zari* gold themselves and sell with at least a hundred per cent mark-up, which made the effort worthwhile. With decreasing patronage, the *Paithani* sari and the *shalu* (upper drape) declined, but received a fresh lease of life during the Visvakarma exhibitions in the 1980s. The Maharashtra government has also initiated a *Paithani* production centre in Paithan. In the long term, such outstanding technical skills require constant design intervention and clientele support to ensure a viable future.

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Since the 1980s, and especially post-liberalization (1991), the prospects of the sari have changed entirely. The stitched Indian garment/Indo-Western outfit and Western-wear have hit urban centres. Likewise, rural markets have lost ground to the mill-made, printed saris, partly because they are anonymous apparel and also easier to wash and wear. Despite considerations of climate, comfort, aesthetics and culture, both urban and rural India are breaking free of their moorings and to that extent, are participants in the process of globalization.

No one can deny that the market space required for the hand-skill sector, is so small that it cannot be sustained through the present level of development. The handloom weavers represent a sector of inherited skills that provide the springboard for future growth, and also the imagination, craft skills and usage that have enriched the textile tradition of India for hundreds of years. Kept alive as an anonymous tradition, stoking and provoking questions of identity without self-consciousness and bias, is what has given it strength and personality till now. So special are they in the life-cycle of a woman; from young girl to womanhood to old age, that even though saris may not customarily be worn everyday, no woman would like to be deprived of these symbols of her passage through life. The market exists and never before has buying power been so widespread. In this scenario, therefore, a small organized effort towards supporting production and making these saris available could go a long way in seeing them find a secure future.

सावर सावर अंबाबाई पैठणीचा घोळ
शंकराशी सारी पाट अंबा मला खेळन

Please, please, Amba my goddess I fear I am caught in my Paithani sari
Please Siva my God, let me play fearlessly with her .
- Commemorative verse to Goddess Amba

WEARING STYLES – MAHARASHTRA

STYLE 1: KAATAKARI/Tribal agriculturist style

STYLE 1: KAATAKARI/Tribal agriculturist style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Tribal agriculturists
AREA: Central coastal region

1. Hold outer end-piece diagonally.
2. Take outer end-piece over left shoulder to thigh length.
3. Hold upper border at left waist and take remaining sari around waist clockwise.
4. Bind border held at left waist with free end of sari tightly.
5. Bring free end-piece to right waist.
6. Tuck free end-piece at right waist.
7. Gather free end-piece diagonally with right hand.
8. Wrap gathered piece around waist clockwise.
9. Bring to front and hold lower border with left hand.
10. Tuck free end-piece into right waist.
11. Hold lower borders of front drape with both hands.
12. Tuck left border at centre front waist.
13. Similarly, tuck right border at centre front waist.
14. Hold front drape with left hand.
15. Bring held portion front to back between legs and take free end-piece to left waist clockwise.
16. Take remaining free end-piece around waist clockwise forming a waistband.
17. Open inner end-piece and tuck at right front waist.
18. Bring outer end-piece back to front anticlockwise.
19. Tuck in at front left waist.
20. Tuck held portion of stage 15 between legs at centre back waist.

STYLE 2: THAKKAR/Coastal tribal agriculturist style

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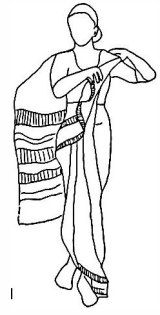
STYLE 3: WARLI/Tribal agriculturist style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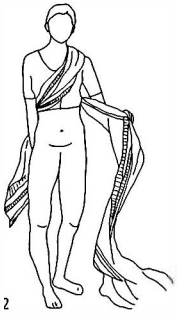
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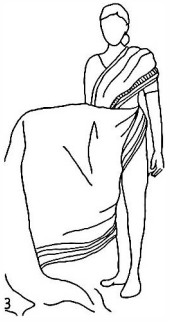
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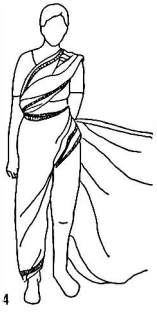
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STYLE 2: THAKKAR/Coastal tribal agriculturist style

LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Tribal agriculturists
AREA: Central coastal region

1. Fold inner end of sari diagonally outwards and bring free end-piece around the waist anticlockwise.
2. Pass right end of triangle between legs front to back.
3. Tie a knot with right upper end of triangle with free end of sari at right waist.
4. Hold free end with right hand.
5. Tuck free end at left waist. Pull held portion between legs and hold firmly.
6. Take lower border of free end of sari and gather into diagonal pleats with left hand.
7. Once gathered, pull lower border to fall in wave-like form.
8. Perfect gathered pleats to drape over lower right leg to upper left leg.
9. Hold diagonal pleats with left hand and take lower border of pleats between legs.
10. Take free end-piece around waist anticlockwise and tuck at left waist.
11. Tuck free end-piece at centre front waist.
12. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder.
13. Tuck in held portion of step 2 at centre back waist.

STYLE 3: WARLI/Tribal agriculturist style

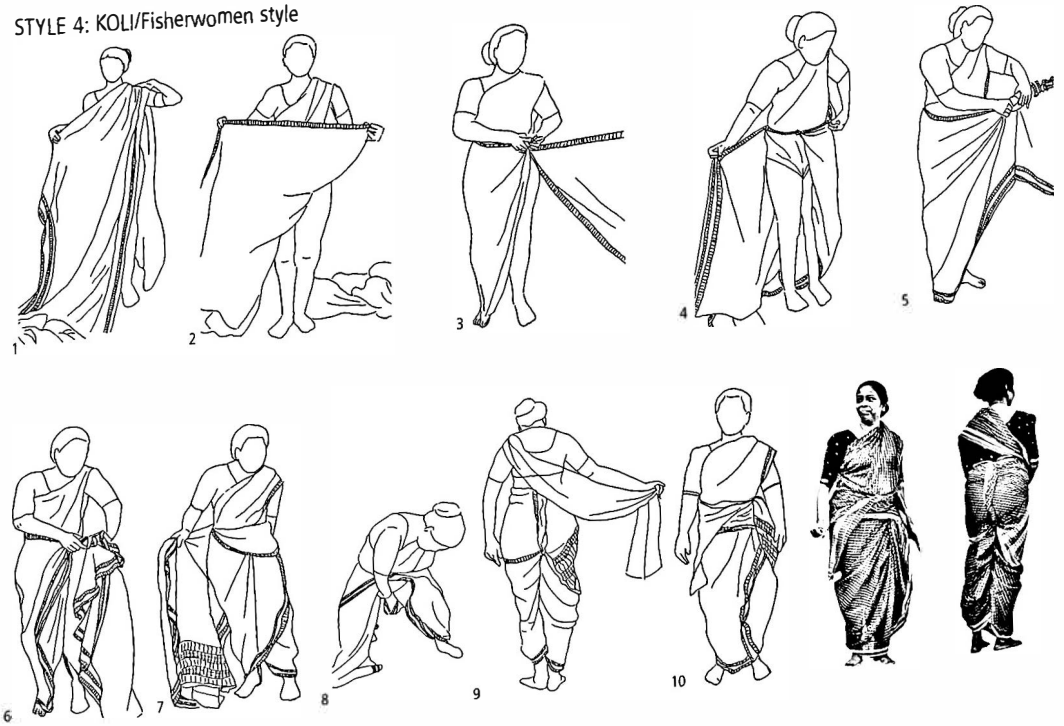
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Tribal agriculturists
AREA: Northern coastal interior

1. Take diagonally stretched outer end-piece over left shoulder till knee length.
2. Bring free end-piece around waist clockwise and hold in front.
3. Pick up lower border of free end-piece and bring it to right waist.
4. Stretch over right leg till ankle length and bring free end-piece around waist clockwise.
5. Bring free end-piece to right front waist and tuck in.

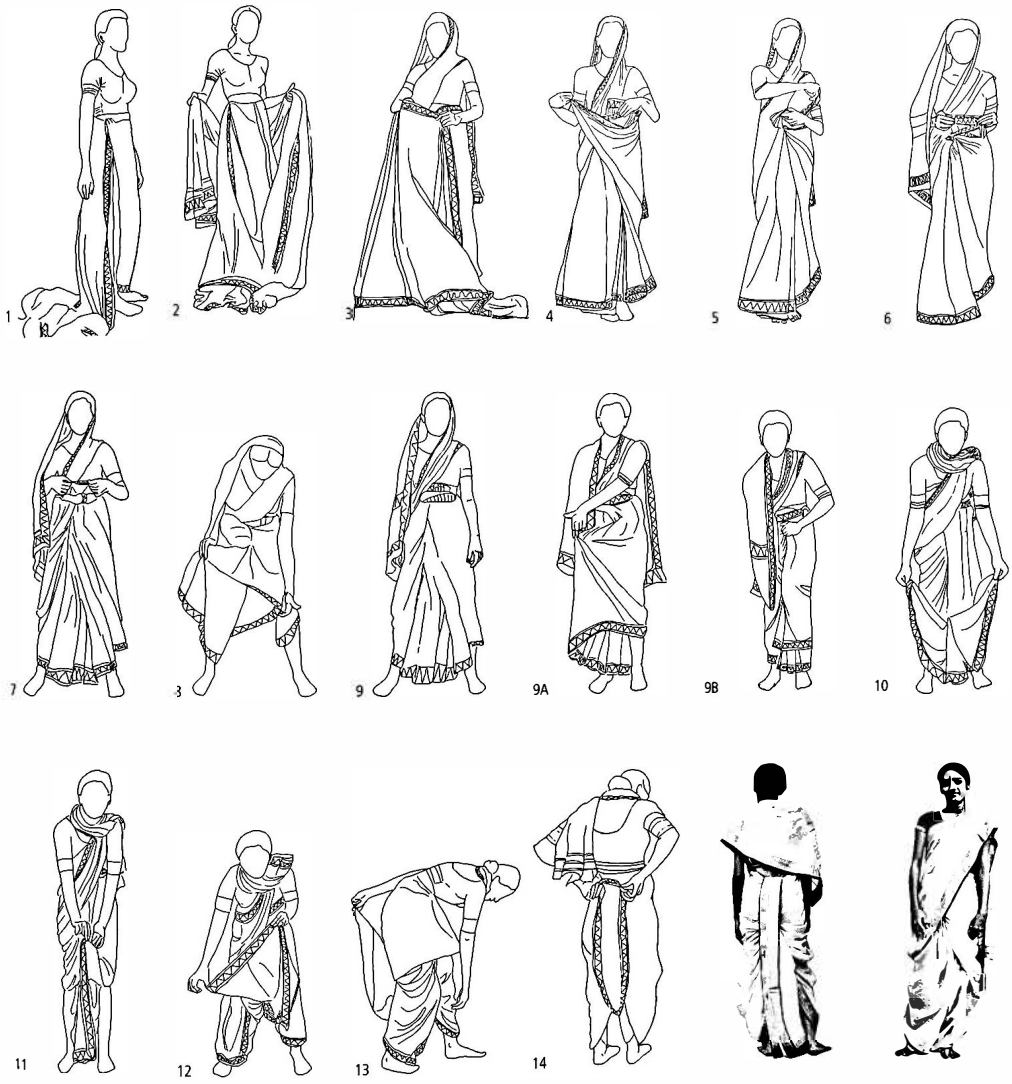
6. Lift lower end of double border drape and gather in front.
7. Hold centre of double drape between legs front to back.
8. Bring free end around waist anticlockwise and tuck in at left waist.
9. Take out held portion between legs of stage 7 pulling down both legs.
10. Take middle portion to back between legs and tuck in at centre back waist.
11. Wrap inner end-piece completely around waist anticlockwise and tuck into waist.
12. Bring outer end-piece to front from right and tuck into right waist.

STYLE 4: KOLI/Fisherwomen style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Fisherwomen
AREA: Coastal Maharashtra

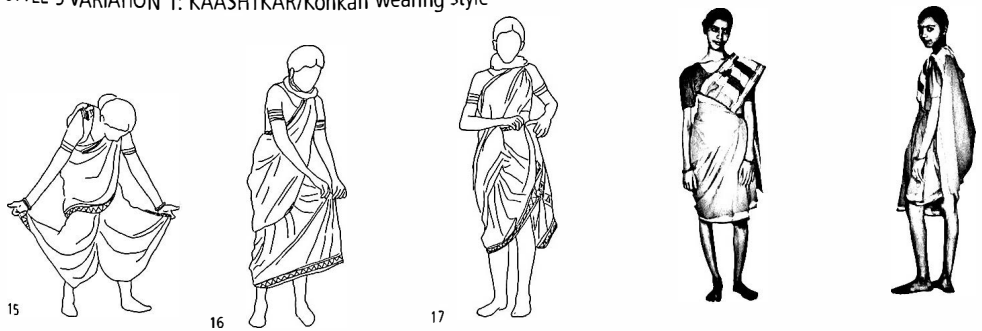
1. Drape diagonally stretched outer end-piece over left shoulder till floor length.
2. Hold sari from left border in front with both hands.
3. Bring free end around waist clockwise and tie knot with held portion in left hand at left waist, holding lower end down with right toe.
4. Hold front drape between legs front to back. Bring free end around waist anticlockwise.
5. Hold sari from bottom with right toe and gather free end diagonally at left waist.
6. Twist gathered portion clockwise at left waist.
7. Wrap free end completely around waist anticlockwise and tuck into left waist.
8. Take held portion of stage 4 to centre back waist between legs and tuck in.
9. Bring outer end-piece to front anticlockwise.
10. Tuck in at left waist.



STYLE 5: MARATHAMOLI/Maratha wearing style



STYLE 5 VARIATION 1: KAASHTKAR/Konkan wearing style



STYLE 5: MARATHAMOLI/Maratha wearing style

LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Maratha and other communities
AREA: Coastal and interior Maharashtra

1. Take inner end of sari clockwise around waist and tie knot at right waist.
2. Hold outer end-piece and bring towards right side from back.
3. Bring outer end-piece over left shoulder, overhead till knee length and make pleats of remaining free portion.
4. Reverse pleats from left to right and take out inner two to three pleats.
5. Wrap freed pleats around gathered pleats to bind them and tuck in at left waist.
6. Roll pleats outward to desired length of sari, into kela- or banana-like form.
7. Pull innermost layer of sari and turn outwards over the kela/banana form, securing it firmly.
8. Take lower border of back drape to centre front waist.
9. Bring it over banana-like form to reverse.

9A. Pick up centre point of left front pleats.

9B. Roll over and hold towards centre between legs.

10. Pick up lower hemline with both hands.
11. Bring them together to centre front.
12. Hold both borders with left hand and stretch out to centre point.
13. Pull centre point to back between legs.
14. Tuck into centre back waist at least 9 to 12 inches and draw out both borders to fall parallel at the back.

STYLE 5 VARIATION 1: KAASHTKAR/ Konkan wearing style

WORN BY: Konkan working women
AREA: South interior and coastal Maharashtra

Stages 1-14 are common with Style 5

15. Pick centre left and right.
16. Bring them together to left side.
17. Tuck it into left waist.

NOTE: There is yet another style known as *Mokala kashta*, ending at stage 11 of style 5. In this the pleats are taken between the legs but are not tucked in at centre back. A circular walking movement ensures the pleats stay pushed back at all times.

STYLE 5 VARIATION 2: KAAMAKARI/Working rural women

Stages 1-14 are common with Style 5

15. Hold borders on either sides with both hands.
16. Bring back between legs front to back.
17. Hold apart borders behind back.
18. Tuck all extraneous fabric at front left and right.

STYLE 6: KONKANASTHA/Konkan community

LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Women of Konkan region
AREA: Central and south Maharashtra

Stages 1-14 are common with Style 5

NOTE: At stage 4 while taking pleats to back take more pleats to right side.

15. Pick up with left hand 6 inches above lower border and make triangle with right hand.
16. Take loose portion in right hand and push it under left held portion.
17. Tuck left portion into left waist.

STYLE 7: LAVANI/Dance style

LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Lavani performers
AREA: Central Maharashtra

Stages 1-14 are common with Style 5

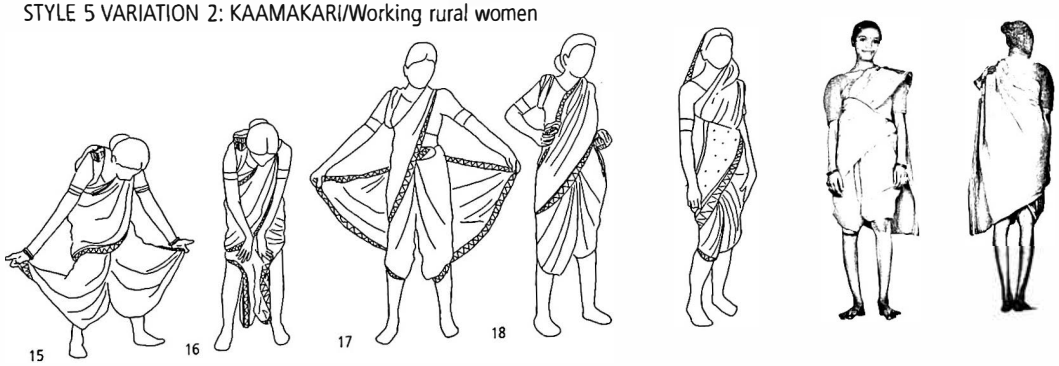
15. Take loose end of lower border at back of leg.
16. Wrap it inwards to form a tight drape around leg up to calf.
17. Wrapping must go completely around leg from outer to inner side.
18. Tie cord holding 'V' formation of border above heel. Lavani performers usually wear at least ten rows of ankle bells over cord.

STYLE 8: AGARI/Salt harvester style

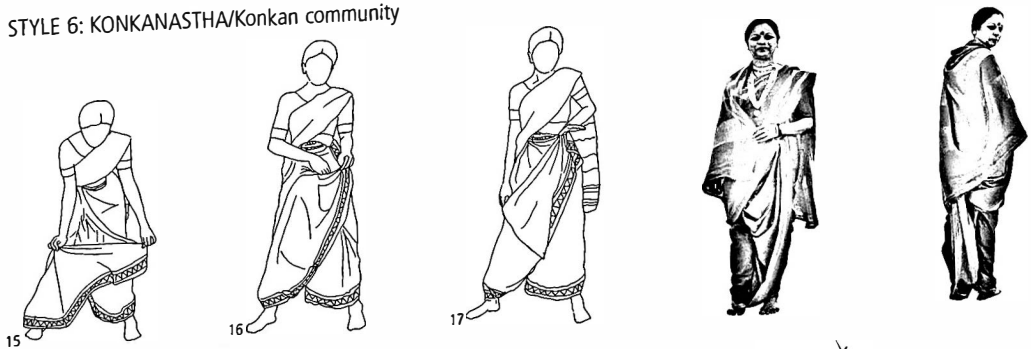
Length: 9 yd/ 8.30 m
WORN BY: Salt harvesters
AREA: Coastal Maharashtra

1. Drape outer end-piece diagonally over left shoulder till floor length and hold left border of front drape between legs.
2. Pick up an arm length of free end of sari from upper border.
3. Hold arm length apart.
4. Bring both ends to centre back and bind/ knot them.
5. Gather lower end of sari in front.

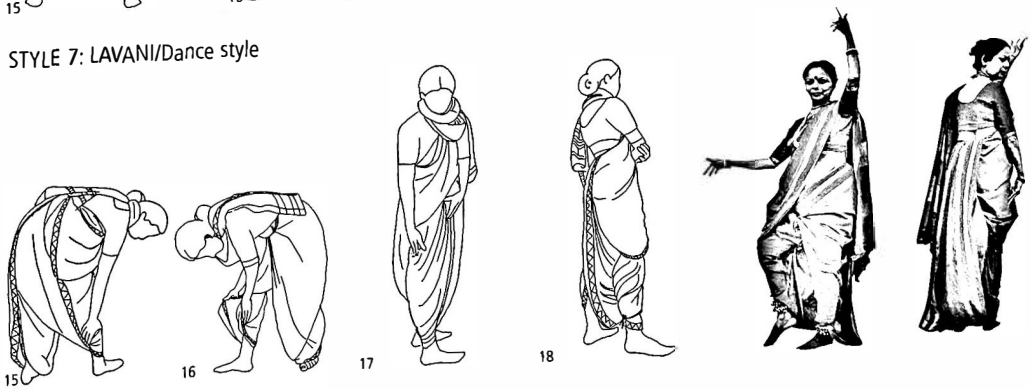
STYLE 5 VARIATION 2: KAAMAKARI/Working rural women



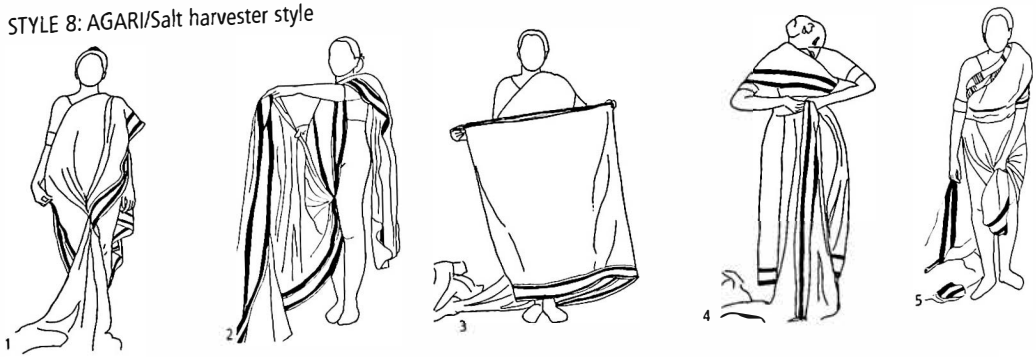
STYLE 6: KONKANASTHA/Konkan community

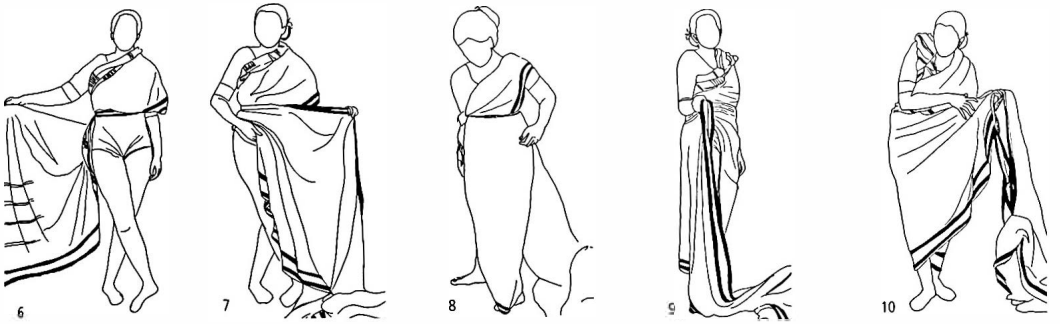


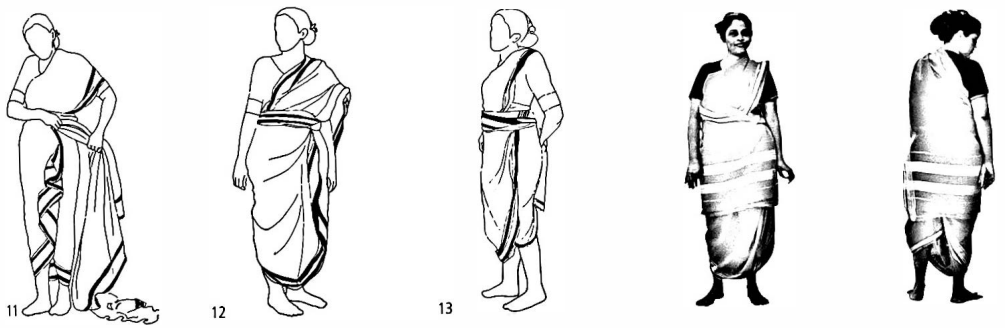
STYLE 7: LAVANI/Dance style



STYLE 8: AGARI/Salt harvester style







STYLE 8 VARIATION 1: AGARI/Salt harvester style

6. Take held portion between legs front to back, and bring free end-piece from back to front anticlockwise.
7. Bring free piece to left waist.
8. Hold front drape under left toe and bring free end-piece around waist anticlockwise.
9. Hold free end of sari at right front waist.
10. Pull free end-piece tightly towards left draping diagonal pleats from over lower right leg to upper left leg.
11. Gather remaining portion of sari and bring it around waist till its outer end is completely wound.
12. Tuck in free end-piece at centre back waist.
13. The portion held between legs at stage 1 should now be tucked into centre back waist at least 12 inches.

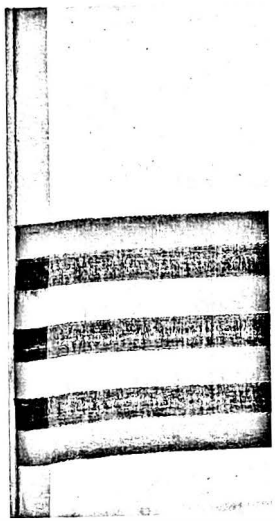
STYLE 8 VARIATION 1: AGARI/Salt harvester style

LENGTH: 9 yd/8.30 m
WORN BY: Salt harvesters
AREA: Coastal Maharashtra

1. Drape diagonally stretched outer end-piece over left shoulder till ankle length.
2. Hold both borders apart.
3. Pull sari from right border between legs front to back.
4. Pick up free end from left border in front and make up to 6 pleats with right hand to drape left leg.
5. Hold pleats between legs and bring sari around waist anticlockwise.
6. Bring free end-piece around waist anticlockwise and hold at left waist in front.
7. Gather free end-piece diagonally at left waist in front. Adjust lower border with right hand to form wave from lower right leg to upper left leg.
8. Twist sari clockwise at left waist.
9. Bring free end of sari anticlockwise around waist till its outer end is completely wound.
10. Tuck in free end at centre back waist.
11. Portion held between legs at stage 3 should now be tucked in at centre back waist at least 12 inches.
12. Drape outer end-piece beautifully back to front and tuck in at front left waist.

NOTE: The end view of Style 8 and Style 8 Variation (above) is same, but stages 1-12 are different and therefore, have been given separately on the left.

▲ 1.1: *Baan Lugda* – Plain body/border/printed saris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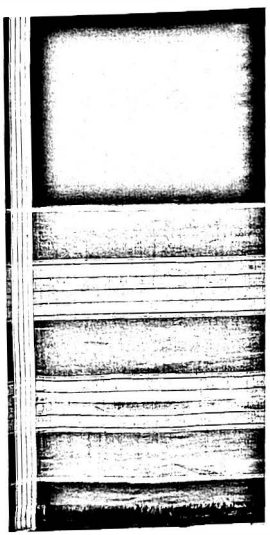
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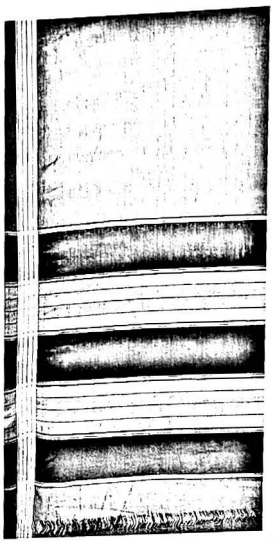
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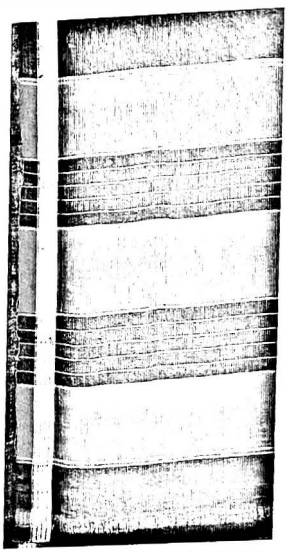
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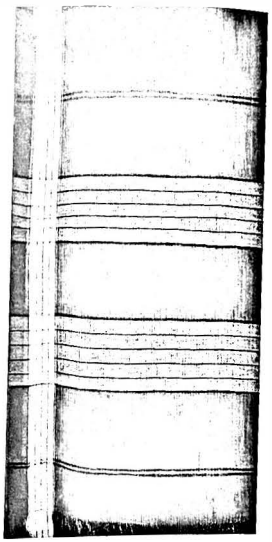
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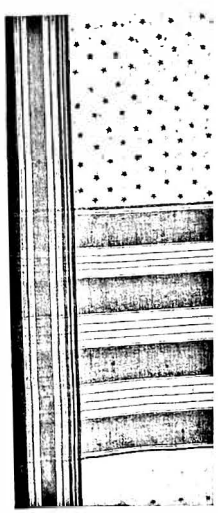
● 1.2: *Baan Lugda* with extra warp border/plain/check body saris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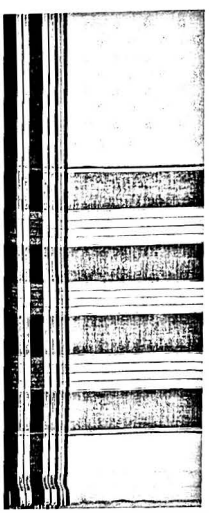
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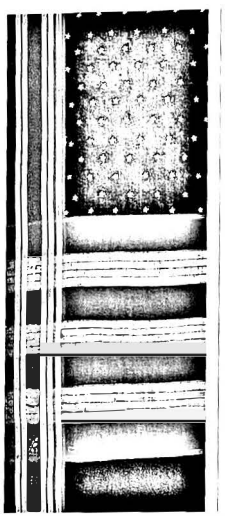
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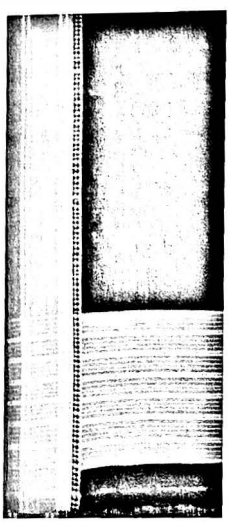
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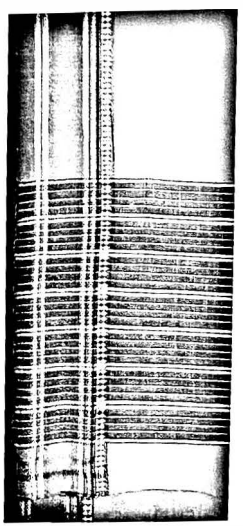
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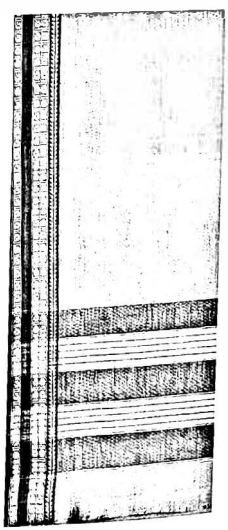

4/7A

4/1: Name: *Sada baan lugda*/Plain double-border colour sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.22 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 525 gm; Origin: Shegaon Kund, Chandrapur district

4/2: Name: *Sada baan lugda*/Plain body/border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.24 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Mandhal, Nagpur district

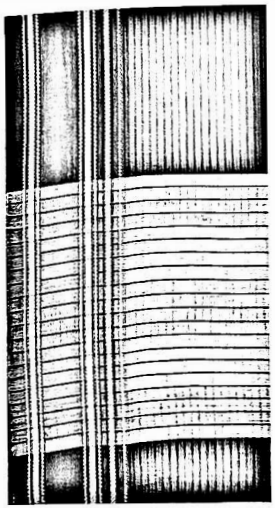
4/2A: Name: *Dhoop chaon baan lugda*/Shot plain body/border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Mandhal, Nagpur district

4/3; 3A: Name: *Rasta baan lugda*/Striped body/border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s/30s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Adyal, Bhandara district

4/4; 4/5; 5A: Name: *Chandrakala baan lugda*/Resin-printed body, plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.44 m; Width: 1.28 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Khed, Chandrapur district

4/6; 4/7: Name: Bugdi *katari nakshi dhadi lugda*/Ear-ornament, arrowhead-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.25-5.40 m; Width: 1.26 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/7A: Name: *Phool gomi nakshi dhadi lugda*/Plain body, saw-edged, flower-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.27 m; Width: 1.24 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district



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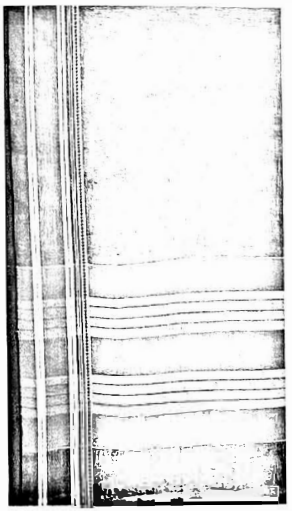

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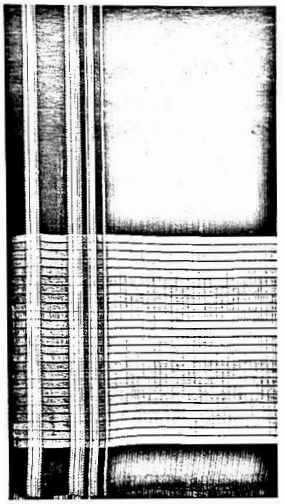

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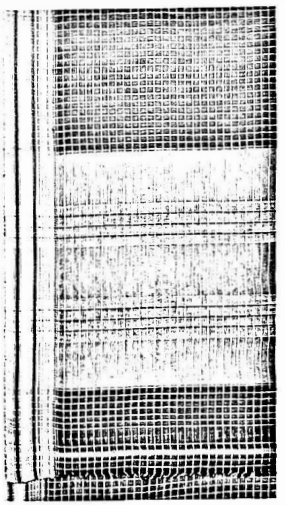

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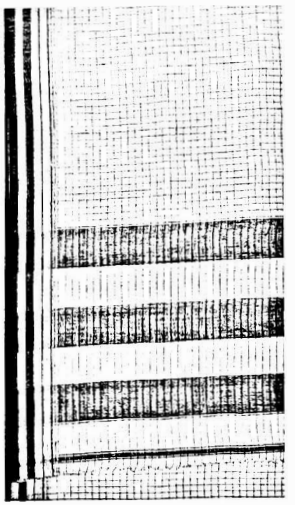

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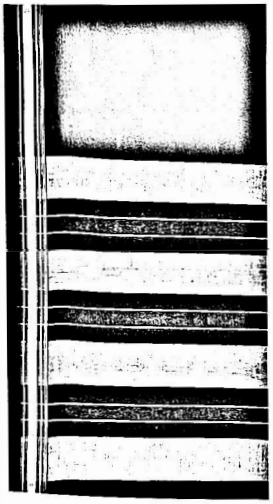

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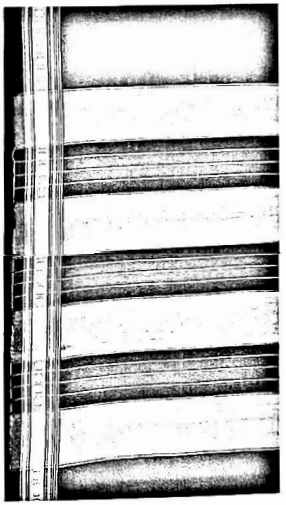

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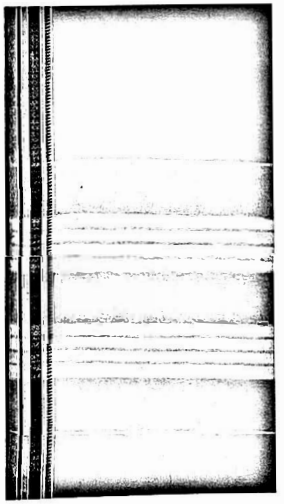

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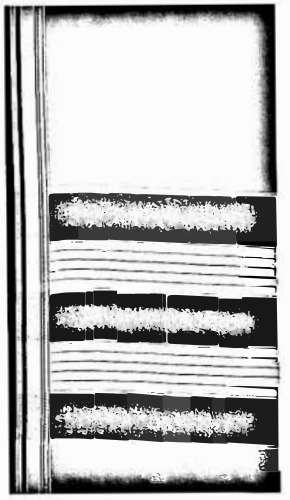

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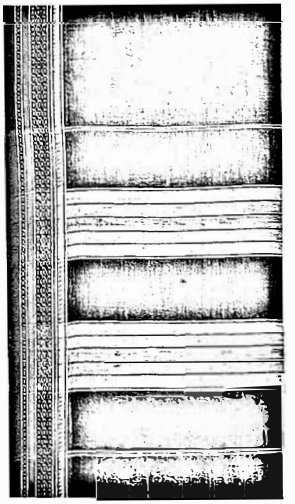
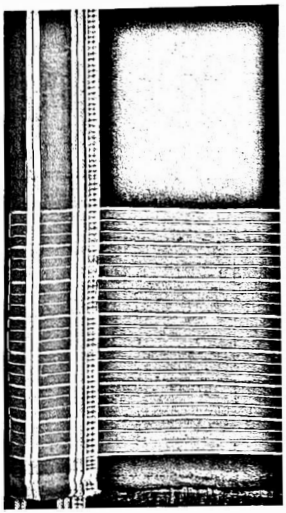


4/12

4/8: Name: *Rasta gomi katari nakshi dhadi lugda*/Stripe body, saw-edge, arrowhead-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 375-500 gm; Origin: Randal, Sangli district
4/8A; 8B: Name: *Rasta gomi katari nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/Stripe body, saw-edge, arrowhead-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.60 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 360 gm; Origin: Deglur, Nanded district

4/9: Name: *Chowkda gomi nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/Check body, saw-edge, arrowhead-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.56 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Budhgaon, Sangli district
4/9A: Name: *Chowkda gomi katari nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/Check body, saw-edge, arrowhead-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.56 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Budhgaon, Sangli district

4/10; 10A: Name: *Phool dhadi baan lugda*/Flower-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.34 m; Width: 1.26 m; Weight: 600 gm; Origin: Kamthi, Nagpur district
4/11; 11A; 4/12: Name: *Dholak kinar baan lugda*/Drum-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.24 m; Width: 1.27 m; Weight: 600 gm; Origin: Kamthi, Nagpur district



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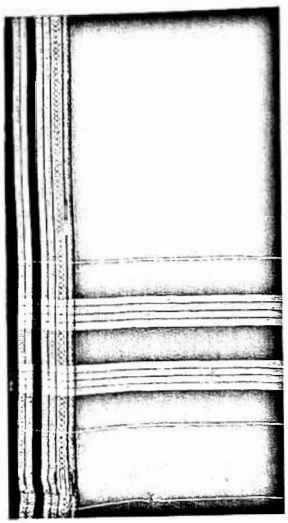

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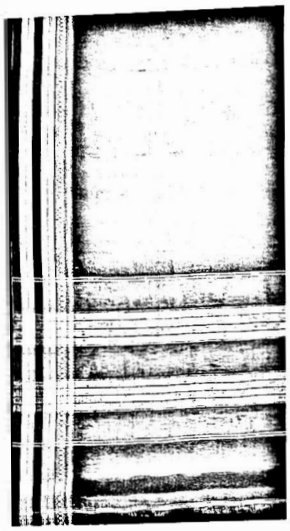

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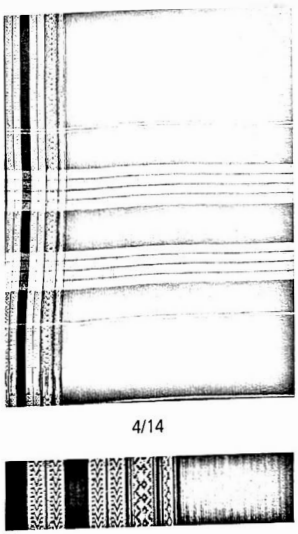

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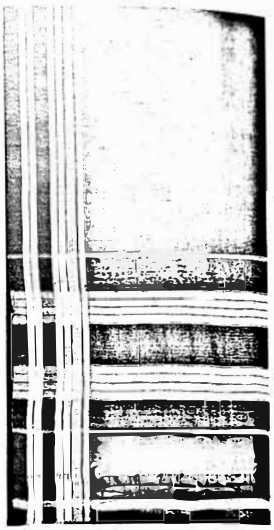
4/14A



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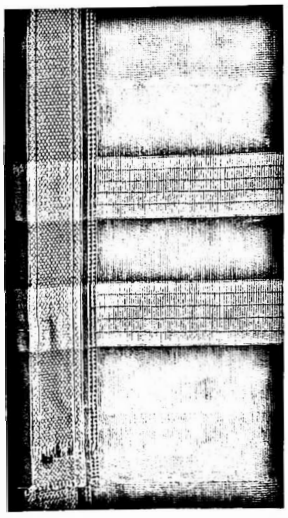

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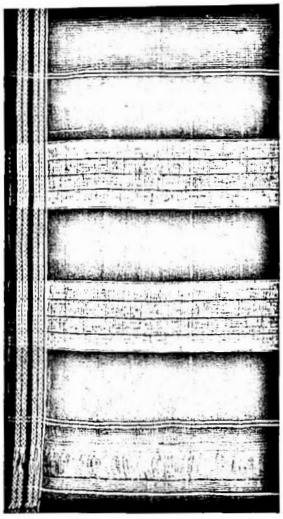

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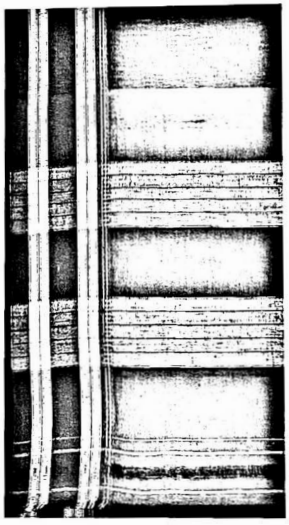

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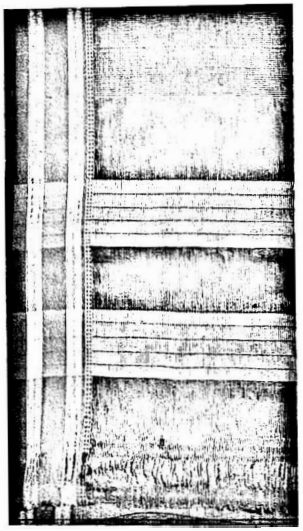

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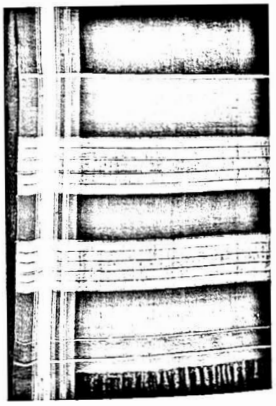


4/17

4/17A

4/12A: Name: *Bugdi katari nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/Ear-ornament, arrowhead-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.44 m; Width: 1.27 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Nagpur, Nagpur district

4/13: Name: *Sada vinchur bugdi katari nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/Plain body, ear-ornament, arrowhead patterned border sari of Vinchur; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.10 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 740 gm; Origin: Vinchur, Nasik district

4/13A: Name: *Dhoop chaon vinchur bugdi katari nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/Shot body, ear-ornament, arrowhead-patterned border sari of Vinchur; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 7.16 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 800 gm; Origin: Vinchur, Nasik district

4/14; 14A: Name: *Rasta vinchur baan lugda*/Striped body, patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 7.14 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 850 gm; Origin: Vinchur, Nasik district

4/15: Name: *Chowkda vinchur baan lugda*/Check body, patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.38 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 640 gm; Origin: Vinchur, Nasik district

4/15A: Name: *Chowkda pharas nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/Check body, mat-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.68 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 750 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/16: Name: *Khaskhasi chowkda katari nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/2 x 2 check body, arrowhead patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.40 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 825 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/16A: Name: *Khaskhasi chowkda phool bugdi nakshi dhadi baan lugda*/2 x 2 check body, flower-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 8.10 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 750 gm; Origin: Wadgaon, Parbhanl district

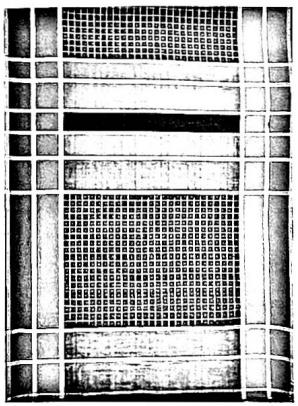
4/16B: Name: *Khaskhasi chowkda phool gomi nakshi dhadi lugda*/2 x 2 check body, flower, saw-edge patterned border sari; Material: Cotton x silk, 40s; Length: 8.70 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 775 gm; Origin: Randal, Sangli district

4/17; 17A: Name: *Khaskhasi chowkda ardh pharas nakshi dhadi lugda*/2 x 2 check body, half mat-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton x silk, 40s; Length: 8.30 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 725 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/18, 18A, 18B: Name: *Chukki chowkda rumal*/yarn-resist check body, square fabric; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 0.90 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 80 gm; Origin: Pasodi, Nanded district

4/19; 4/20: Name: *Sada ankhi chukki dhadi lugda*/Plain body, yarn-resist eye-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.36 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Achalpur, Amravati district

★ 1.3: *Baan Lugda* with yarn-resist border/body saris



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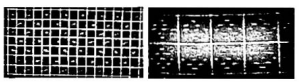

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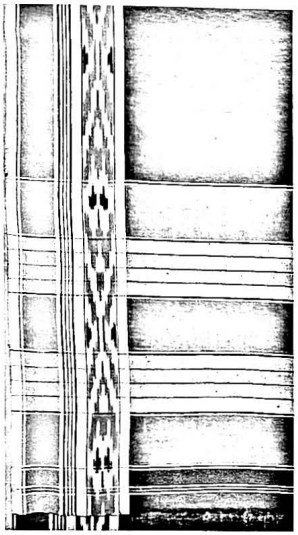

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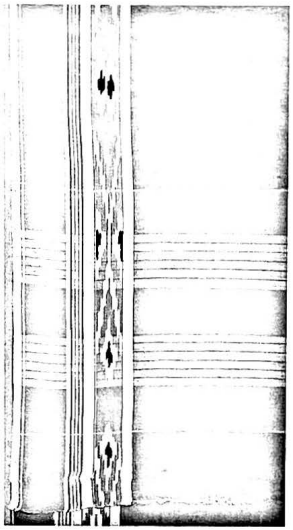

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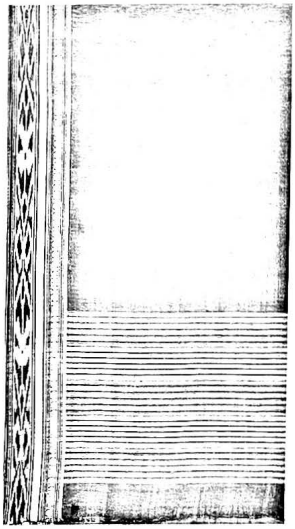

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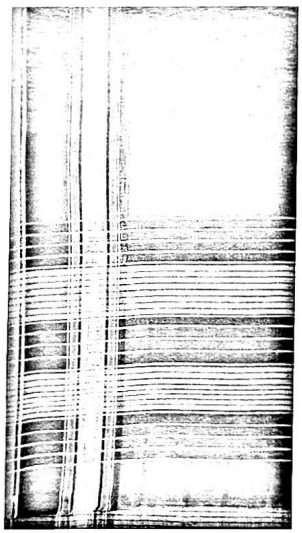

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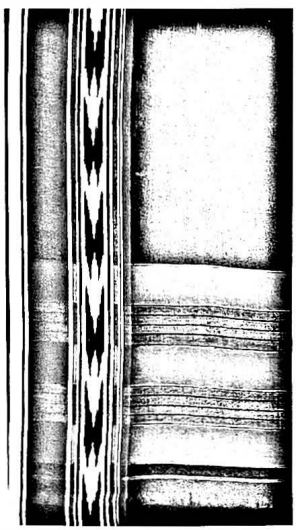
❤ 1.4: Medium count *khanngadi* blouse fabrics



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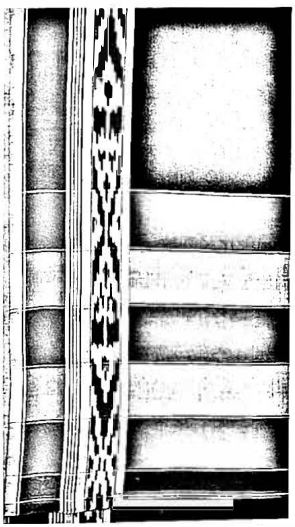

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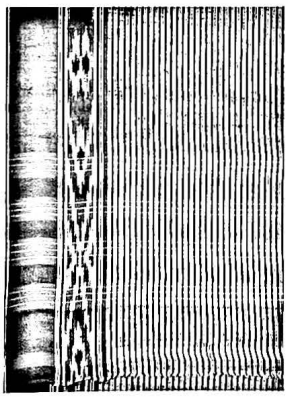

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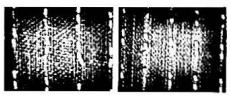
4/22A



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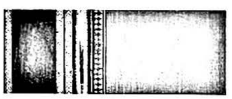

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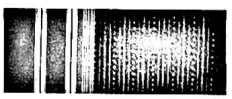
4/24A



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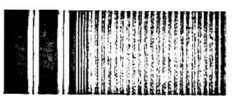
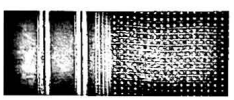


4/25A

4/25B



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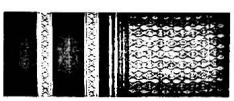

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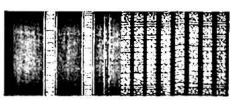

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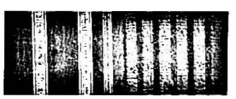


4/26B

4/20A: Name: *Sada ankhi chukki phool nakshi dhadi lugda*/Plain body, eye yarn-resist, flowerpatterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.34 m; Width: 1.26 m; Weight: 525 gm; Origin: Achalpur, Amravati district

4/20B; 4/21; 21A: Name: *Sada katari chukki dhadi lugda*/Plain body, yarn-resist arrowhead-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.52 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Achalpur,Amravati district

4/22; 22A: Name: *Rasta ankhi chukki dhadi*/Striped body, yarn-resist eye-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.26 m; Weight: 575 gm; Origin: Achalpur, Amravati district

4/23; 23A: Name: *Susi*/Fabric for accessory; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.14 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Kundalwadi, Nanded district

4/24: Name: *Bugdi katari chukki dhadi khanni*/Ear ornament, arrowhead with yarn-resist pattern border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.74 m; Weight: 380 gm; Origin: Parinda, Osmanabad district

4/24A: Name: *Bugdi chukki dhadi khanni*/Ear ornament and yarn-resist border blouse, etc.; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.60 m; Weight: 385 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/25: Name: *Lehar phool garbh katari dhadi khanni*/Twill and flower-patterned body, arrowhead border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.60-0.90 m; Weight: 460 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/25A: Name: *Lehar garbh katari dhadi khanni*/Striped body, arrowhead border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton 60s/Extra warp silk; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.60-0.90 m; Weight: 462 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/25B: Name: *Chowkda garbh katari dhadi khanni*/Check body, arrowhead border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.60-0.90 m; Weight: 460 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

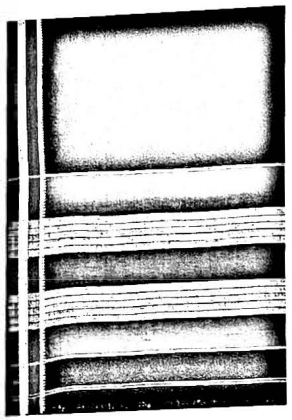
4/25C: Name: *Phool chowkda katari dhadi khanni*/Flower check body, arrowhead border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.60-0.90 m; Weight: 465 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/26: *Ankhi garabh sikka dhadi khanni*/Eye patterned body, coin border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.72 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Kundal, Sangli district

4/26A: Name: *Phool rasta dhadi khanni*/Floral striped body/border blouse fabric; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.74 m; Weight: 490 gm; Origin: Parinda, Osmanabad district

4/26B: Name: *Phool rasta dhadi khanni*/Floral striped body/border blouse, etc.; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.38 m; Width: 0.72 m; Weight: 490 gm; Origin: Maindargi, Solapur district

1.5: *Khadi* – Handspun/handloom saris



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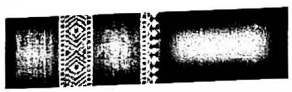

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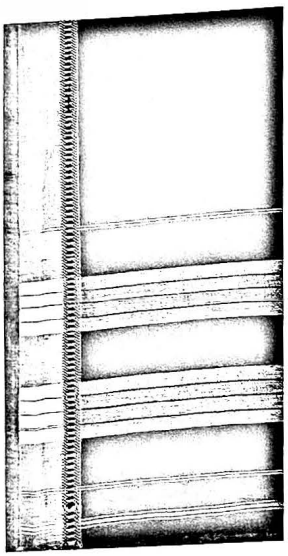

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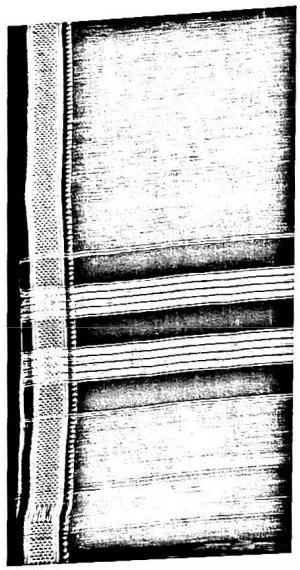

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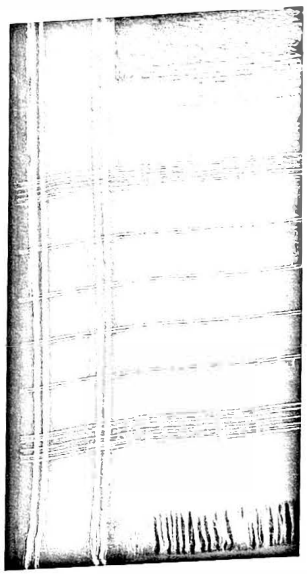

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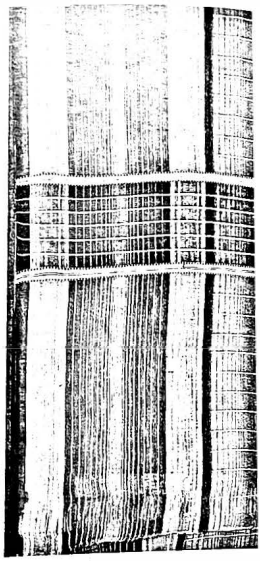

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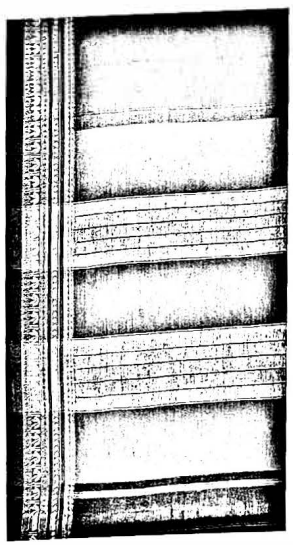
2.1: *Lugda/Jote* – Extra warp patterned borders – Cotton/Silk saris

2 MEDIUM/FINE COUNT COTTON/SILK SARIS



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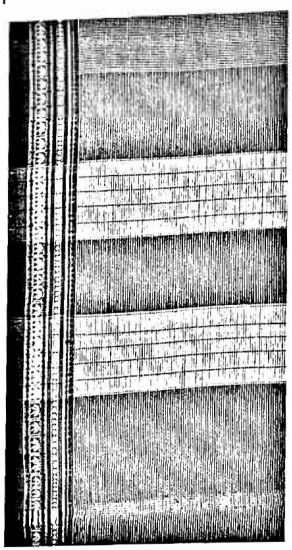

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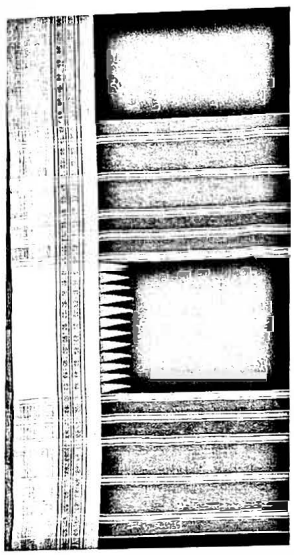

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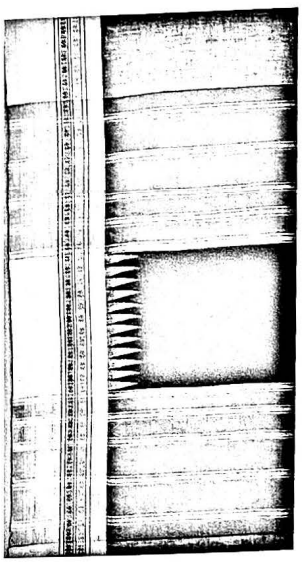

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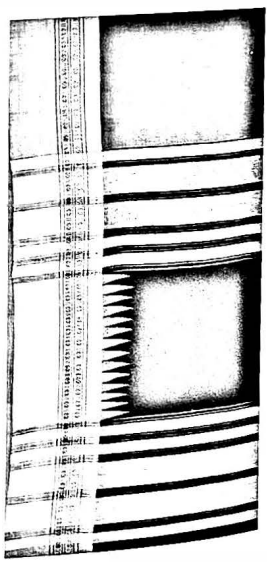

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4/27; 27A: Name: *Bugdi nakshi dhadi khadi lugda*/Ear ornament border *khadi* sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 330 gm; Origin: Mangalwedha, Solapur district

4/28: Name: *Baju patta nakshi dhadi khadi lugda*/Wrist strap-band patterned border *khadi* sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.64 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 410 gm; Origin: Manganwadi, Wardha district

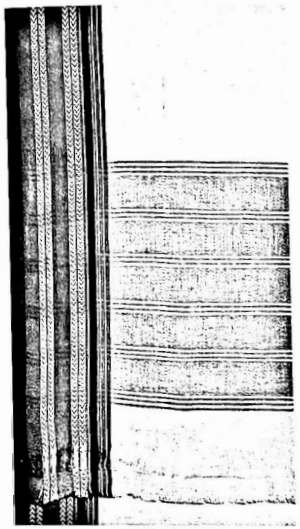
4/28A: Name: *Ardh pharas gomi nakshi dhadi khadi lugda*/Saw-edge, half mat patterned border *khadi* sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.28 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 600 gm; Origin: Armori, Garhchiroli district

4/29: Name: *Katari tok padar khadi lugda*/Arrowhead yarn-resist border and end-piece *khadi* sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.52m; Width: 1.16m; Weight: 375gm; Origin: Dhule, Dhule district

4/29A: Name: *Rasta garbh khadi lugda*/Receding stripe body/border *khadi* sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.34 m; Width: 1.15 m;Weight: 415 gm; Origin: Manganwadi, Wardha district

4/30; 30A: Name: *Ardh kamal dhadi khaskhasi chowkda lugda*/Half-lotus border, 2 x 2 check body sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 8.80 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 800 gm; Origin: Khed, Chandrapur district; Purchased: Mahim, Mumbai

4/31; 31A; 4/32: Name: *Nakshi dhadi baal jote*/Cotton body, patterned borders, three-shuttle end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.46 m;Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 525 gm; Origin: Mohadi, Bhandara district



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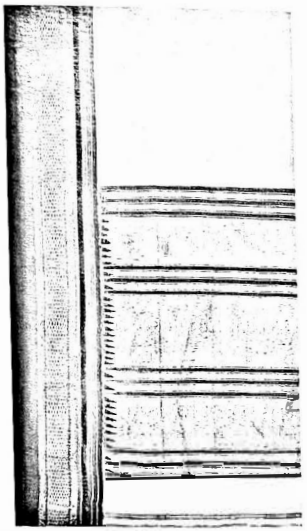

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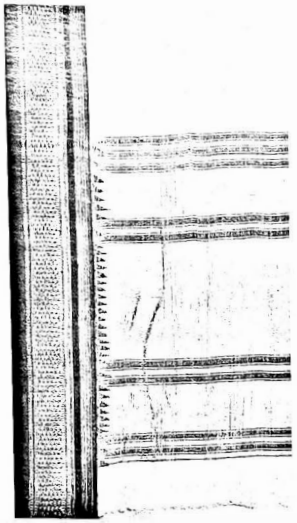

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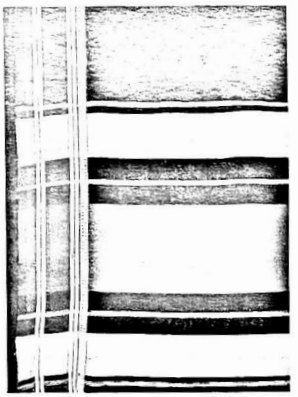

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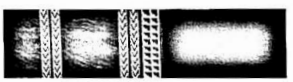

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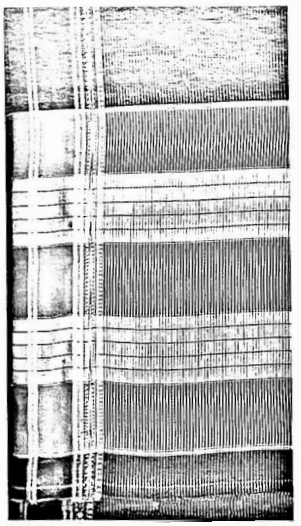

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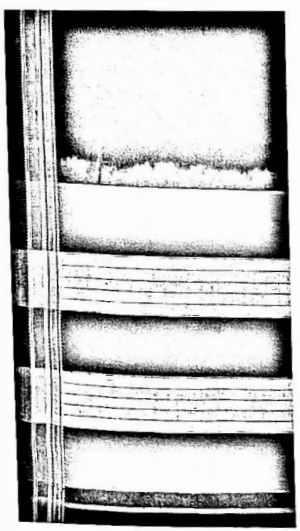
◆ 2.2: *Tok Padar/Patal* – Cotton body, silk end-piece saris



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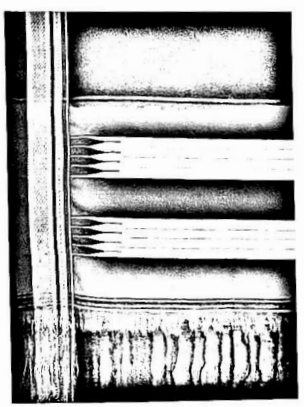

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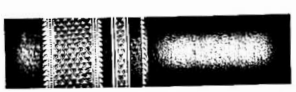

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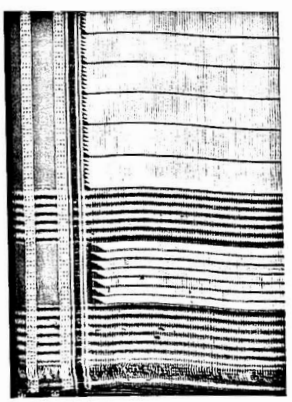

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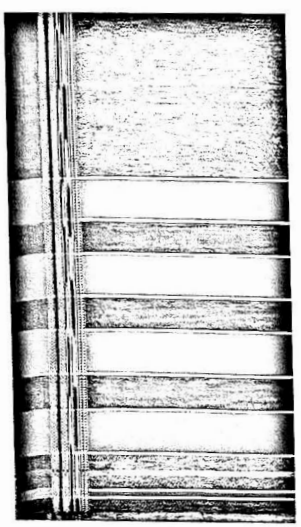

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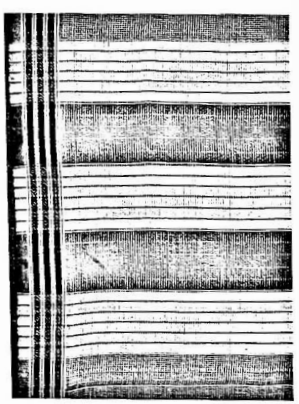

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4/42A

4/33: Name: *Sada karvat katari dhadi lugda*/three-shuttle arrowhead patterned border,plain sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.24 m; Width: 1.24 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Umred, Nagpur district

4/34: Name: *Sada karvat chatai reshmi dhadi zari padar jotel*Plain body, three-shuttle, mat-patterned border, metallic yarn end-piece sari; Material: Cotton body, silk border, 100s/18 dn; Length: 5.62 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 375 gm; Origin: Umred, Nagpur district

4/35; 35A: Name: *Karvat ardh pharas reshmi dhadi zari padar jotel*three-shuttle, half mat patterned border, metallic yarn end-piece sari; Material: Cotton body, silk border, 100s/18 dn; Length: 5.24 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Umred, Nagpur district

4/36; 36A: Name: *Raghva neel gomi katari reshami dhadi jotel*Saw edge, arrowhead-patterned silk border, cotton-body indigo sari; Material: Cotton body, silk border, 60s/18 dn; Length: 7.80 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Saoner, Nagpur district

4/37: Name: *Rasta garbh bugdi katari reshmi dhadi jotel*Stripe body, ear ornament, arrowhead-patterned silk border sari; Material: Cotton/silk, 60s/15 dn; Length: 5.96 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Bhiwapur, Nagpur district

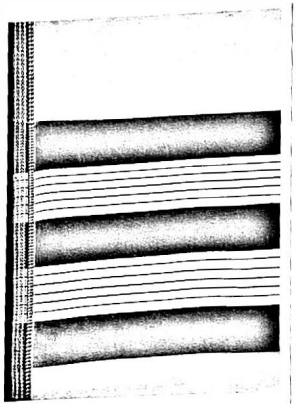
4/38: Name: *Gomi pharas ilikal tok padar lugda*/Saw-edge, mat-patterned border, yarn-resist end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.06 m; Width: 1.21 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Akalkot, Solapur district

4/39; 39A: Name: *Gomi ardh pharas tok padar lugda*/Saw-edge, half mat patterned border, attached silk end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, silk end-piece, 60s/13-15 dn; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.80 m; Weight: 325 gm; Origin: Solapur, Solapur district

4/40; 40A: Name: *Tapshila dhadi jote*/Double flower patterned, cotton/silk border, check body sari; Material: Cotton/Silk, 60s/15 dn; Length: 7.24 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 680 gm; Origin: Wakodi, Nagpur district

4/41: Name: *Gomi katari chukki dhadi Pune lugda*/Saw-edge, double arrowhead-patterned, yarn-resist border sari of Pune; Material: Cotton/Silk, 80s/15 dn; Length: 6.07 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Sasvad, Pune district

4/42; 42A: Name: *Chowkda punneri lugda*/4 x 4 check sari of Pune; Material: Cotton/Silk, 60s/15 dn; Length: 5.34 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Wakodi, Nagpur district



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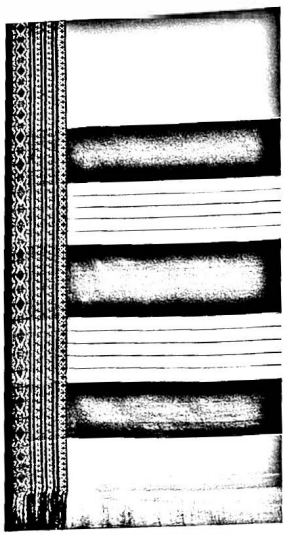

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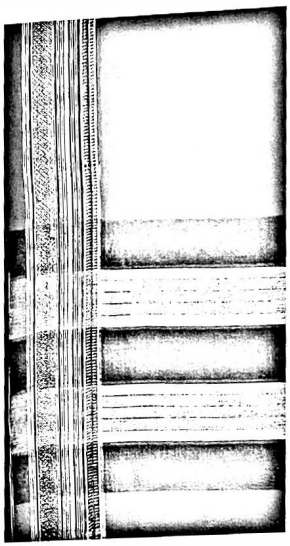

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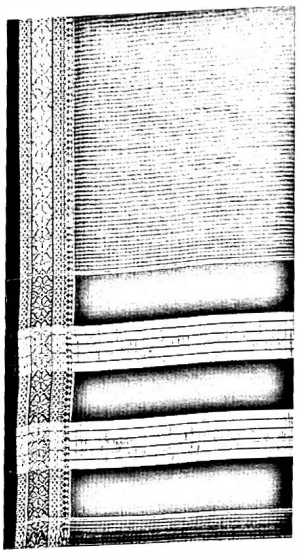

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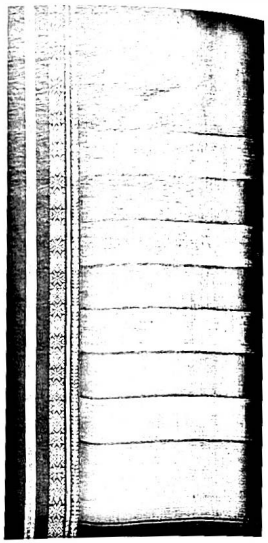

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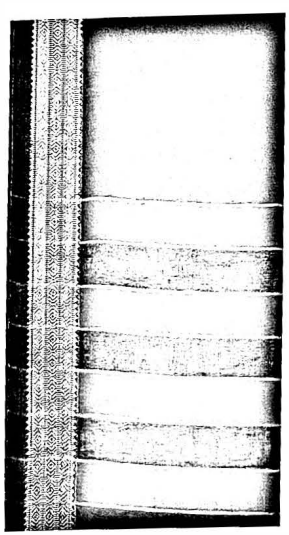

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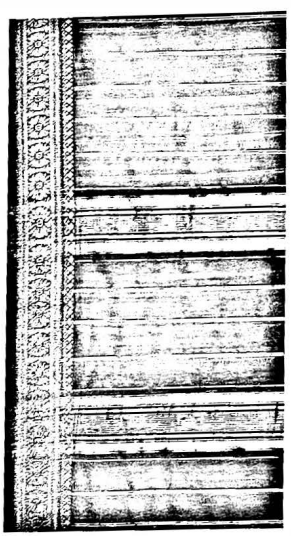

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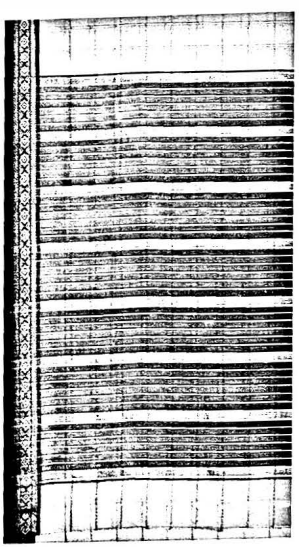

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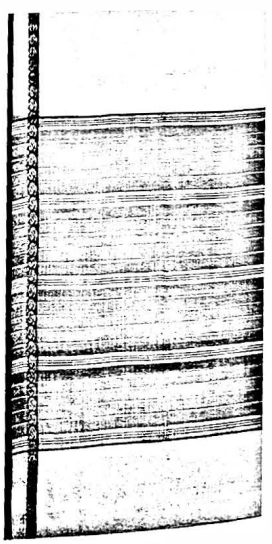


4/47A

4/43; 43A: Name: *Nagpuri gomi katari lugda*/Saw-edge, arrowhead-patterned border, plain body sari; Material: Cotton 80s; Length: 8.96 m; Width: 1.35 cm; Weight: 540 gm; Origin: Wakodi, Nagpur district

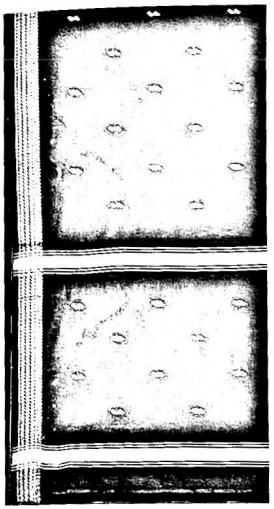
4/44: Name: *Garbh reshami sooti sankali dhadi Nagpuri lugda*/Silk cotton body, chain-patterned border sari of Nagpur; Material: Cotton/Silk, 80s/20-22 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.20-1.25 m; Weight: 300 gm; Origin: Nagpur, Nagpur district

4/44A: Name: *Chatai patta dhadi lugda*/Mat-patterned stripe border, plain body sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.44 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 300 gm; Origin: Parali, Bheed district

4/44B: Name: *Phool dhadi mungia chowkda garbh reshami lugda*/Floral border, cotton silk fine check-body sari; Material: Cotton/Silk, 60s/15 dn; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 290 gm; Origin: Navargaon, Chandrapur district

4/45; 45A: Name: *Phool dhadi khaskhasi chowkda lugda*/Metallic yarn, flower-patterned border, 1 x 1 check body sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.21 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Ahmadnagar, Ahmadnagar district

4/46; 46A; 4/47; 47A: Name: *Garbh reshami phool dhadi lugda*/Silk cotton body, flower border sari; Material: Cotton/Silk, 80s/20 dn; Length: 5.44 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 300-400 gm; Origin: Parali, Bheed district



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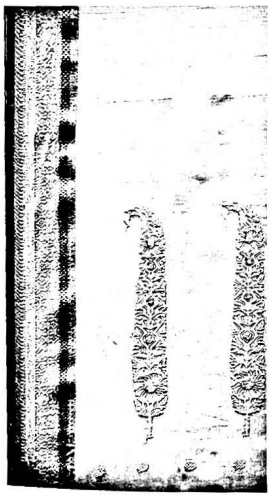

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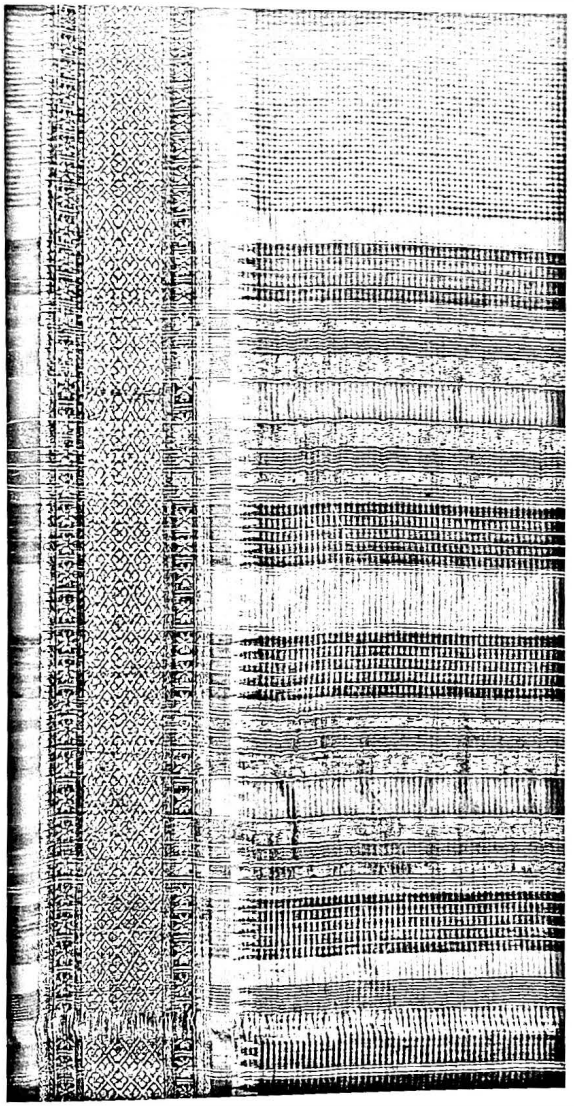

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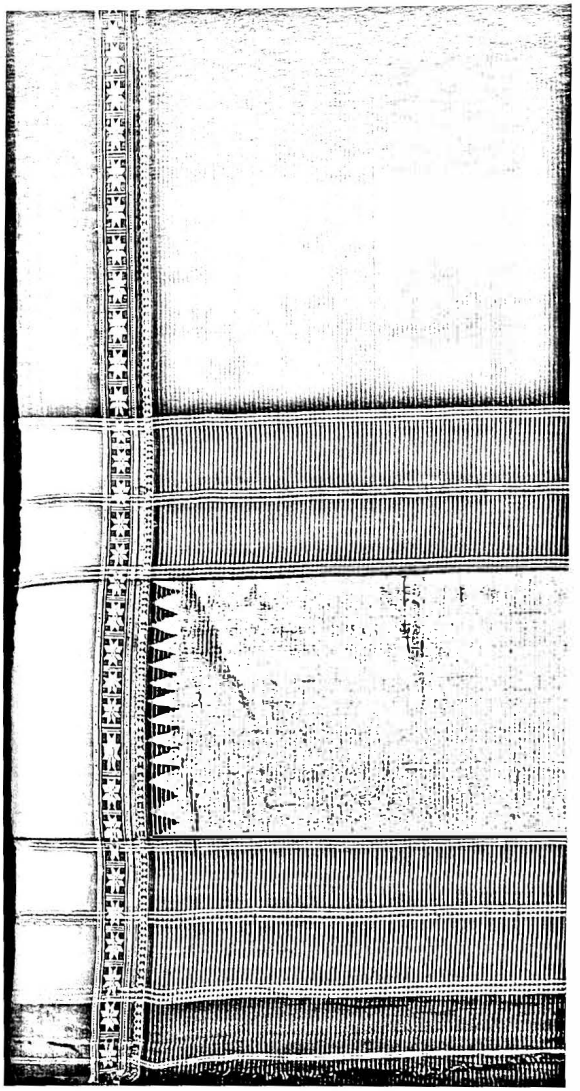

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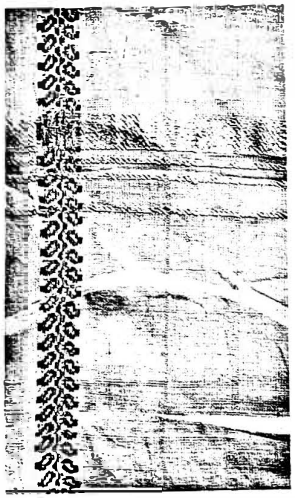
4/48: Name: *Eenta zari dhadi punneri lugda*/Brick-patterned, metallicyarn border and body motif sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.92 m; Width: 1.16 m; Weight: 280 gm; Origin: Pune, Pune district

4/48A: *Jalna Garbh Reshmi lugda*/Silk/cotton sari of Jalna; Material: Cotton/Silk, 80s/18-20 dn; Weight: 300 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

4/49: Name: *Garbh reshami Nagpuri phool dhadi patal*/Silk and cotton body, flower-border sari; Material: Cotton/Silk, 80s/18-20 dn; Length: 8.96 m; Width: 1.35 m; Weight: 540 gm; Origin: Nagpur, Nagpur district

4/50: Name: *Rasta patal lugda*/Striped body, patterned border cotton/silk sari; Material: Cotton/Silk, 60s/20 dn; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 390 gm; Origin: Nagbheed, Chandrapur district

⚜ 3.1: *Patal* – Extra warp patterned saris and drapes



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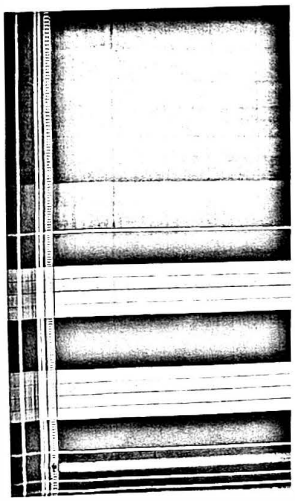

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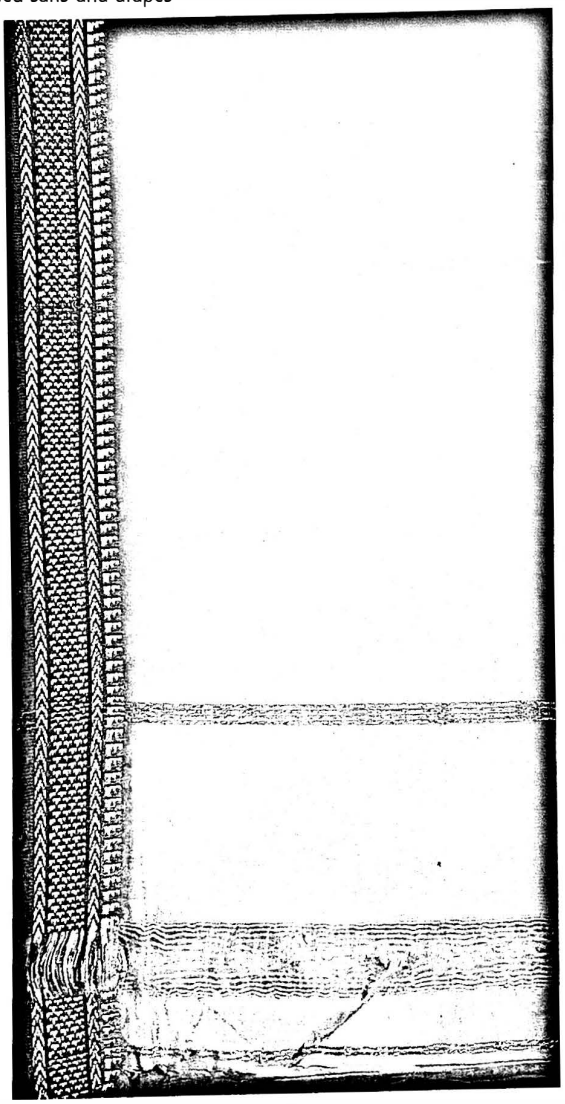

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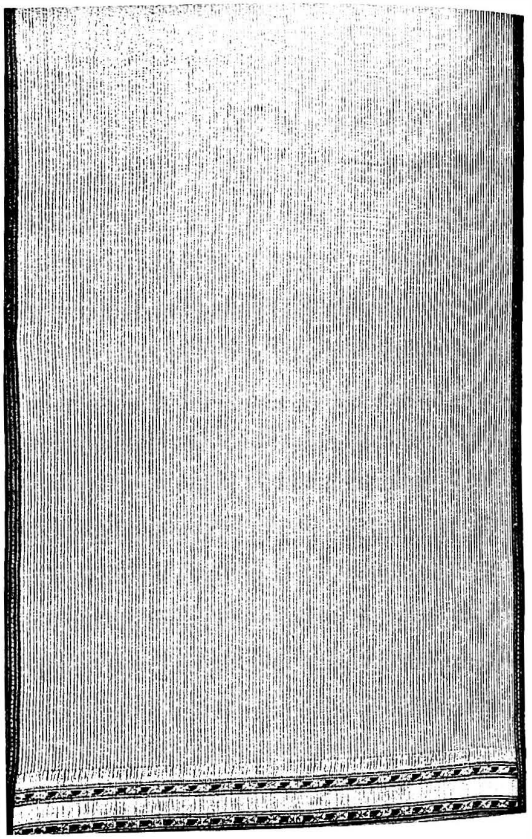
★ 3.2: *Paithan* – Interlocked tapestry/brocade saris



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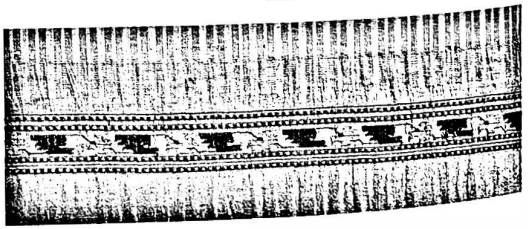


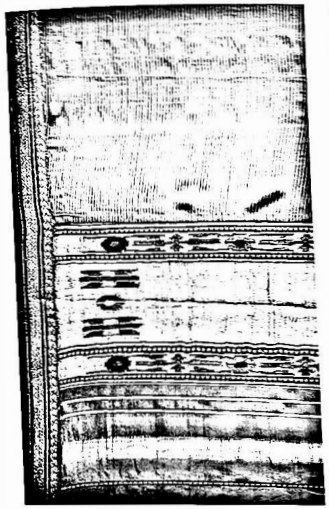
4/54A

4/51: Name: *Bel dhadi uparna*/Vine border upper drape; Material: Cotton/Silk, 100s/22 dn; Length: 1.26 m; Width: 1.26 m; Weight: 250 gm; Origin: Yeola, Nasik district

4/52: Name: *Reshami bugdi katari dhadi patal*/Arrowhead and ear ornament silk sari; Material: Silk, 13-15 dn; Length: 8.40 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 780 gm; Origin: Yeola, Nasik district

4/53: Name: *Gomi ardh pharas nakshi dhadi* Yeola *dhoti*/Saw-edge, half mat patterned border lower drape; Material: Pure silk, 22 dn; Length: 4.46 m; Width: 1.16 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Yeola, Nasik district

4/54; 54A: Name: *Rasta paithan zari lugda*/Cotton *paithan*, gold metallic yarn stripe body sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Viswakarma Exhibition Collection



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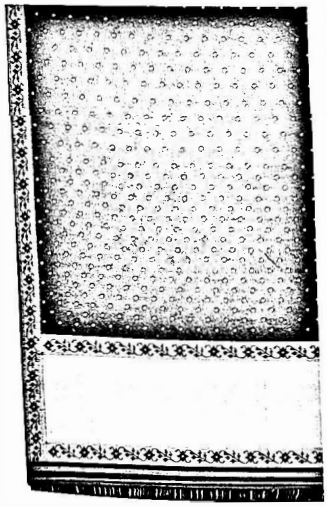

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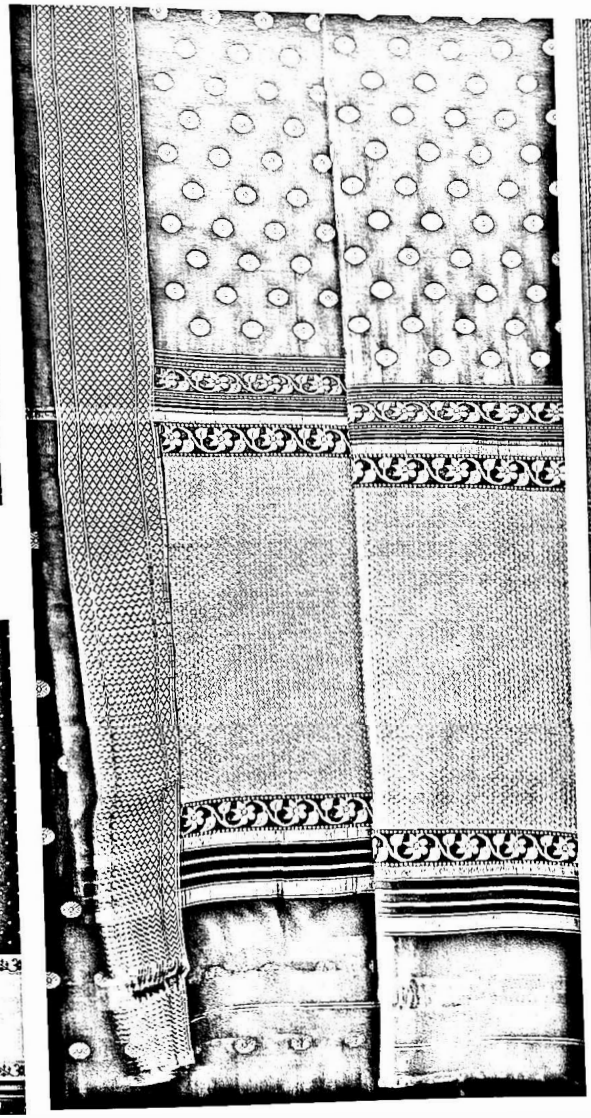

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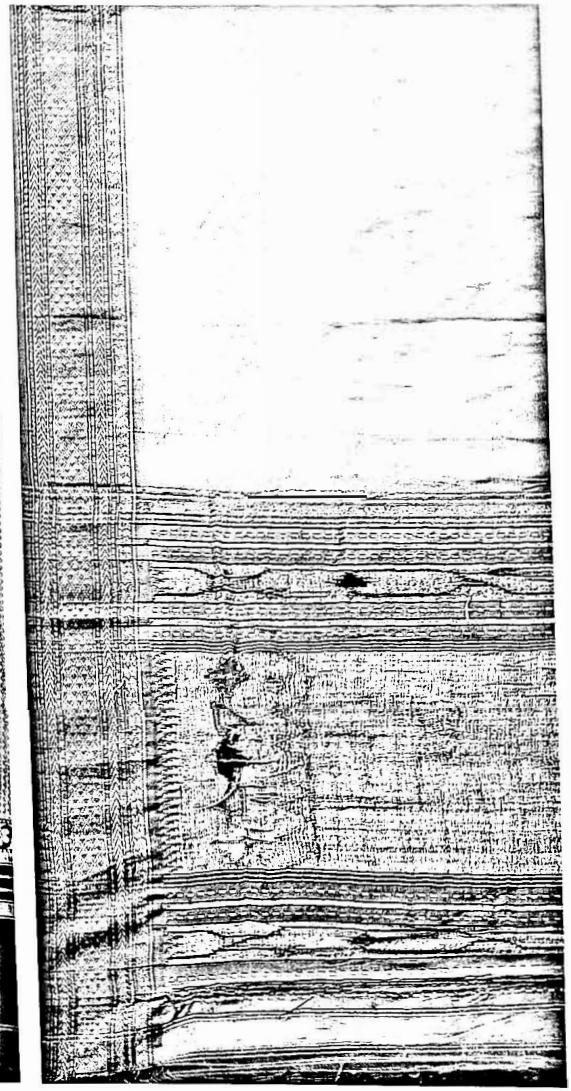

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4/54B: *Rasta paithan zari lugda*/Silk *paithan*, striped body, zari border end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 20 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

4/55: Name: *Phool dhadi garbh asawari butti reshami paithan lugda*/Floral vine border, motif in body, silk sari; Material: Silk, 15-18 dn; Length: 5.00 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Viswakarma Exhibition Collection

4/56: Name: *Reshami butti daar paithan patal*/Silk body motif patterned border sari; Material: Silk, 15-18 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 650 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Monica Correa, Mumbai

4/57: Name: *Ardh pharas bugdi dhadi paithan patal*/Half mat, ear ornament border silk sari; Material: Silk, 15-18 dn; Length: 6.85 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 900 gm; Origin: Paithan, Jalna, district

ચૉમપર બેજારમાં લીલું *The end of my sari...*
ચૉમપર બેજારમાં લીલું *in spring flutters*
ફાગણિયું ફરૂકા મારે. *flutters away...*

– Bhil song, Panchmahal district, quoted by writer and poet Kanji Patel to artist Gulam Mohd. Sheikh

Gujarat

Gujarat has been a long-standing cotton-growing area and has an adventurous maritime culture, with a special talent for trade and manufacture. Although its cotton fabrics were not as fine as those of Bengal, they were always commercially viable and competitive in terms of quality and pattern. Even before the advent of Islam in India, Gujarat had established trade links through its cottons, silks and embroideries with Persia, Arabia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, East Africa and China. Since the early fifteenth century, imperial workshops had been established in Ahmedabad, and there is historical evidence to believe that the silk weavers from there migrated to other silk-producing centres in India as well as to Java and Ceylon. In fact, 'annexations, trade, commerce and cultural contacts are responsible for its development' as a region.*

In the sandy deserts of Kachchh in the northwest, facing the province of Sind in neighbouring Pakistan, we find a shared exuberant desert culture even as an unnatural political boundary was drawn across it in 1947. With a narrow base of coarse cotton and wool weaves and a small segment of silk warp/cotton weft satin weave (*mashru*) fabrics (see right), Gujarat reached the heights of refined skill in its *bandhani* (fabric-resist) in cotton, silk and wool along with the rich tradition of embroidery. It was prints, however, that provided the cheapest and most widely available form of surface patterning on cotton, especially for everyday wear. In fact this legacy of shared space between *bandhani* and prints stretches far beyond Kachchh into the lower peninsula of Saurashtra, as well as the northern districts of Banaskantha and Sabarkantha facing Rajasthan, and southwards into Panchmahal and through Vadodara into Surat, facing Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.

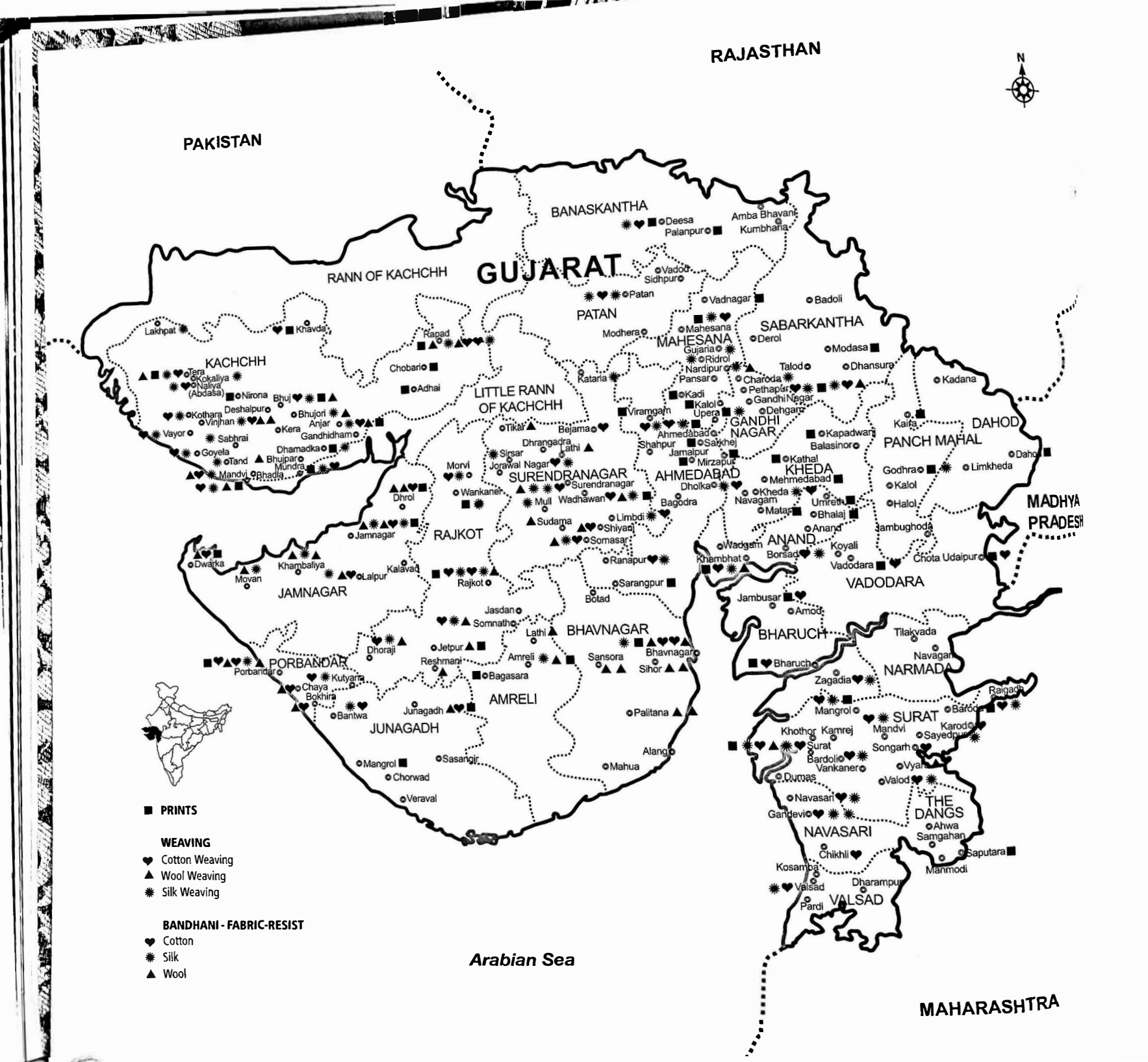
The central region running southwards along the coast to Bhavnagar on one side and Valsad on the other, excelled in weaves both in cotton and silk. From very coarse cottons for the itinerant shepherd communities, to single-weft ikats in coarse and fine counts, to the finest patterned brocades including the *asawali* saris and heavy silks, double ikat saris of Patan; all are products of this central region. Besides, this was also the area of the best printing on silk and fine cotton, especially for export. With the rise of mills in central Gujarat since pre-Independence, especially in the Ahmedabad region, this rich weaving belt has been seriously impaired. Further, mill prints have also killed the hand-block printing sector, though some screen and rotor printing workshops have scraped through the onslaught.

The sari in Gujarat is elusive; it appears in the upper mercantile class, in the urban landscape especially among the Jains, Patels and Parsis, then is overtaken by a whole range of long veils imitating the sari worn over a draped, gathered, or stitched ankle-length skirt of varied cut and shape. It resurfaces as the printed *sadlo* (sari) in the tribal areas of Panchmahal and Chota Udaipur facing Madhya Pradesh, as also in Dangs district, and among the Kanbi community of Saurashtra, and the Chodhris and Gamits of

The dry Kachchh landscape.

A family in Kachchh; the lady at extreme right is wearing a mashru *blouse with a coarse cotton skirt and wool veil.*

* *Journal of Indian Art*, 1886


RAJASTHAN
PAKISTAN
N
GUJARAT
RANN OF KACHCHH
BANASKANTHA
Deesa
Palanpur
Amba Bhavani
Kumbharia
Vadod
Sidhpur
Patan
PATAN
Vadnagar
Badoli
Modhera
Mahesana
MAHESANA
SABARKANTHA
Derol
Modasa
Gujaria
Ridrol
Nardipur
Talod
Dhansura
Pansar
Charoda
Pethapur
Gandhi Nagar
Kadana
Lakhpat
Khavda
Rapad
Chobari
Adhai
Kataria
KACHCHH
Tera
Kokaliya
Naliya
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Bhuj
Kothara
Deshalpur
Vinjhan
Bhujodi
Anjar
Kera
Gandhidham
Vayor
Sabhrai
Goyela
Tand
Bhujpar
Dhamadka
Mundra
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LITTLE RANN
OF KACHCHH
Kadi
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Ahmedabad
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NAGAR
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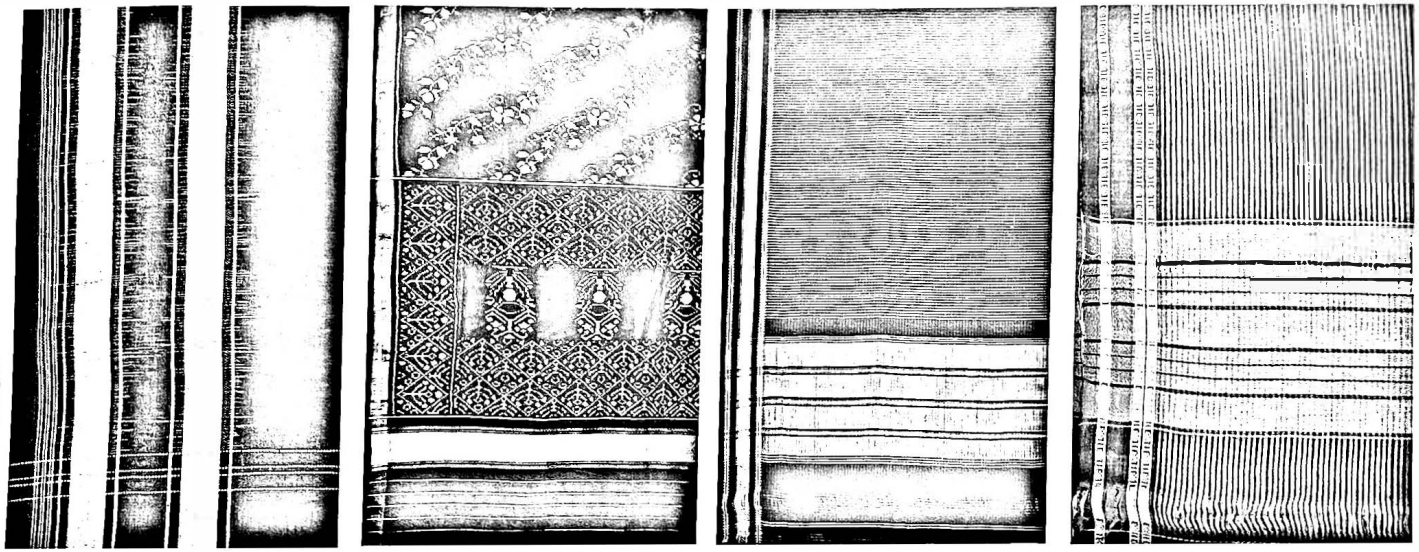
DAHOD
Kapadwanj
Balasinor
PANCH MAHAL
Dhrangadra
Lathi
Shahpur
Sarkhej
Jamalpur
Mirzapur
Kathal
Daho
Sirsar
Morvi
Jorawal Nagar
SURENDRANAGAR
AHMEDABAD
KHEDA
Godhra
Limkheda
Wankaner
Surendranagar
Dholka
Mehmedabad
Kheda
Navagam
Kalol
Dhrol
Mull
Wadhawan
Bagodra
Umreth
Halol
MADHYA
PRADESH
Matar
Bhalaj
Sudama
Limbdi
Shiyaj
Somasar
Anand
Jambughoda
Jamnagar
RAJKOT
Wadgam
ANAND
Borsad
Koyali
Chota Udaipur
Dwarka
Khambaliya
Kalavad
Lalpur
Rajkot
Ranapur
Khambhat
Vadodara
Movan
JAMNAGAR
Sarangpur
VADODARA
Botad
Jambusar
Amod
Jasdan
Somnath
Lathi
BHAVNAGAR
BHARUCH
Tilakvada
Dhoraji
Jetpur
Amreli
Sansora
Bhavnagar
Sihor
Navagam
Porbandar
PORBANDAR
Reshmani
Bharuch
NARMADA
Bagasara
Zagadia
Kutyana
Chaya
Bokhira
AMRELI
Raigadh
Mangrol
Baroda
Bantwa
Junagadh
Palitana
SURAT
Khothor
Kamrej
Mandvi
Karoda
Sayedpura
JUNAGADH
Surat
Songarh
Bardoli
Vankaner
Vyara
Alang
Sasangir
Mahua
Dumas
Valod
Chorwad
Veraval
Navasari
THE
DANGS
Gandevi
Ahwa
NAVASARI
Samgahan
Chikhli
Saputara
Kosamba
Manmodi
Dharampur
Valsad
VALSAD
Pardi
PRINTS
WEAVING
Cotton Weaving
Wool Weaving
Silk Weaving
BANDHANI - FABRIC-RESIST
Cotton
Silk
Wool
Arabian Sea
MAHARASHTRA



Left to Right: COTTON WEAVING: **(5/2)** Kabra salla/*Heavy weft yarn-resist sari;* **(5/3)** Patola sadlo/*Weft yarn-resist cotton sari;* **(5/5A)** Chandrakala sadlo/*Auspicious sari;* **(5/5)** Dholka sadlo/*Dholka Cotton sari for Maharashtrians.*

Surat who wear coarse, weft ikat saris. Among all these communities the sari is draped between the legs. There are also small settlements of communities of Maharashtrian origin that have retained the single-piece draped sari. All these areas are generously speckled with the stitched *aabha* (tunic) and *ejhaar* (loose pant) of varied shapes worn by its Muslim inhabitants. This picture has further altered since the 1980s, with the young taking to the ubiquitous Punjabi *salwar kameez* and gradually to Western-wear.

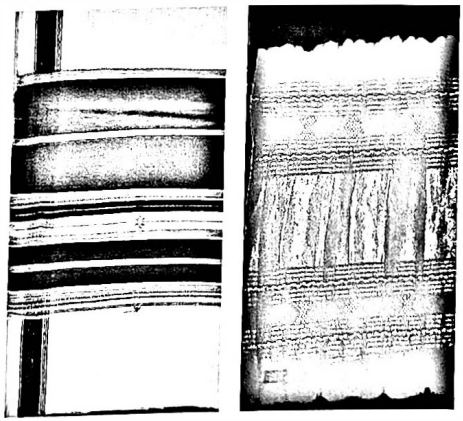
As the single-piece sari is not a dominant form of apparel and is more widespread as a two or three-piece combination of the stitched and unstitched, it has been considered more appropriate to place the sari in the context of weaves, *bandhani* (fabric-resist) and prints, so that other unstitched garments can also be taken into account, though they are not of prime interest in the context of this book. It is for this reason that all non-sari drapes are only partially portrayed in the travel pictures.

It may however, be pertinent to point out that Gujarat, being one of the earliest states to industrialize, has over the years, based its design development in the mills, both in weaves and prints, on the replication of patterns only recently prevalent in the hand-skill sector.

The saris fall in a schematic hierarchy in all three categories: weaves, resist dyed fabrics and prints, while its plain woven fabrics provide the base fabrics for the latter two.

WEAVING

Cotton weaving: At the base of the weaving pyramid, lies the coarsest count *lugda* (sari) of Mandvi, Bardoli, Vyara and Valod in Surat district, which in 1990 was woven on only 30 looms of the 400 that previously existed. Weaving a yarn-resist weft in 10s count was called *kabra salla* (5/2) when done in blue, white and red, and *rahi salla* when featuring only red and white. These were originally in natural dyes, but not any longer. We did not expect to find yarn-resist woven saris in so low a count, yet they paved the way for finer count saris.



Left to Right: COTTON WEAVING: Ahmedabadi pania/*Male lower drape;* **(5/6A)** Pachhedi/*Multi-purpose drape with gold end-piece.*

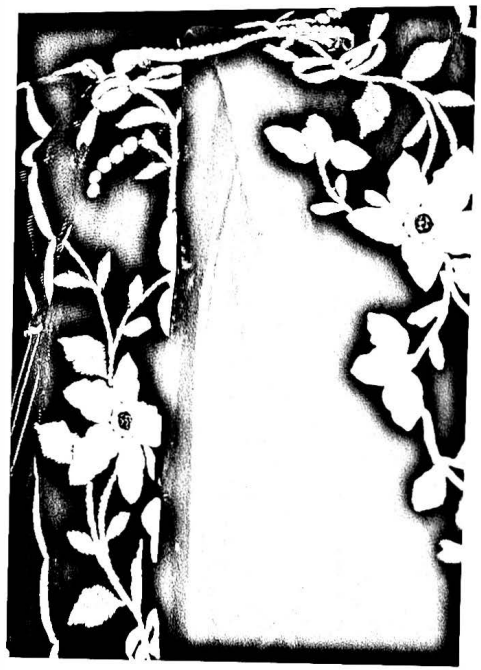
In finer count cottons, we came across a basic weft yarn-resist drape in Gandevi, Navasari district. These were later inundated by Pochampalli look-alikes that came with the influx of a large number of weavers from Warangal in Andhra Pradesh in the 1960s. Rajkot makes a finer patterned weft ikat range of saris in medium count cotton, as seen in the *patola sadlo* (5/3). In Dholka (5/5A; 5/5), Ahmedabad district, there was the Dakshini 9 yard/8.20 metre sari woven till the 1970s for Maharashtrians who first settled there at the time of Maratha supremacy, mostly in the eighteenth century. The sari had plain borders in gold *zari* and was worn between the legs called *kashta* style. They now work mostly on power looms or weave *zari* gold *chowk* (check) in silk or synthetic yarn for bandhini (fabric-resist).

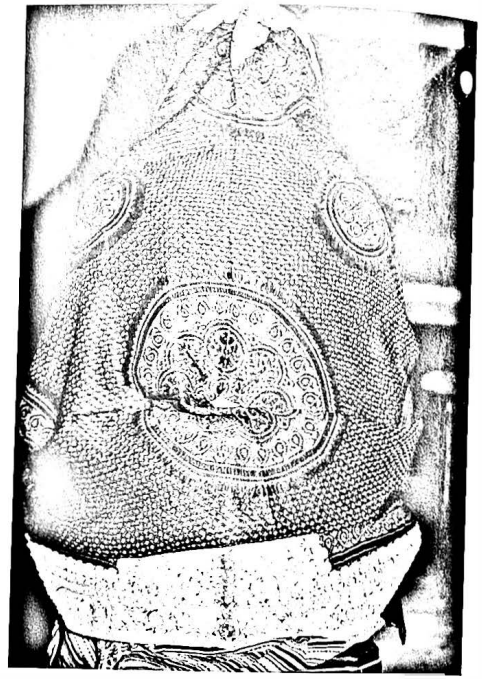
Likewise, in Wadhawan, Surendranagar district, we found Harijan weavers working on coarse count cotton substitutes for wool to make the Ahmedabadi *pania* (see left), with the most elaborate end-pieces for the Rabari shepherd community. In several villages near Porbandar, they were weaving 20s count drapes for men and women, sometimes even with gold and silver in the end-pieces, akin to the finest *gajji* (satin silk) of Surat.

Among the woven cotton drapes there were the upper and lower drapes referred to as *pachhedi* (5/6A), *chundadi* and *jimmi* for women, and *pachheda* and *pania* for men.

Wool weaving: We also found multipurpose woollen

WOOL WEAVING: *Woman wearing* dhabri *(woollen shawl).*





SILK WEAVING: **(5/13A)** Khaka ni kor garo*/Forbidden knot, all-side border sari of Parsi community;* Satin silk odhani*/Veil for Aabha worn by Muslim women in Kachchh.*

drapes, shawls and blankets referred to as *dhabri* and *tangalia*, used by men and women. Woollen veils and fabrics are woven for the Rabari, Bharwad and Charan nomadic communities of Kachchh and Saurashtra. They are worthy of consideration only because they are similar to the sari in layout and concept.They are unique in so far as they are considered appropriate for providing insulation and shade on cold nights and hot days, for these itinerant communities who must face the exigencies of being in the open most of the time. They are woven in combinations of *deshi* (local) wool with the softer merino wool, which has been imported from Punjab for the last thirty years.

A shepherd boy wearing pachheda *(lower drape).*

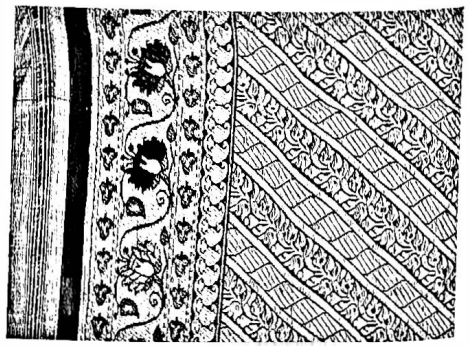
Skills seem to flourish and grow with the compulsive pressure and provocation of hierarchy, and also with skilled craftsmen and women moving to materials and markets that provide greater scope for refinement and support.

Cotton and silk weaving – Mashru: There is a range of mixed silk warp and cotton weft fabrics in satin weave, called *mashru*, used by the Banjaras (nomads) as long veils in the tribal districts facing Madhya Pradesh, and also as blouse fabrics in other parts of the state. At their finest, they incorporate elements of ikat (yarn-resist) in the silk warp, and were woven in Patan, though that is no longer the case. Heavier *mashru* fabrics are woven at Mandvi, in Kachchh district, with the *saat dani* (seven-dot pattern); *kataria* (arrowhead pattern); *paanch pato* (five leaf pattern); *paanch rangi* (five colour pattern); *danedar* (spotted pattern); and *dhali* (shield pattern). Now, there are a number of fancy patterns in artificial silk as well, which include the *chowkdi* (square pattern), *vel* (vine pattern) and *danda* (striped pattern), targeted at the newfound urban markets that find these bright, satin-faced fabrics attractive and useful for various forms of garments.

Silk weaving and embroidery – Parsi gara, brocades and yarn-resist: Thereafter, the field is wide open for the plain to heavy silks, patterned silks, brocades and both single and double ikats, which have seen a meagre revival since the early 1980s. There is a legendary history of silk weaving in Gujarat. From Surendranagar to Mehsana; Ahmedabad and southwards, through Cambay to Surat, there were a number of plain silk weaving centres producing satins of various weights and textures, which were base fabrics for *bandhani* saris and Parsi *gara* embroidered saris and prints.

The plain silks saw a spurt in development due to an embargo on imports between the two World Wars and also because of the rise of the freedom movement in India. Fabrics made from Chinese mulberry silks were once referred to as *gaaj* and their weights depended on whether it was *be dori ni gaaj* (2 ply); *chhe dori ni gaaj* (6 ply); *nau dori ni gaaj* (9 ply);

SILK WEAVING: **(5/19)** Kinkhwab leherdar chariyo*/Silk diagonal vine floral border drape.*



pattern dori ni gaaj (self-patterned); *chokta ni gaaj* (checked); or *buta ni gaaj* (with motifs).

These were the base fabrics for the Parsi *gara* 6 yard/5.50 metre saris (5/13A; pg 98) that were densely embroidered on all four sides with flowers of Indian, Chinese and European origin, birds, paisleys and vines, with untwisted silk and knot stitch in high relief from the base fabric. An additional element of *badla* or flat silver wire and *zardozi* (metallic yarn embroidery) provided a highlighting and subtle sparkle. Under the influence of other varieties of saris, the Parsi *gara* developed a more elaborate *saur* (end-piece), with paisley, birds and flowers encircled by the border, demarcating the transition to the body and the outer edges of the sari. At times, there were self-patterned *buta* (motif), *badam* (almond or circular form), or *vel jaal* (vine pattern) (5/13 to 5/18; pg 107-108) all over the body of the fabric providing another dimension to these saris, which imitated their Chinese predecessors.

In the Surat area, satin silk saris and *odhnis* (veils) with elaborate *zari* gold end-pieces, with or without body checks in gold, were woven for fabric-resist dotted patterns from Kachchh and Jamnagar primarily. With the rise and spread of *bandhani*, this range of products has seen a gradual increase in production (5/41 to 5/46; pg 112-113).

Brocade saris and fabrics were once woven in the Ahmedabad, Mehsana and Surendranagar belt. Of these, the fabrics, mainly *kinkhwab* (5/19; pg 98) used for bodices, blouses and men's garments like *leherdar chariyo* (5/19) have all but disappeared, though a small amount of sari weaving remains. With a directory that spanned from *popat* or parrot (5/23) and floral, to paisley, bird and animal vines, these saris had achieved a range of layouts in the diagonal *buti* (single motif), *jaal* (trellis) and *jangla* (all-over patterning).

Some eighteen looms in Ridrol, ten in Nardipur, and a few others in Gujaria in Mehsana district, and nearby places still work on the *asawali*-type (5/23), ornately patterned saris in silk as well as metallic yarns. Whereas the original weight and aesthetic can hardly be seen, there has been an attempt since the 1980s to retrieve this genre of draw loom patterning on the Jacquard, with weavers from Varanasi and other parts of Uttar Pradesh. The high relief and pattern outlining have been almost entirely lost, along with the richness of layout and colour. What was originally a 3-ply warp/6-ply weft is down to 2 by 4 ply; yet in a few private workshops, there is now a conscious attempt to regain some of the lost ground and character of the brocade saris of Gujarat.

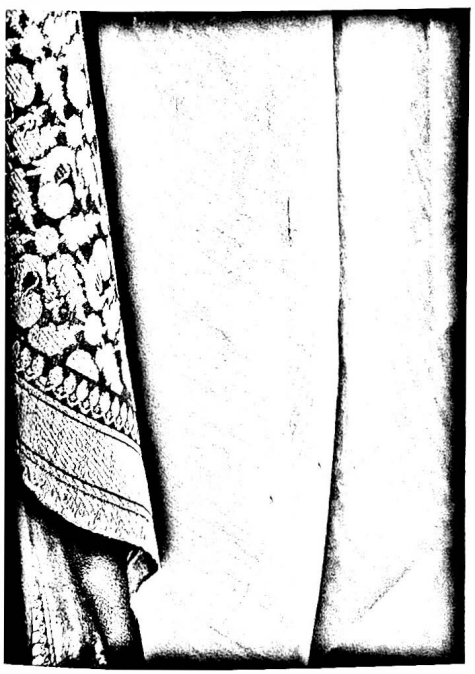
We now encounter weft ikat yarn-resist in silk, like the *danda chowk kor patolu* (5/25), in several villages of Surendranagar and in a limited amount in Rajkot. With a pattern repeat of 7.5 to 8.5 inches, they imitate the range of double ikat patterns including *nari kunj* (female figurine pattern); *ratan chowk* (square layout; 5/26); *selari* (stripe); *hathi* (elephant pattern); *putli* (doll pattern); *mor jhaar* (peacock pattern); *manik chowk* (square); *chanda bhaat* (moon pattern); and *dhakka leher* (receding wave). With a simple three-plied warp of 28/32 denier silk combined with yarn-resist weft, in 1990 these single ikats cost Rs 2,000 and were sold for up to Rs 4,000.

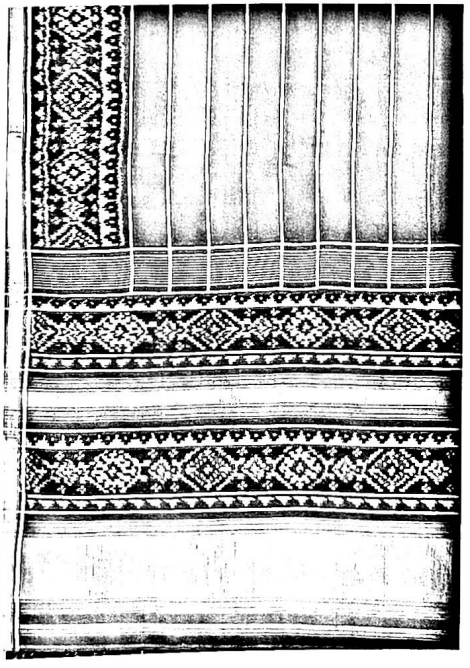
~

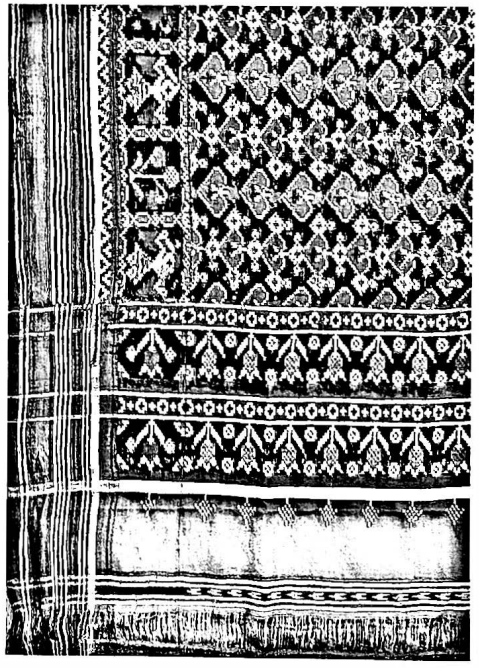
પડી પટોળે ભાત ફાટે પણ ફીટે નહિ!

The patola will come apart but never lose its pattern.
– Gujarati saying

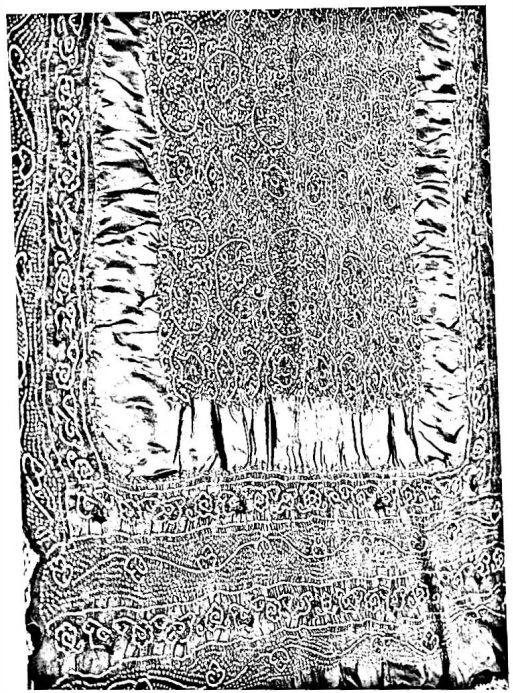
The shadow of the double ikat sari is so great, and its achievement in terms of skill and imagination so distinct, that the pyramid of ikats culminates in the *patola* of Patan, of which the *paan bhaat patolu* (5/29) is a classic example. In the eleventh century Raja Kumarapal of the Solanki dynasty is said to have brought 700 weavers to Patan from Jalna in Maharashtra. Though the town was founded in AD 746, this influx propelled the growth of Patan as an ikat centre. They perfected the art of yarn tying and dyeing eight-plied Chinese silk in the

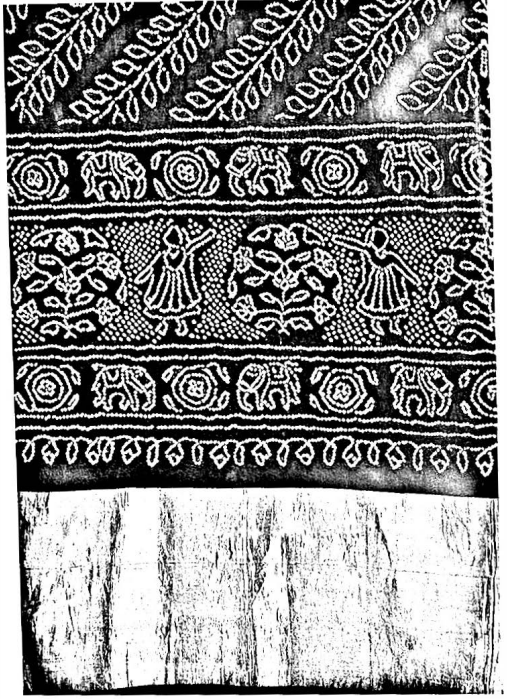


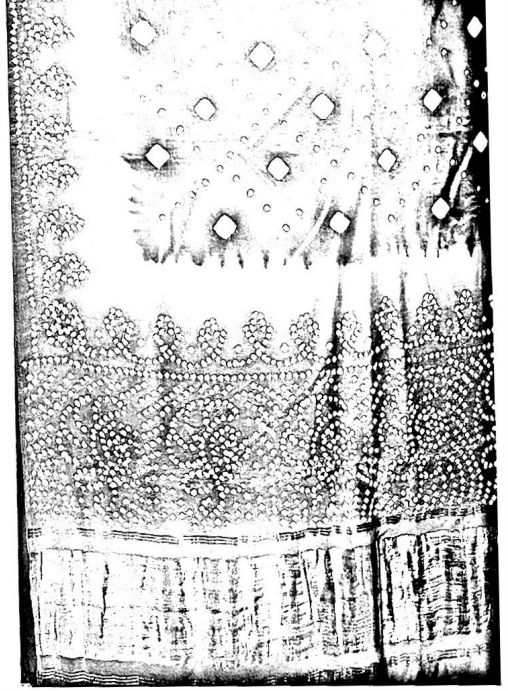




SILK WEAVING: (5/23) Zari asawali sadlo/*Silk ground, metallic yarn border and end-piece sari;* (5/25) Danda chowk kor patolu/*Body stripe, diagonal square-patterned, weft-resist sari;* (5/29) Paan bhaat patolu/*Betel leaf, yarn-resist patterned sari.*







BANDHANI SILK: **(5/46)** Popat vel bandhani sadlo/*Parrot vine pattern fabric-resist sari, Mundra, Kachchh district;* **(5/45A)** Nava aada vel sadlo/*New diagonal vine pattern fabric-resist sari of Jamnagar, Saurashtra district;* Paan kor vel bandhani sadlo/*Leaf-patterned, fabric-resist sari of Porbandar.*

most intricate patterns: with plain grounds and ikat only in the borders and end-pieces, referred to as *gala ni* design (5/27; pg 109); floral and animal pattern for the Bhatia and other communities of Kachchh and Kathiawar; geometric and florals for the Muslims; *nari kunj* (female figure) and vine for Maharashtrian Brahmins; and a whole range of optically elusive export fabrics for other parts of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia. The expertise lay in yarn preparation, multiple resist dyeing and retying of warp and weft yarns for each successive colour from the palest to the darkest, and then adjusting each thread in the weave so the pattern emerged perfectly. This level of skill made Patan the epicentre while towns and villages as far away as Surat became satellite centres in supplying resist dyed yarns, so that a higher output of weaving could be maintained. With an average of not more than ten inches of weaving a day, this was no mean achievement.

Left to Right: Woman in bandhani *(fabric-resist) woollen drape;* Aabha *and* ejhar *of the Muslim community of Kachch, courtesy Zainab Khusro.*

BANDHANI: FABRIC-RESIST

Cotton/silk/wool: The expansion of *bandhani* both in range of patterns and areas of production is unprecedented, particularly since the late 1960s. From being an area of Khatri expertise, Gujarat has attracted not only the Harijans and Jains but also traditional Bhavsar printers and dyers. This is partly due to the decline of printing, which has been overtaken by mill prints. Though mills tried to imitate *bandhani* as well, the visible quality and variety of hand-resist patterns seems to have helped retain its presence in the market.

A good *bandhani* is recognized by the consistency of the form and scale of its ties, which may be perfectly circular, square, star-shaped, or elliptical. The perfectly round, fine ties with or without a coloured centre are considered superior, as they are completely non-directional. From Kachchh, Jamnagar and Porbandar, *bandhani* has moved on to Rajkot, Surendranagar, Bhavnagar, Kheda, Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat.

By far the finest are the *bandhanis* of Kachchh, of which a classic example is the *popat vel bandhani sadlo* (5/46). This may go up to 40,000 *kandis* a square metre (1 *kandi* = 4 *bindhis*/tied spots). With the *rato* (deep red ground) with black ties preferred by the Bhatia, Bania, Lohana and Memon communities, and *kado* (black ground) for the Khojas (see left) and yellow-and-green ties for the Marwaris. The intricate density of the patterning with its stark colour contrast is what distinguishes the Kachchh *bandhanis*.

The Jamnagar *bandhanis* (5/45A) use brilliant multiple colours which may go up to nine, referred to as *naurang chunari*. With red, yellow, green and even blue in the ground, the tying is more dispersed and can be done on cotton, wool and silk.

Porbandar *bandhanis* have predominantly red grounds with widely dispersed spots, laid out in linear

grids often touched at the tips with various colours. Technically, the process of fabric-resist is reversed in Porbandar as we find red dots on a green ground, or green dots on a yellow ground requiring the discharge process. Singles or groups of three or four ties strewn all over the ground with simple fabric-resist border bands is the norm, as seen in *paan kor vel bandhani sadlo* (see facing page).

*Bandhani*s from Jamnagar and Porbandar often go to Kachchh for tying, if not dyeing. The tiers are paid for every thousand *kandi*s, which are calculated by the number in each motif. The tying is mostly done by women, but the finest tiers are few and there is a hierarchy of skill. Workload fluctuates through the year reaching its peak during the wedding season. Presently, the ratio between traditional *bandhani*s and those made for the urban market and export, is fifty-fifty.

The *madro* (5/33) with a narrow *zari* gold border woven by Saurashtra Brahmins in Madurai (Tamil Nadu) is tie-dyed in Tera village for Kachchhi Bhatias and the *Dasavaniya* business community. The common pattern of the *madro* is a diagonal *bandhani* grid all over the body on a maroonish cotton sari, worn with ivory bangles by the *suhagan* (married woman) who has suffered the death of someone close other than her husband.

Gharchola (5/37) is a prime wedding sari also called *zari chowkda* (gold checks) in Kachchh. Previously the checks were tie-dyed on the 5.5 yard /4.62 metre sari in red, and it was given to the bride by her in-laws, especially among Marwaris and Jains, in cotton or *gajji* silk. The *bandhani* (resist dye) on this sari is done in all the major centres of Kachchh and Jamnagar. The variatons of *bandhani* are:

- *Paanch khand gharchola* with 5-square formations across the width;
- *Saat khand gharchola* with 7-square formations across the width;
- *Nau khand gharchola* with 9-square formations across the width.

The main motifs in *gharchola* are: *phool* (floral), *pachak* (five circular forms) motifs with a central spot, *keri* (mango), *chulful* (four-petalled) and *laduda* (circular form with spotted centre).

The *bavanbagh* (5/38) literally '52 gardens' or *baarbagh*, is generally a red-and-green *bandhani* sari divided into diagonal squares, with various motifs within the checks, but in this case the checks are not in gold. It is a five-metre sari worn across business communities such as the Marwaris, Lohanas, Thakkars, Jains and Patels, as well as by the middle classes, at times enriched further with *gota* and *zari* bands/borders and embroidery.

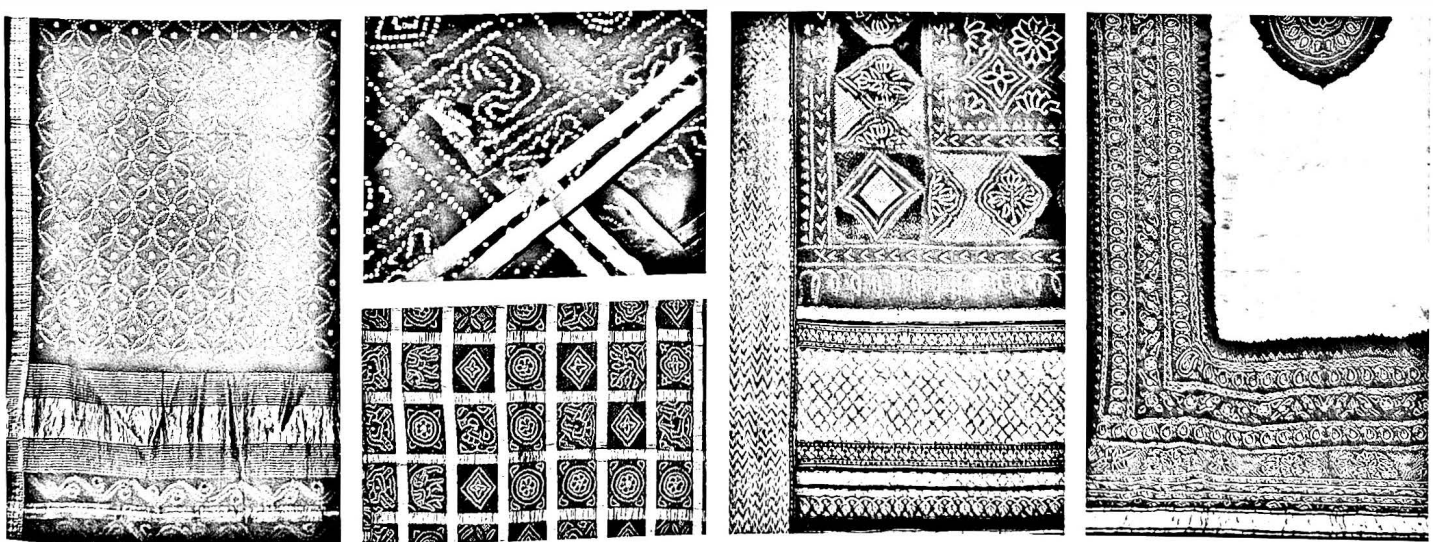
The motifs in the *bavanbagh* are the *chakli chaklo* (square); *hathi* (elephant); *putli* (doll); *mor* (peacock); *popat* (parrot); *pachak* (five circular forms); *panihari* (figure with waterpot); *leher* (wave); and *kharek* (grape-like).

Since the mid-twentieth century, there has been a transition from the *odhni* (veil) to the sari. This is visible in the case of the *panetar* (5/41) which is a large silk veil, usually with a white ground and a broad fabric-resist patterned red portion on all four sides. There are a number of other fabrics that share this design directory, including the *khombi* (veil), *misar* (scarf), *aabha* (tunic), *ejhar* (lower stitched garment; see facing page), *pheta pharia* (half-width woollens with extra weft work, usually two pieces stitched together to make one), and *bagira pheta* and *bepota pachheda* (veils).

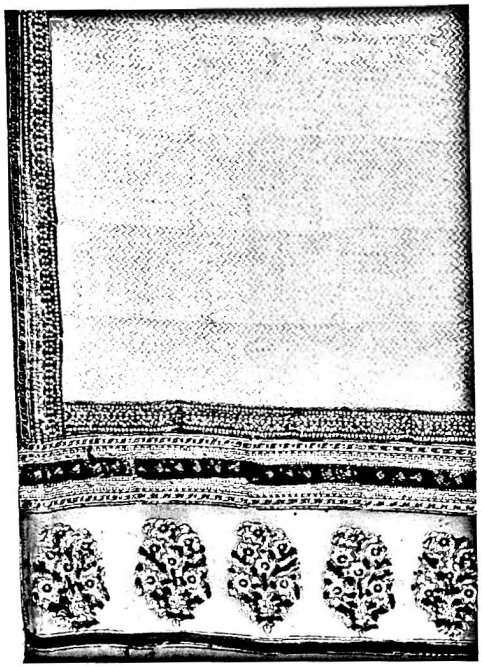
The *bandhani* is also done on woollen veils, mainly for the *Rabari*, *Bharwad* and *Charan* communities, and is called *chundadi* (pg 98, 100).

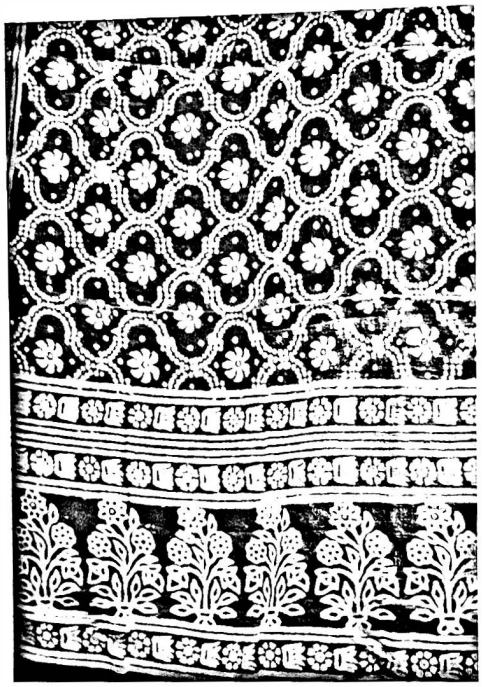
PRINTS

Cotton/silk/wool: Prints were the most widespread of the textile arts in Gujarat, both in terms of the range of their design directory and the scale of their production. They reflect a diabolical relationship with weaves and resist dyed patterns, at times emulating either of them or striking out on their own both in colour and layout. Their clientele can stretch from the most sophisticated upper-class urbanites, for everyday wear, to rural and tribal communities. Patterns seem to belong to a region, though there are subtle differences between the communities within a region. In prints there is a predominance of *odhni* (veil) and fabrics for *ghagra* (long skirt), with the sari appearing occasionally, though post-1950s there has been an increase in demand for the sari in urban markets. Printed saris have



Left to Right: BANDHANI: COTTON: **(5/33)** Madro-draksh mandva bandhani sadlo/*Red fabric-resist, woven gold border sari*; **(5/37)** Nau khand bandhani gharchola/*Nine-square formation, fabric-resist dyed sari*; **(5/38)** Bavanbagh bandhani sadlo/*Fifty-two garden fabric-resist body sari, gold-woven border end-piece*; SILK: **(5/41)** Gajji bandhani panetar/*Drape for marriage, fabric-resist border/end-piece.*





PRINT: (5/51) Lal gavan chheent odhni/*Red ground printed veil;* (5/62) Kanchba bhaat chheent odhna/*Black ground, floral motif and border silk veil.*

faced the adverse onslaught of mill prints and there has been a visible decline since the 1970s. However, many printers now print layouts for embroideries and *bandhani*, which have both seen a vast upsurge especially since the 1970s. They have always held a special appeal, particularly in Kachchh and Saurashtra, and there has been a long tradition of embroidery by young girls and older women, not only for their own use but for sale as well.

The major sari printing areas visited were: Chota Udaipur facing Madhya Pradesh, with a range of *lugda* (sari) in indigo or red grounds printed over with the *leheriya* (wave) and contrasting borders and *chheda* (end-piece), as seen in the *lal gavan chheent odhni* (5/51); the printed *sadlo* for the Kanbis of Saurashtra with its *dana* (fine motif) on the ground; and in Rajkot, the *nagari* (sari) made with black ground, red print for mourning as well as regular wear by the Kanbis, Bharwads, Kolis and Kumbhars; and the *momna ka sadla* with its peacocks in the ground (pg 114-115). The *saudagiri* prints (5/48; pg 114) of the Ahmedabad area, the prints of Deesa in Banaskantha district and Damadka in Kachchh were also adapted for saris since the 1960s.

The *kankobar* (black) with red was printed in Kachchh, as seen in *kanchba bhaat chheent odhna* (5/62), on cotton and *gajji* (silk), and valued greatly for mourning but also used as normal wear. Red is considered auspicious, commemorating the vermilion worn in the hair by married women.

~

When we touch the finest of Gujarat's brocades or *patolas* (yarn-resist), we cannot see all that has gone into creating this epitome of refinement and skill. The peak is certainly reached from the base and it is doubtful if one could exist without the other. That is what eludes us often enough.

Gujarat, one of the earliest states to opt for large-scale industrialization, is at present on the path of enhanced modernization, upgradation and globalization of its textile sector. What we need to put into perspective is the base on which this sector wishes to stand. At the moment it is a lost raft on the open sea, with not the slightest hint of originality, ingenuity, or awareness of the vast heritage of hand skills that could be its greatest resource. The base skills of hand spinning, both single and double ikats, *bandhani* and hand-block printing, combined with the entrepreneurial skill of the Gujarati, could have created the most ingenious bank of experimentation and development to feed the mechanized sector. Instead, we find the hand-skill sector, especially of weaves and prints, is in an utter state of neglect and confusion, and facing a hopeless future unless it receives specific attention and support.

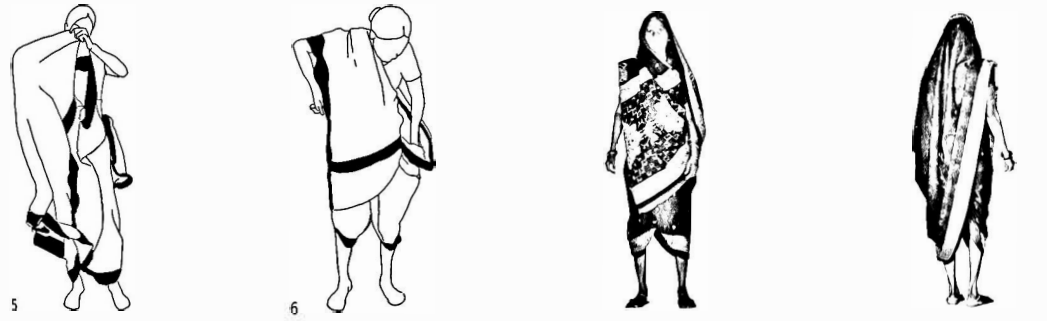
ચૂંદડી ઓઢું તો રંગ છૂટે
જે રંગ બેરંગી હો!
ઓઢું કાળો કામળો
તો દૂજો દાગ ન લાગે કોઇ!

If I wore a plain drape
any colour could stain it
thus I take the dark drape
So no colour defiles it.

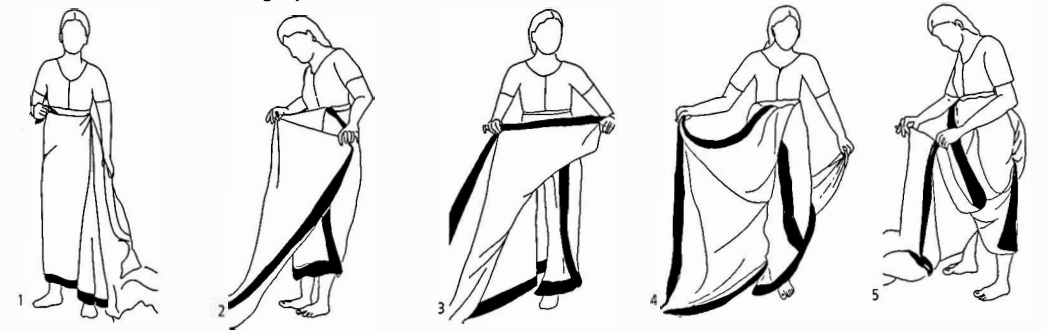
- Mira Bai, sixteenth century Bhakti poetess

WEARING STYLES – GUJARAT

STYLE 1: CHODHRI/Rural wearing style



STYLE 2: GAMTHI/Rural wearing style



STYLE 1: CHODHRI/Rural wearing style
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.30 m
WORN BY: Chodhri community
AREA: South Gujarat

1. Wrap inner end-piece of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist. Tuck free end of sari at left waist.
2. Pick up centre point of lower border of front drape with right hand.
3. Bring to back between legs.
4. Tuck into centre back waist up to 12 inches.
5. Bring outer end-piece to right shoulder anticlockwise back to front.
6. Tuck left corner of outer end-piece into left back waist.

STYLE 2: GAMTHI/Rural wearing style
LENGTH: 5.7yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Gamit community
AREA: East Gujarat

1. Take inner end of sari, wrap it around waist clockwise and tuck / tie at right waist. Tuck in free end at left waist.
2. Hold its midpoint as shown in figure and make triangle.
3. Tuck right-hand portion of sari at front waist.
4. Pick up lower border and pull back between legs, and tuck at centre back waist up to 12 inches.
5. Leave one cubit of upper edge and hold with both hands for a length of 10 inches from border to body.
6. Tuck held portion into front waist.
7. Bring free end from left over head to right shoulder.
8. Tuck left corner of outer end into left back waist.

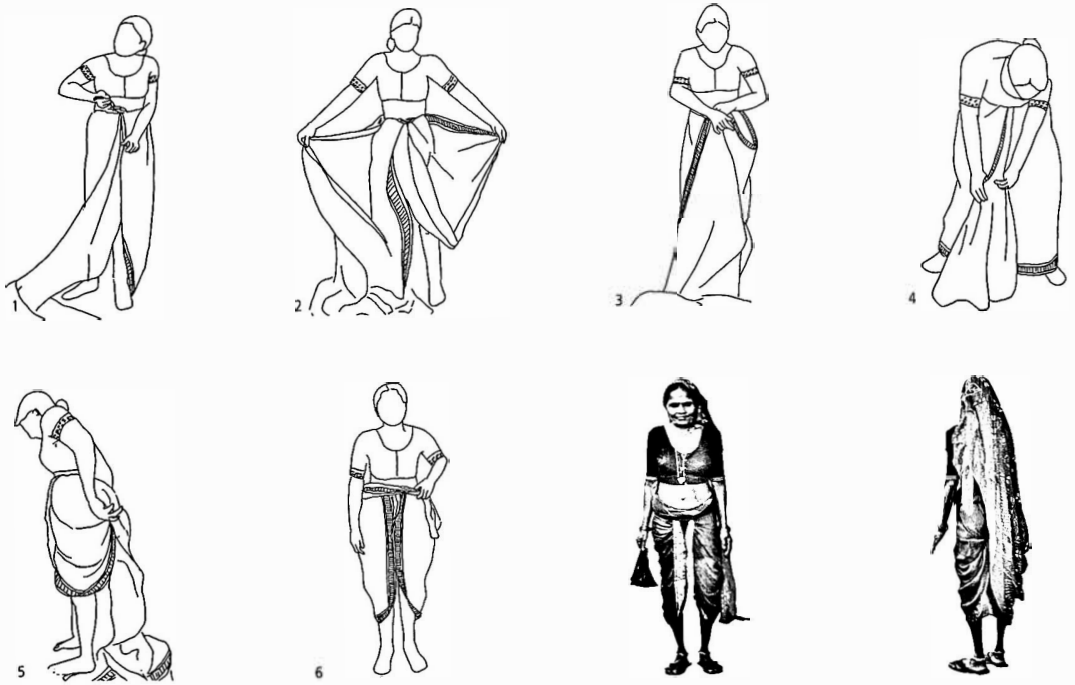
STYLE 3: DHARAMPUR/Wearing style of Dharampur
LENGTH: 5.7 yd / 5.3 m
WORN BY: Rural community
AREA: Dharampur, south Gujarat

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot in front.
2. Pick up sari from lower border on both right and left.
3. Tuck both edges into centre front waist.
4. Hold free end of sari and gather in front.
5. Bring it to back between legs and tuck into centre back waist up to 12 inches.
6. Wrap free end of sari around waist anticlockwise till its end is completely wound. Tuck end into left waist.

STYLE 4: DANGI/Wearing style of the Dangs
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Women of Dang community
AREA: Dangs, southeast Gujarat

1. Divide sari in half and wrap around waist from middle. Bring lower back drape to front between legs and hold with mouth.
2. Tie held portions in hands at centre front waist.
3. Hold lower border of both free portions of front drape and stretch outwards.
4. Tuck the held borders at centre front waist and bring remaining free portion to back between legs.
5. Spread and tuck in at back waist.
6. Adjust portion held with mouth at stage 1 by tucking into waist.
7. Tuck upper corner of upper drape into centre waist and bring other end over right shoulder anticlockwise. Tuck left corner of front drape into left waist.

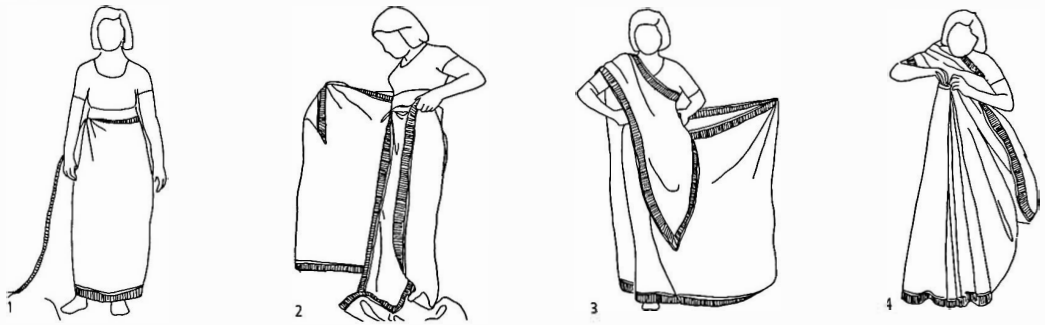
STYLE 3: DHARAMPUR/Wearing style of Dharampur



STYLE 4: DANGI/Wearing style of the Dangs

STYLE 5: SEEDHA PALLA/Outer end-piece back to front style

STYLE 6: PARSI/Wearing style of Parsi community



STYLE 5: SEEDHA PALLA/Outer end-piece back to front

LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Urban middle class, mercantile communities
AREA: Gujarat mainland

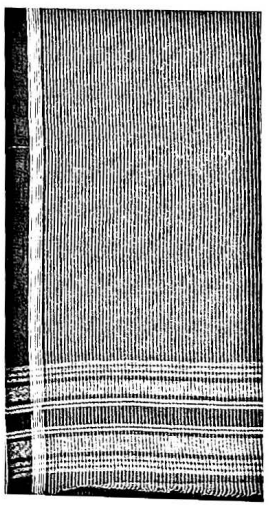
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Bring outer end-piece over right shoulder from back anticlockwise till thigh length, and make pleats of remaining loose portion in front.
3. Tuck pleats at centre front waist facing right.
4. Bring left corner of outer end-piece to back and tuck in at right waist.

STYLE 6: PARSI/Wearing style of Parsi community

LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Urban mercantile community
AREA: Saurashtra, Gujarat

1. Take inner end of sari, wrap it around waist anticlockwise, and tuck into petticoat at right waist.
2. Bring outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise and hold with right hand.
3. Throw outer end-piece over right shoulder from back leaving right end forming a 'V' below knee.
4. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari.
5. Tuck into centre front waist leaving some portion free at left waist. Hold outer end-piece in place with brooch on right shoulder.

NOTE: For East Gujarat *Bhil Bhilala* wearing style, see Style 1 in Madhya Pradesh.



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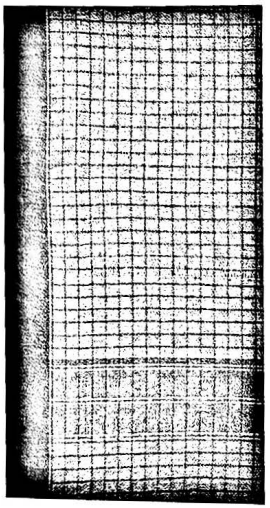

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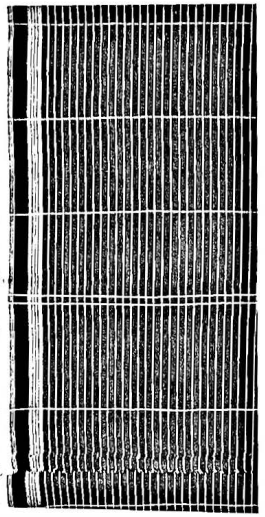

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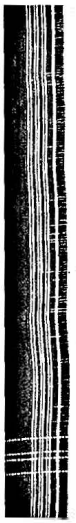

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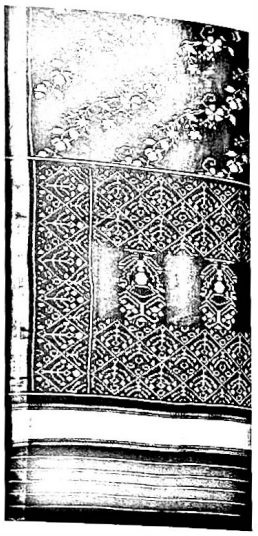

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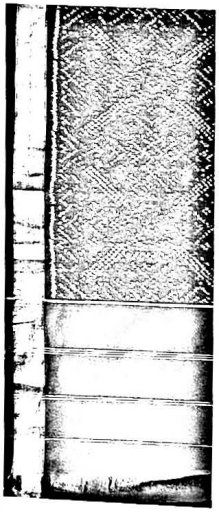

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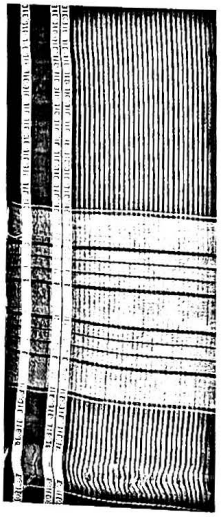

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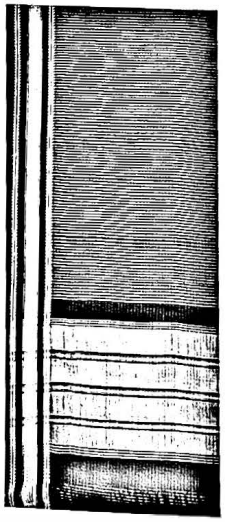

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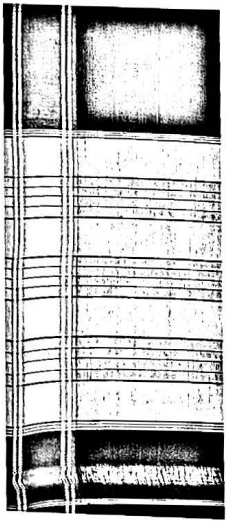


5/5B

5/6

5/6A

5/1: Name: *Futri lugda*/Heavy cotton stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 7.16 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 1,140 gm; Origin: Mandvi, Surat district

5/1A: Name: *Raasi lugda*/Heavy cotton check sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 750 gm; Origin: Mandvi, Surat district

5/1B: Name: *Kala patta lugda*/Cotton bold stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 16s; Length: 5.54 m; Width: 0.79 m; Weight: 950 gm; Origin: Mandvi, Surat district

5/2: Name: *Kabra salla*/Heavy weft yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 0.78 m; Weight: 850 gm; Origin: Mandvi, Surat district

5/3; 5/4: Name: *Patola sadlo*/Weft yarn-resist cotton sari; Material: Cotton, 2/80s; Length: 5.6 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 520 gm; Courtesy: Vandana Desai, New Delhi

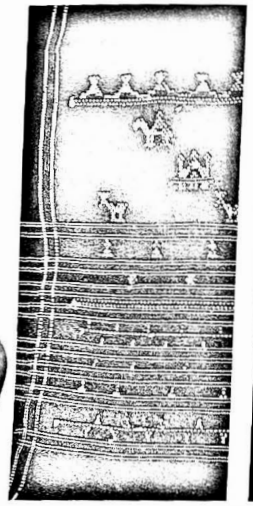
5/5 : Name: *Dholka sadlo*/Sari of Dholka; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 8.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 615 gm; Origin: Dholka, Ahmedabad district

5/5A; 5/5B : Name: *Chandrakala sadlo*/Auspicious sari; Material: Cotton and viscose; 40s; Length: 8.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 911 gm; Origin: Dholka, Ahmedabad district

5/6; 6A: Name: *Pachhedi*/Multipurpose drape with gold end-piece; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 2.80 m; Width: 0.55 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Wadhawan, Surendranagar district

▲ Wool weaving

❋❤ Cotton and silk weaving – *Mashru*



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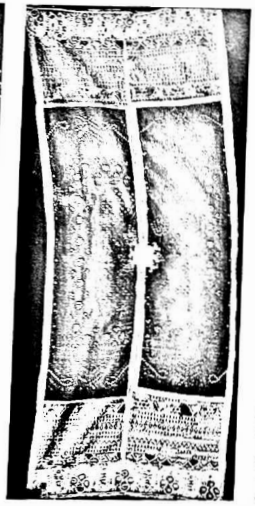

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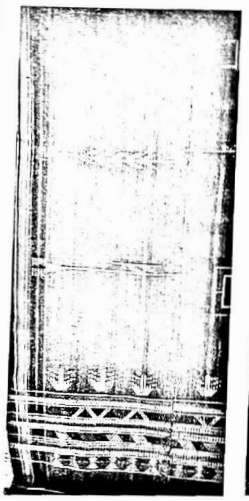

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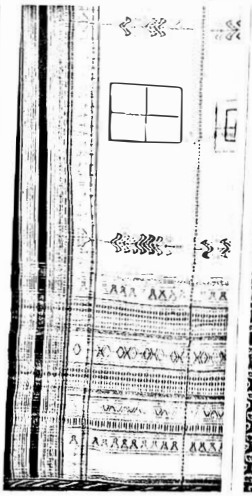

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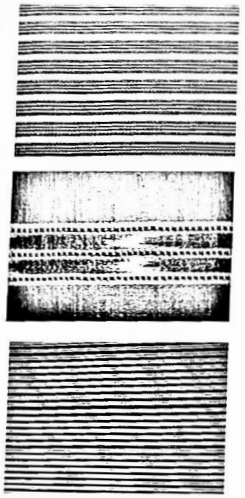
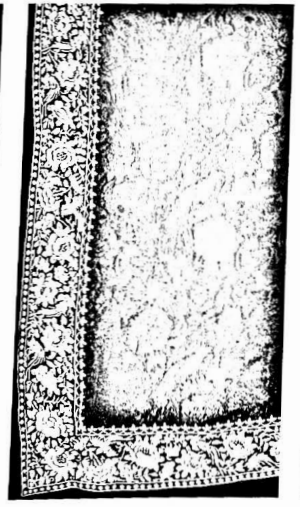


5/11, 11A; 5/12

❋ Silk weaving and embroidery – Parsi *gara*, brocades and yarn-resist

5/13

5/13A



5/13B

5/14

5/14A

5/7: Name: *Rato odhni*/Red woollen drape; Material: Wool; Length: 2.50 m; Width: 1.55 m; Weight: 2,300 gm; Courtesy: Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad

5/8: Name: *Kado dhabri*/Black woollen drape; Material: Wool; Length: 2.50 m; Width: 1.55 m; Weight: 2,300 gm; Courtesy: Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad

5/9; 9A: Name: *Kado odhni*/Woollen drape; Material: Wool; Length: 2.50 m; Width: 1.50 m; Weight: 1200 gm; Courtesy: Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad

5/10: Name: *Mashru butidar chariyo*/Silk drape; Material: Silk, 22 dn; Length: 4 m; Width: 0.55 m; Weight: 300 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

5/11; 11A; 5/12: Name: *Mashru danda; Champat patli mashru; Lehardar mashru*/Striped; patterned stripe; wave-patterned; Material: Cotton/silk; Length: 4.2 m; Width: 0.50 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Vandana Desai, New Delhi; Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad

5/13: Name: *Salli garo*/Self-stripe sari; Material: Silk; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 300 gm; Courtesy: Awa Khullar, New Delhi

5/13A; 5/13B; 5/14: Name: *Khaka ni kor garo*/Forbidden knot, all-side border sari of Parsi community; Material: Silk/satin; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 380-400 gm; Courtesy: Late Piroja Narielwala, Mumbai

5/14A: Name: *Salli garo margi chaklo*/Self-stripe, all-over-pattern bud trellis sari; Material: Silk/satin; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Late Piroja Narielwala, Mumbai

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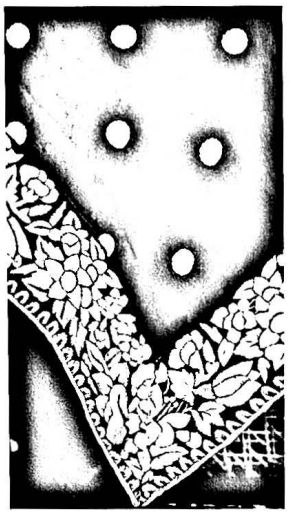

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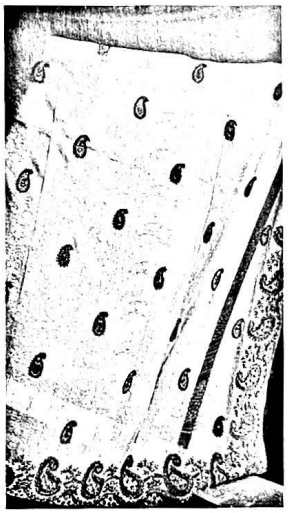

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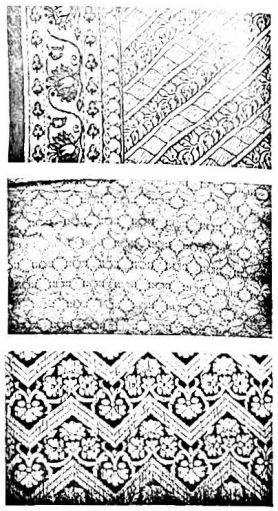
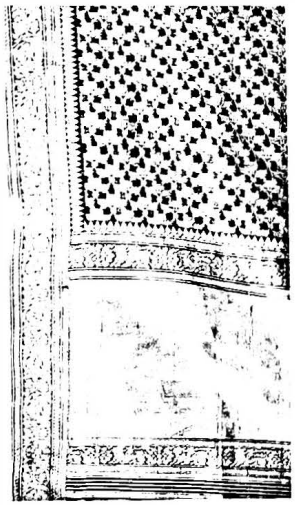


5/19; 5/20; 20A



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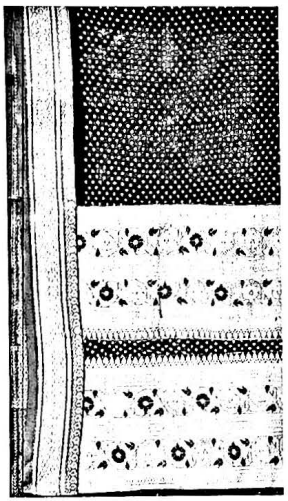

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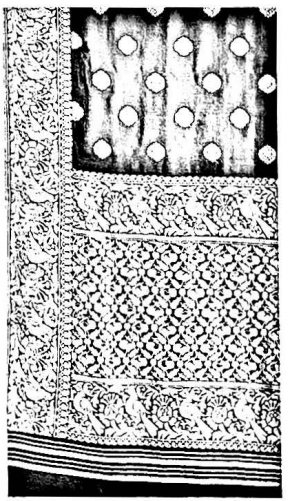

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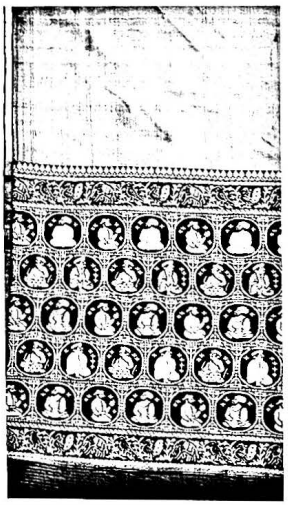

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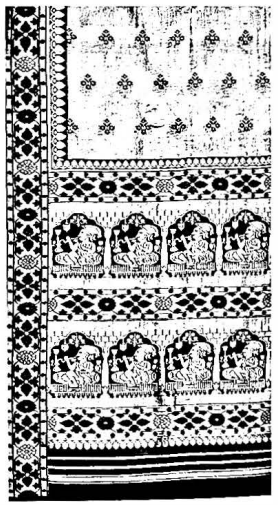


5/24A

5/15: Name: *Garmargi salli garo*/All-over body and border male-female bird motif sari; Material: Silk/satin; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Awa Khullar, New Delhi

5/16: Name: *Kor pallav ni garo*/Border end-piece patterned, plain body sari; Material: Silk/satin; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Late Piroja Narielwala, Mumbai

5/17: Name: *Kanda papeta ni garo*/Onion and medallion body, patterned four-side border sari; Material: Silk; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Late Piroja Narielwala, Mumbai

5/18: Name: *Ambi garo*/Body and border mango motif sari; Material: Silk; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Late Piroja Narielwala, Mumbai

5/19: Name: *Kinkhwab leherdar chariyo*/Silk diagonal vine floral border drape; Material: Silk, 2 ply, 22 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 3 m; Width: 0.55 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

5/20; 20A: Name: *Kinkhwab zari no chariyo*/Gold-silver, vine-patterned fabric; Material: Silk, 22 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 4 m; Width: 0.55 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad

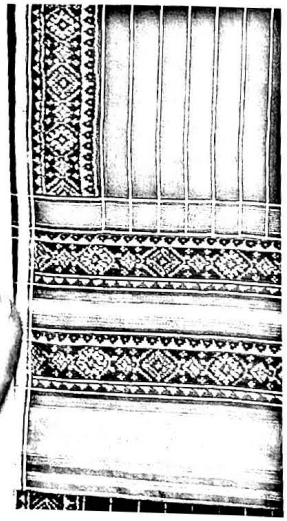
5/21: Name: *Zari asawali sadlo*/Silk ground, metallic grid-patterned sari; Material: Silk, 22 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 560 gm; Courtesy: Hansaben Lalbhai, Ahmedabad

5/22: Name: *Bandhani bhoomi asawali meena sadlo*/Fabric-resist body, woven patterned border/end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 22 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Anuradha Lalbhai, Ahmedabad

5/23: Name: *Reshmi zari buta meena asawali sadlo*/Gold medallion motif body, inlay patterned sari; Material: Silk, 22 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 5.46 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 520 gm; Courtesy: Shaila Parikh, Mumbai

5/24: Name: *Sultan bai thak pallav sadlo*/Seated sultan end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 18-20 dn; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 540 gm; Courtesy: Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad

5/24A: Name: *Zari bhoomi meena buti asawali sadlo*/Gold ground body with floral motif inlaid border/end-piece *asawali* sari; Material: Silk, 22 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 5.46 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 640 gm; Courtesy: Anuradha Lalbhai, Ahmedabad



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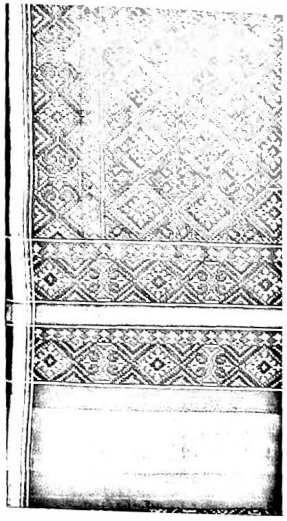

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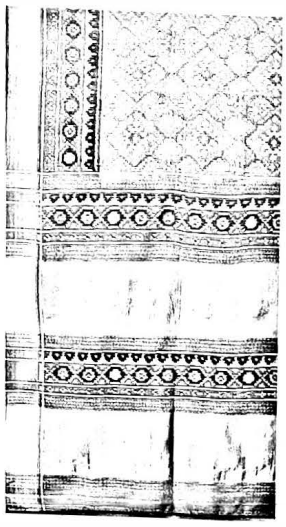

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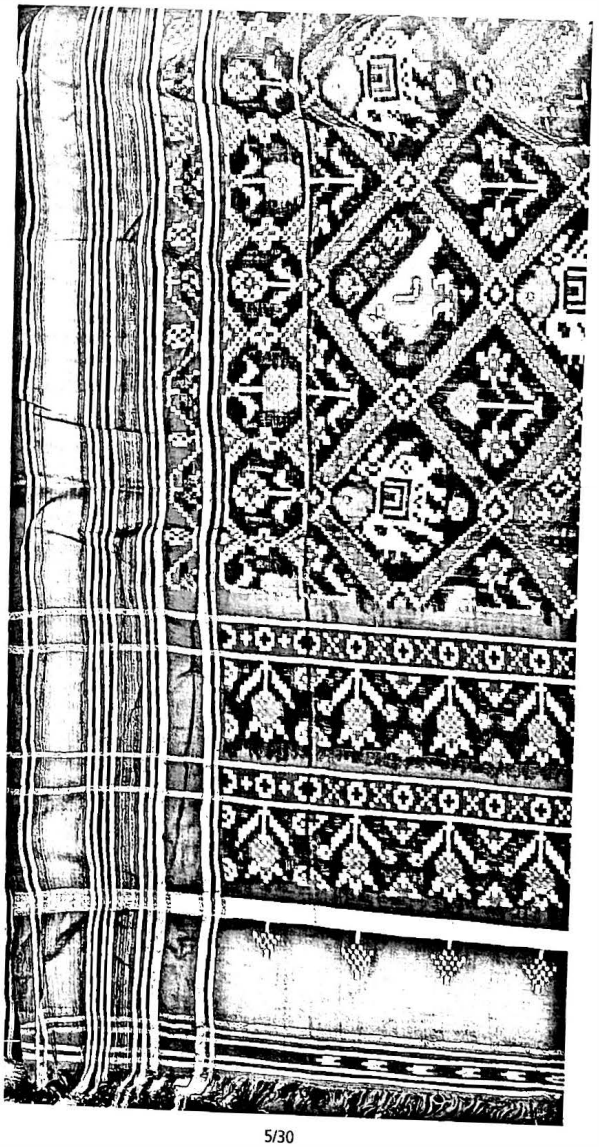

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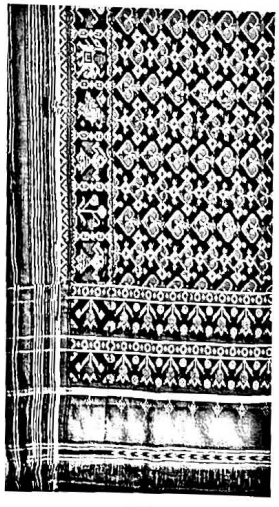


5/29

5/25: Name: *Danda chowk kor patolu*/Body stripe, diagonal square-patterned, weft-resist sari; Material: Silk, 18 dn; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Shaila Parikh, Mumbai

5/26: Name: *Chowk bhoomi paan kor patolu*/Diagonal square body / leaf pattern border, weft-resist sari; Material: Silk, 18 dn; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Shaila Parikh, Mumbai

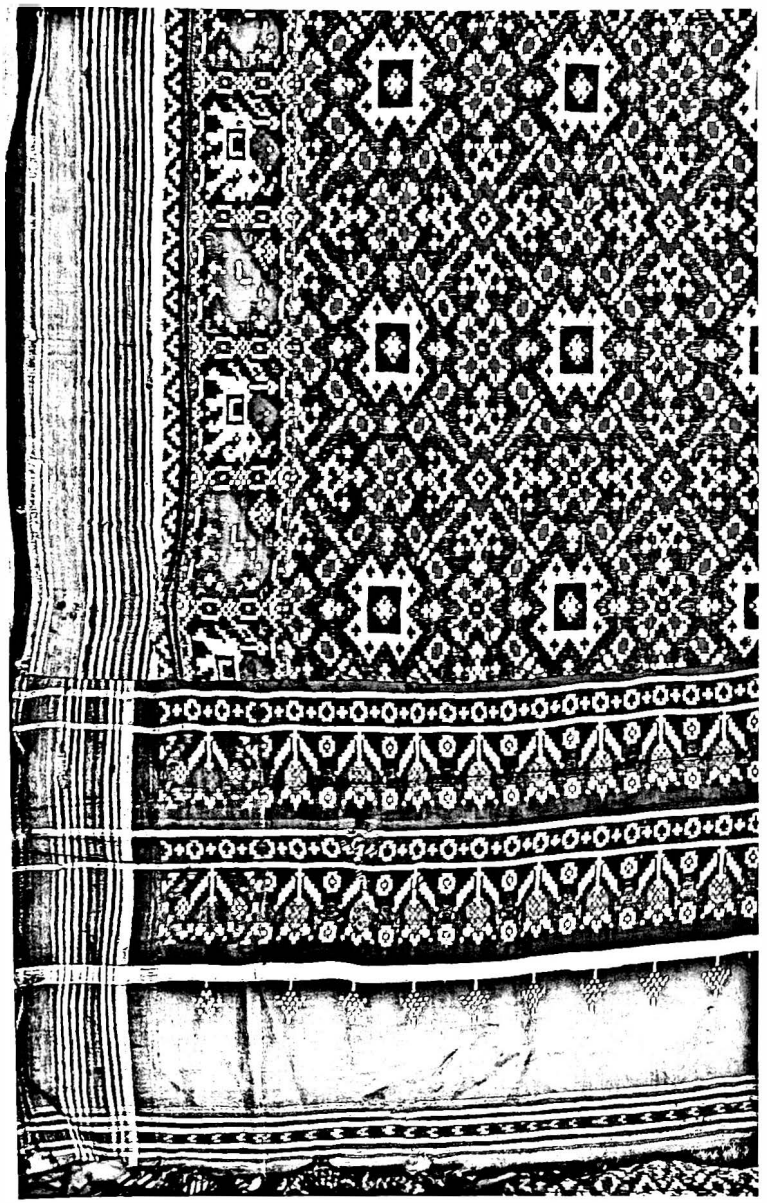
5/26A: Name: *Paan bhaat bhoomi patolu*/Leaf pattern body, weft-resist sari; Material: Silk, 18 dn; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Shaila Parikh, Mumbai

5/27: Name: *Gala bhaat kunjar hathi kor patolu*/Plain ground, elephant border, leaf-patterned yarn-resist sari; Material: Silk, 18-20 dn; Length: 5.65 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Chimanbhai, Ahmedabad

5/28: Name: *Gala bhaat kunjar patolu*/Plain ground, border / end-piece patterned, yarn-resist sari; Material: Silk, 18-20 dn; Length: 5.70 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Chimanbhai, Ahmedabad

5/29: Name: *Paan bhaat patolu*/Betel leaf, yarn-resist patterned sari; Material: Silk, 26 dn; Length: 5.70 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 520 gm; Courtesy: M/S Honeycomb, Ahmedabad

5/30: Name: *Hathi kunjar bhaat patolu*/Elephant/flower diagonal resist-body sari; Material: Silk, 26 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 540 gm; Courtesy: M/S Honeycomb, Ahmedabad



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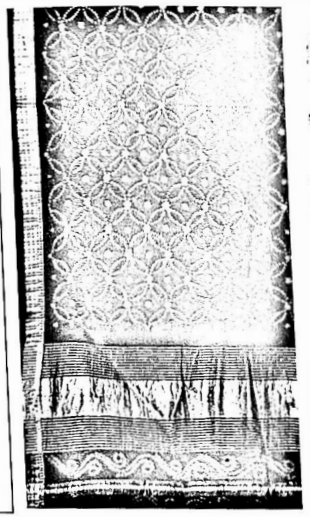
5/31: Name: *Ratan chowk patolu*/Jewelled square ground, weft-resist sari; Material: Silk, 26 dn; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 530 gm; Courtesy: M/S Honeycomb, Ahmedabad

5/32: Name: *Vohra gajji bhaat patolu*/Geometrical flower ground resist sari; Material: Silk, 26 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 550 gm; Courtesy: M/S Honeycomb, Ahmedabad

5/33: Name: *Madro-draksh mandva bandhani sadlo*/Red fabric-resist, woven gold border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.07 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 390 gm; Origin: Tera, Kachchh district

5/34: Name: *Memoni bandhani dupatta*/Red fabric-resist, gold border veil for Memon community; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 3.10 m; Width: 1.30 m; Weight: 240 gm; Courtesy: M/S Honeycomb, Ahmedabad



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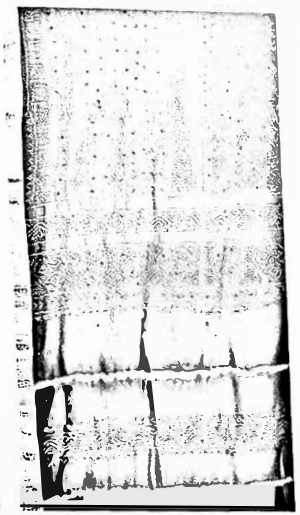

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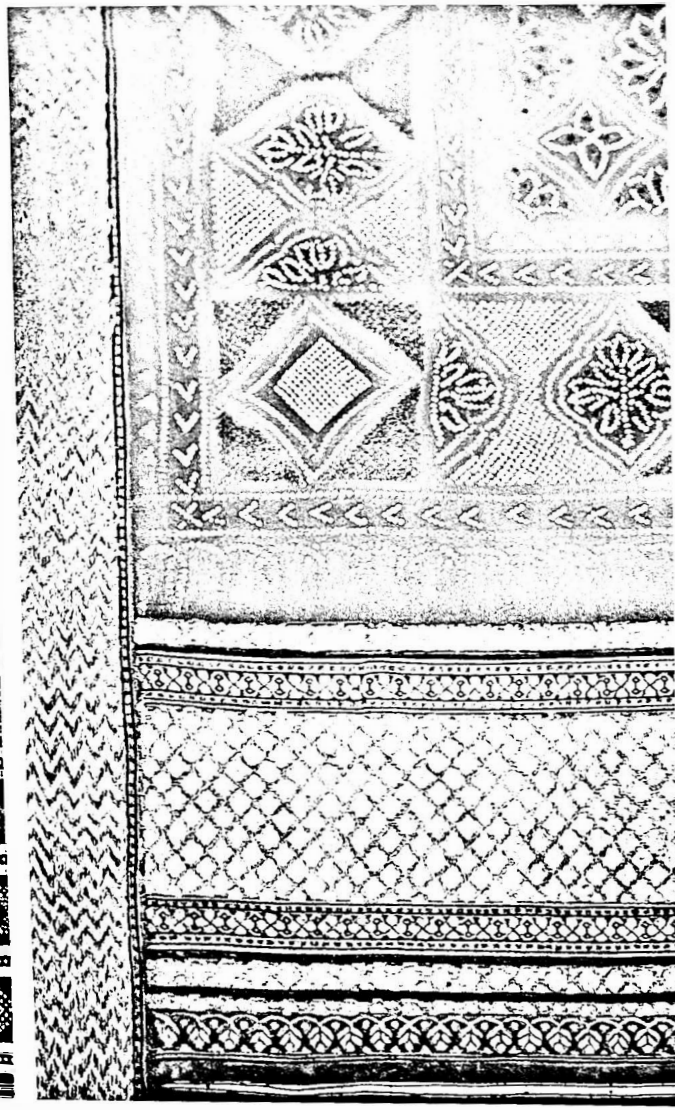

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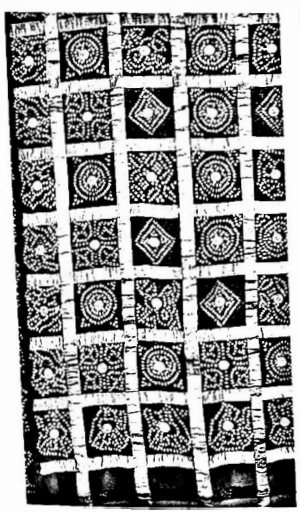

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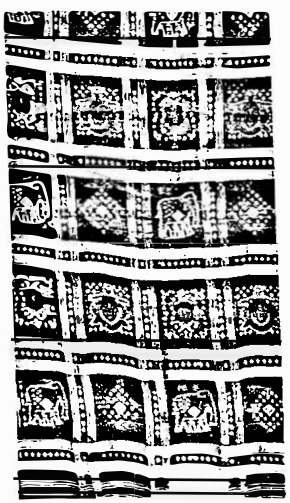


5/37A

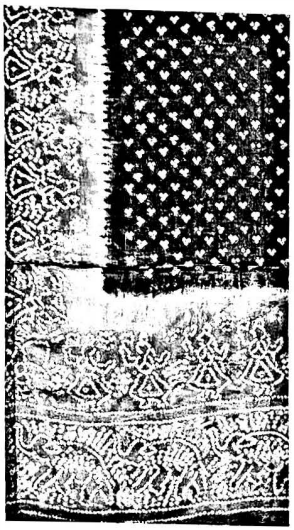
5/35: Name: *Chand bandhani odhni*/Central circular motif black ground, fabric-resist veil; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 2.80 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 190 gm; Origin: Vayor, Kachchh district

5/36: Name: *Nau khand bandhani gharchola*/Nine-square formation, fabric-resist dyed sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.07 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Shaila Parikh, Mumbai

5/37: Name: *Nau khand bandhani gharchola*/Nine-square formation, fabric-resist dyed sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Radhika Lalbhai, Ahmedabad

5/37A: Name: *Saat khand bandhani gharchola*/Seven-square formation, fabric-resist dyed sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Radhika Lalbhai, Ahmedabad

5/38: Name: *Bavanbagh bandhani sadlo*/Fifty-two garden body, fabric-resist gold-woven border/end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 420 gm; Origin: Jamnagar, Saurashtra lower peninsula



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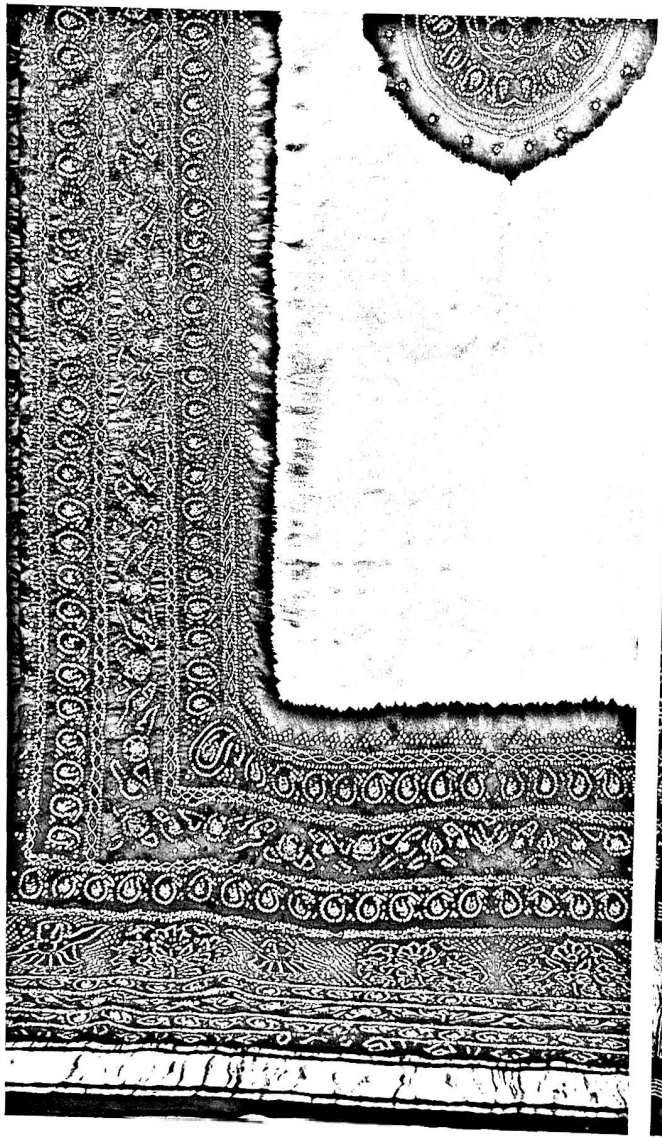

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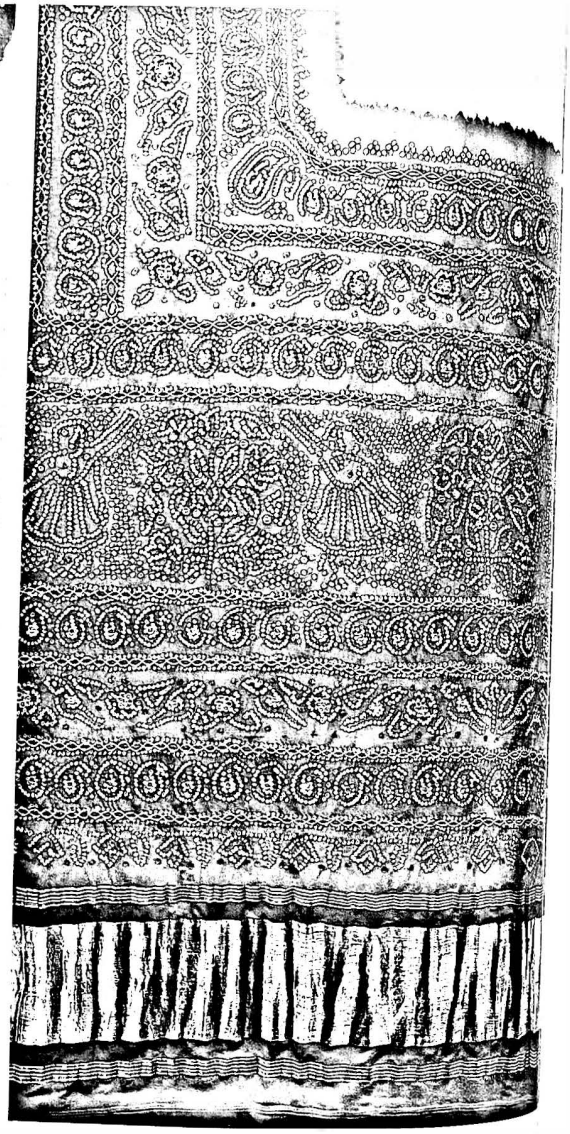

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5/39: Name: *Putli bhat bandhani sadlo*/Doll-patterned border, fabric-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 300 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

5/40: Name: *Ghatri bandhani vela kor odhni*/Red fabric-resist, vine border veil; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 2.60 m; Width: 1.27 m; Weight: 180 gm; Origin: Porbandar, Saurashtra lower peninsula

5/41; 5/42: Name: *Gajji bandhani panetari*/Drape/sari for marriage, fabric-resist border / end-piece; Material: Satin silk; Length: 4 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 300-320 gm; Courtesy: Radhika Lalbhai, Ahmedabad

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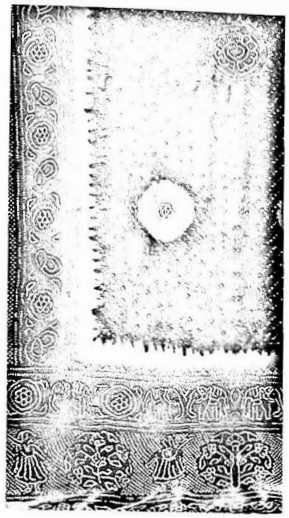

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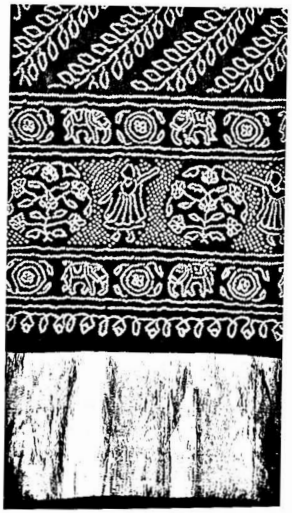

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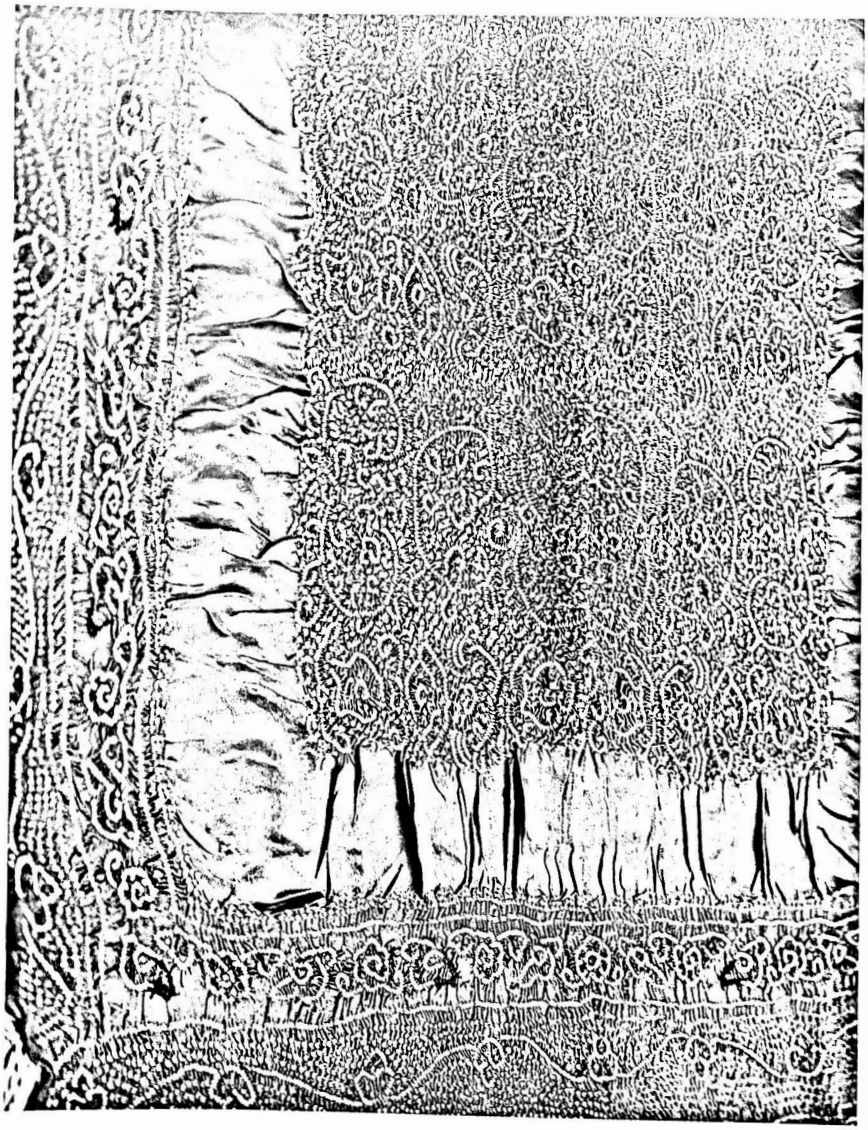

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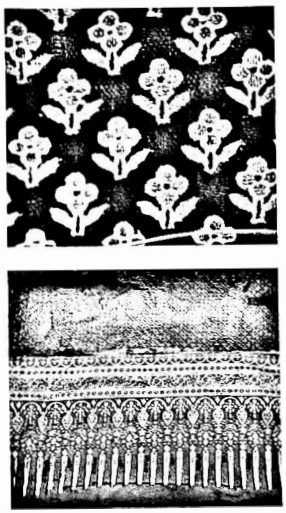
5/43: Name: *Khoja dani bandhani dupatta*/Black ground, red fabric-resist veil; Material: Satin silk; Length: 2.80 m; Width: 1.30 m; Weight: 220 gm; Origin: Anjar, Kachchh district

5/44: Name: *Mor vel jamnagar bandhani sadlo*/Peacock border sari; Material: Satin silk; Length: 5.20 m, Width: 1.16 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Radhika Lalbhai, Ahmedabad

5/45: Name: Fancy Jamnagar *vel bandhani sadlo*/New border vine pattern fabric-resist sari of Jamnagar; Material: Satin silk; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Radhika Lalbhai, Mumbai

5/45A: Name: *Nava aada vel bandhani sadlo*/New diagonal vine pattern fabric-resist sari of Jamnagar; Material: Satin silk; Length: 5.70 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Jamnagar, Saurashtra district

5/46: Name: *Popat vel bandhani sadlo*/Parrot vine pattern fabric-resist sari; Material: Silk, 60 gm; Length. 5.50 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Dawood Yusuf Khatri, Mundra, Kachchh district



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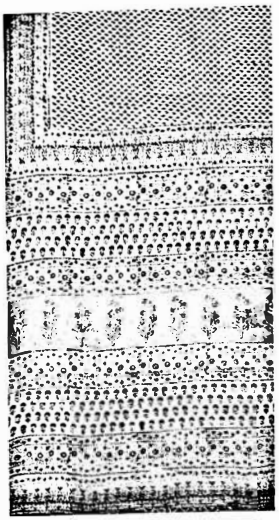

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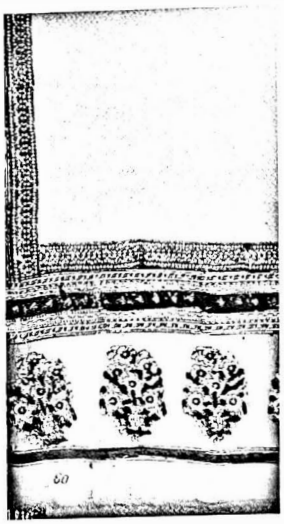

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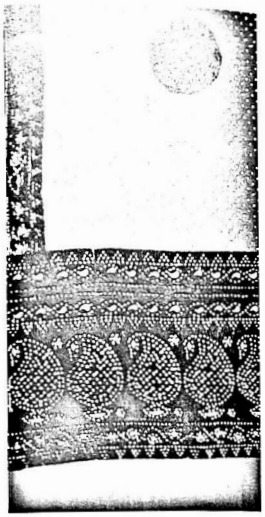

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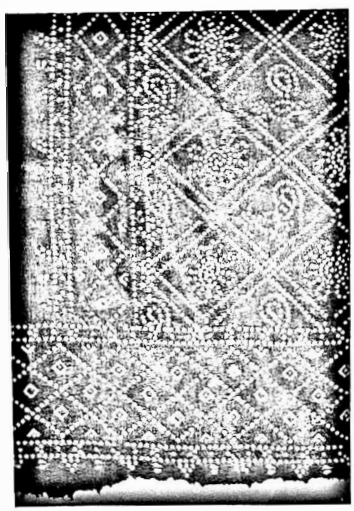

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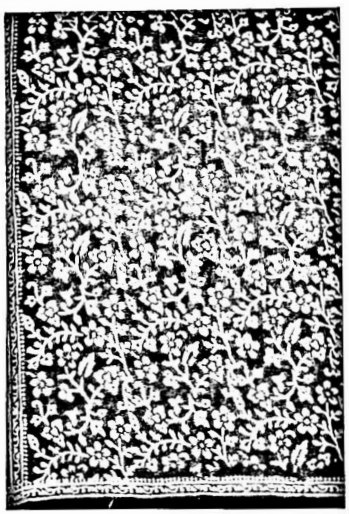

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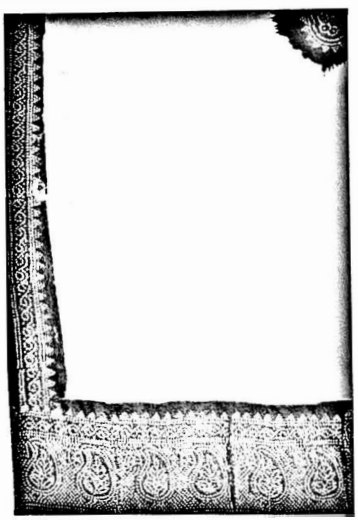

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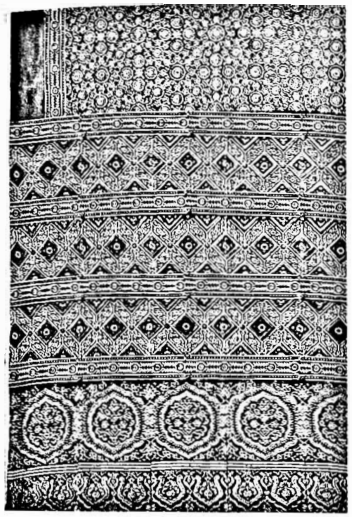
5/47: Name: *Saudagiri chheent*; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4 m; Width: 1 m; Weight: 320 gm; Courtesy: Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad
5/48: Name: *Saudagiri chheent odhna*/Printed veil; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 3.20 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 280 gm; Courtesy: Gurjari Collection, Ahmedabad
5/49: Name: *Buta jaal chheent sadlo*/Floral grid printed sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 260 gm; Courtesy: Vibhuti Mehta, New Delhi
5/50: Name: *Butidar chheent sadlo*/Fine floral-patterned printed sari; Material: Cotton: 100s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 280 gm; Courtesy: Vibhuti Mehta, Delhi
5/51: Name: *Lal gavan chheent odhni*/Red ground printed veil; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 3.36 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 375 gm; Origin: Godhra, Panchmahal district
5/52: Name: *Gadvi chayel chheent*/Printed long veil; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 3.40 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 380 gm; Origin: Bhavnagar
5/53: Name: *Mor bhant marvadi pachedi chheent*/Peacock pattern grid printed veil, Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 2.18 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 275 gm; Origin: Bagasara, Amreli district
5/54: Name: *Kali pachhedi phool chheent*/Black ground, all-over printed floral veil; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 2.40 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 225 gm; Origin: Bagasara, Amreli district
5/55: Name: *Galakia kanbi chheent pacheda*/Printed resist dyed veil; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 2.10 m; Width: 1.30 m; Weight: 275 gm; Origin: Bagasara, Amreli district
5/56: Name: *Buta bhaat nagaria sadlo*/Flower motif and vine border veil; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.08 m; Width: 0.95 m; Weight: 325 gm; Origin: Bagasara, Amreli district



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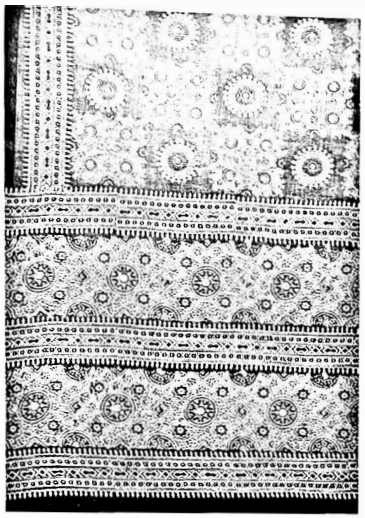

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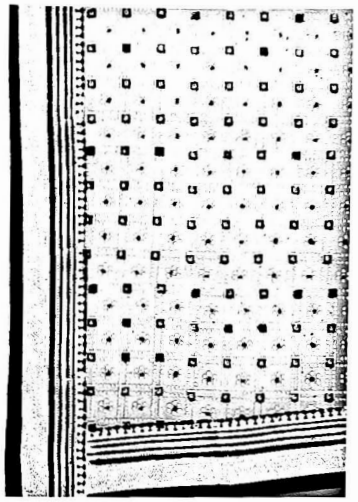

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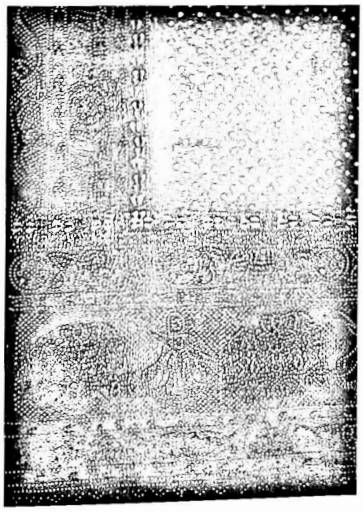
5/59B



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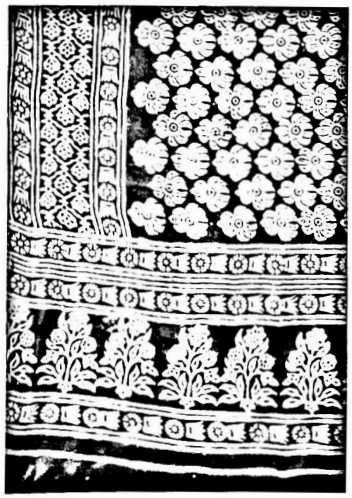

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5/57: Name: *Ajrakh odhnal*Resist printed veil; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 475 gm; Origin: Dhamadka, Kachchh district

5/58: Name: *Ajrakh sadlo*/Resist printed sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 330 gm; Courtesy: Vibhuti Mehta, New Delhi

5/59; 5/59A: Name: *Chheent Pachhedi*/Printed veil; Material: Cotton, 24s; Length: 2.06 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Jamnagar, Saurashtra lower peninsula

5/59B: Name: *Lal gavan odhna*/Red ground printed veil; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 3.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Godhra, Panchmahal district

5/60: Name: *Batasa gavan koli cheent odhna*/Printed veil for Koli community; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 2.06 m; Width: 1.70 m; Weight: 175 gm; Origin: Bagasara, Amreli district

5/61; 5/62: Name: *Kanchba bhaat chheent odhna*/Black ground, floral motif and border silk veil; Material: Satin silk; Length: 1.54 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 125 gm; Origin: Anjar, Kachchh district

धर्म बड़ाये धन बड़े, धन बड़ मन बड़ जाए
मन बड़त मकिमा बड़े, और बड़त-बड़त चड़ जाये।

धर्म घटाए धन घटे, धन घटे मन घट जाए।
मन घटत महिमा घटे, और घटत-घटत मिट जाए।

द्रौपदी की लाज बचावन कृ ण बड़ायो चीर
जीतेंद्र कह दे योगी म्ह्रह राणाजी रणधीर।।

When Dharma grows wealth grows;
When wealth grows the mind grows,
When the mind grows, so does glory,
Which grows and grows to heights untold!

Krishna, the honour of Draupadi to save
extends the sari endlessly;
Says Jitendra, the yogi is a true renouncer,
as the warrior steady in the battlefield.

– Jitendra Chaurasi, local poet, Sarangpur

Madhya Pradesh

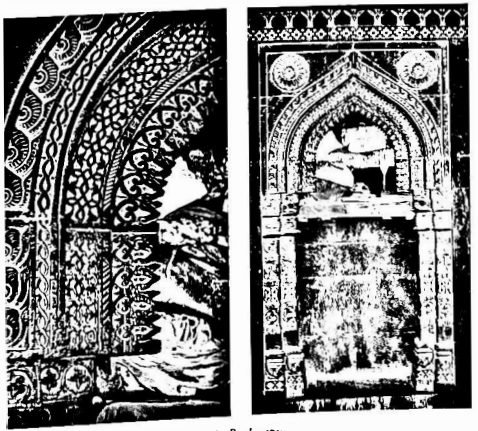
Madhya Pradesh is a classic example of a microcosm that reflects not only the design sensibilities of the seven states that surround it, but reaches out to absorb through its trade routes, the influences, raw materials and skills from far beyond. The textiles produced in Chanderi (Guna district) in the north, Maheshwar (West Nimar district), Burhanpur (East Nimar district in the southwest) and Balaghat in the southeast are prime illustrations of this combination of design influences.

The state reveals and expresses the heart and spirit of India in its wide open 2,000-kilometre expanse. In the year 2000, the southeastern portion of Madhya Pradesh became the new state of Chhattisgarh. Despite the changed status, the two independent states are being dealt with in the same chapter since when we travelled, researching these states, they constituted a single entity.

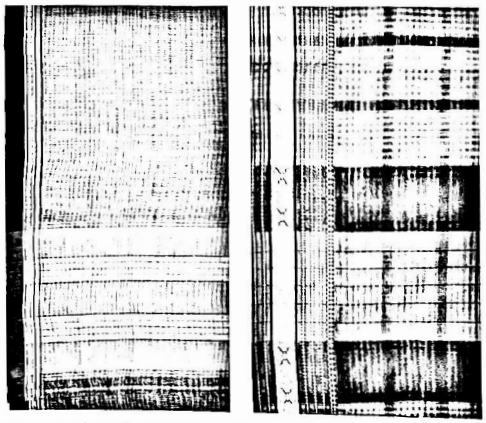
The region's lack of self-conscious identity and a multi-layered social and cultural diversity are unique to its nomadic, tribal, rural, ancient and contemporary urban communities. There is a quiet confidence underlying each segment. Madhya Pradesh has absorbed the conflicts of the past and turned them into assets of the present. Its genius is visible, audible and tactile in its textiles, architecture, art and music, which reflect and converse with each other and the world beyond with equal ease and coherence. There is an unprecedented merging here of the Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Sikh ethos; not only in the dress code but also in language, manner and expression. It is difficult to tell them apart, but for the tell-tale symbols of their faith; in the way they wear their hair or ritual accessories. The degree of merging into a regional culture is what is most significant in the case of Madhya Pradesh.

Regional design vocabularies have been constantly transformed, even as they maintained a distinct homogeneity. Saris tend to belong to a region rather than a single community within it. The social signalling lies in the quality of raw materials and the intricacy and range of the body, border and end-piece combinations, rather than the design elements they carry. Thus, the *sendri* (wedding sari, facing page) was worn in the Balaghat region of Madhya Pradesh not only by all the major agricultural communities, both Hindu and Muslim, but also by the Gond tribals, Dhimar (fisherwomen), Kumbhar (potters), Dhobi (launderers) and Pandit (brahmins).

Since we conducted the study in 1984, we have had to slip backward and forward in time, searching for the answers to questions relating to a more recent past:



Design directory on a granite mosque in Burhanpur.



COTTON WEAVING: **(6/7)** Muktiya chowkda sari/*Fine-check body sari;* **(6/15)** Waraseoni nakshi kinar sari/*Waraseoni patterned border sari.*

MADHYA PRADESH
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
GUJARAT
MAHARASHTRA
ORISSA
ANDHRA PRADESH
JHARKHAND
CHHATTISGARH
MORENA
BHIND
GWALIOR
SHEOPUR
DATIA
SHIVPURI
NIMACH
MANDSAUR
RATLAM
JHABUA
DHAR
BARWANI
UJJAIN
SHAJAPUR
RAJGARH
GUNA
VIDISHA
BHOPAL
SEHORE
RAISEN
SAGAR
DAMOH
TIKAMGARH
CHHATARPUR
PANNA
SATNA
REWA
SIDHI
KATNI
JABALPUR
BANDHAVGARH
SHAHDOL
SURGUJA
KORIYA
NARSIMHAPUR
HOSHANGABAD
HARDA
BETUL
CHHINDWARA
SEONI
MANDLA
DINDORI
BALAGHAT
KAWARDHA
DURG
RAJNANDGAON
DHAMTARI
KANKER
BASTAR
DANTEWARA
BILASPUR
KORBA
JANJGIR CHAMPA
RAIGARH
RAIPUR
MAHASAMUND
INDORE
DEWAS
WEST NIMAR
EAST NIMAR
N
Cotton Weaving
Silk Weaving
Cotton and Silk/ Zari Weaving
Block Printing
Fabric-Resist

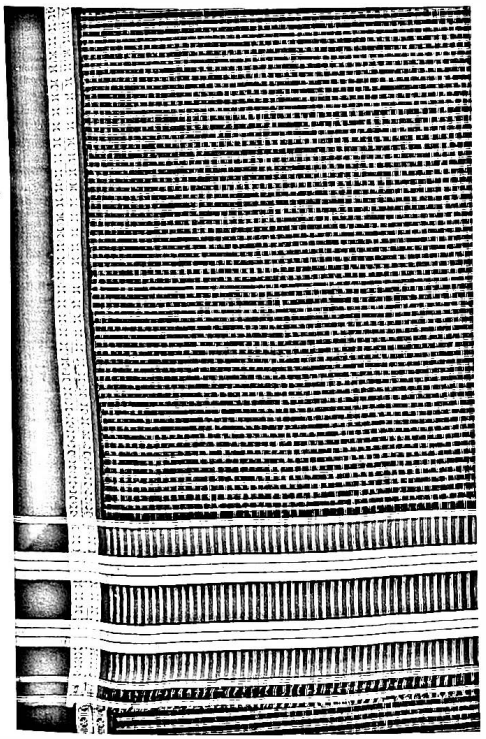
- Weavers in Waraseoni, Balaghat district, say that they just cannot weave the once well-known, soft 100s count cotton saris, such as 6/15; pg 117 *Waraseoni nakshi kinar sari,* because they do not spin a low-twist, high-count yarn anymore, nor is it available in the market.
- Weavers in Mehndiwara, Seoni district, find it difficult to keep their traditional sense of colour (even in chemical dyes), such as *haldi* (turmeric yellow), since they no longer have a local dyer and depend on pre-dyed yarns available in nearby towns. It seems lemon yellow is now more popular than *haldi*.
- The yarn for fine count pure cotton saris in Chanderi (see *do chashmee*; pg 121) was traditionally sized with a local root known as *koli kanda*, brought by wandering traders from the surrounding forests. It had the quality of being light on the yarn, giving it lustre and roundness even as it strengthened it. Now that the root is no longer available, and no one is prepared to put in the extra effort in sizing a fine-count cotton for a relatively low wage, the pure cotton sari of the past is a near impossibility compared to the silk warp, cotton weft saris that have been in vogue since the fifties as seen in 6/24; pg 121.
- Since the silk supply broke down in the early 1960s no one has been weaving the cotton body, silk border saris as seen in the *cheenchopopdi resham kinar jote* (6/9) of Balaghat as cheaper substitutes entered the market and traders discontinued the older products. In fact, a whole chain of inter-relationships that sustained the flow of raw materials, services and sale outlets has broken down.

There are also classic cases wherein a technical innovation has brought about higher production, but directly affected the quality of the product. For instance, in Chhindwara district, weavers had given up brush-sizing the cotton yarn as it was inconvenient for the longer warps of thirty to forty saris. Contrary to its aim of increasing earnings, higher productivity has in fact, decreased the unit value of the weaver's labour.

For those who stay back in the profession's quicksand of insecurity, there are many instances of compromise in the quality, awareness and skill of the weaver. He finds himself imitating the power looms and eliminating the cumbersome handloom techniques, all the while wanting to remain in the special category of 'handloom weaver' because he has nowhere else to go. The crisis of identity he finds himself in today, either compels him to move towards a caste or community awareness, or a lobby group, as we found among the Koshta weavers of eastern Madhya Pradesh; or he is compulsively attracted by the spiritual solace he finds in sects like the Kabir Panth.

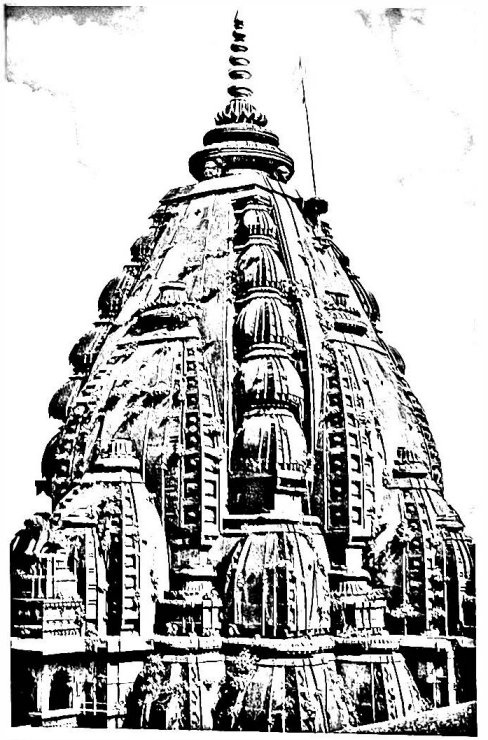
Devangans, Koshtas, Mehers, Gadhewals, Halbas, Chandhars, Mehras, Pankas, Mahars, Mirgans – the Hindu weaving communities in Madhya Pradesh share a common belief that they belong to the larger community of weavers who were divided into 'thirteen and a half sub-castes'. The 'half' covered all those who lost their 'whole' status by cohabiting with men or women outside the permissible social limits. Apart from these, there were the Momin and Ansari Muslim weavers, weaving in many parts of the state.

While the Koshta Samaj organization holds socio-cultural gatherings spearheading a movement for social reform within the community, it has also become a growing power base for political aspirations. The Kabir Panth on the other hand, appeals to a more personal need for rejuvenation and solace. Kabir, the weaver saint-poet

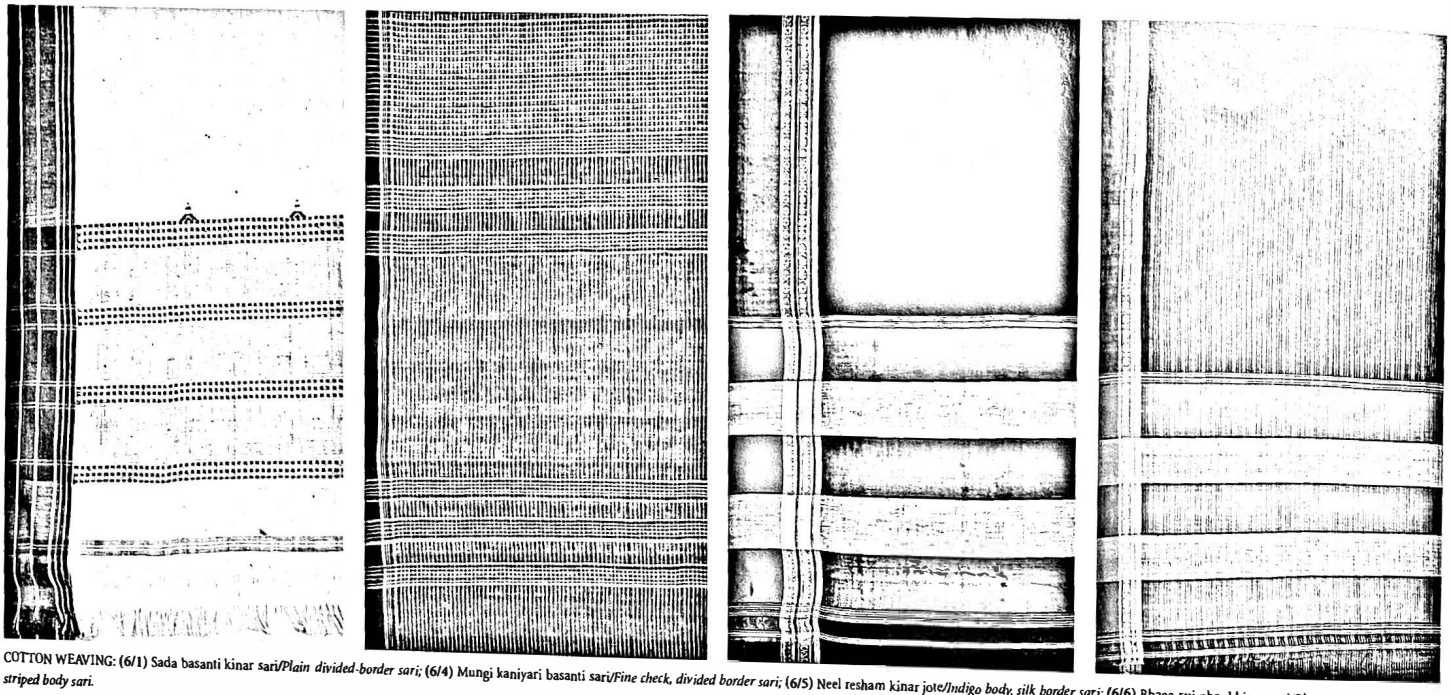


COTTON WEAVING: (6/9) Cheenchopopdi resham kinar jote/*Check body, silk border sari.*

Brick-laid border-like pattern on a house.



Kumbh: Temple spires such as this one are an inspiration for borders.



COTTON WEAVING: **(6/1)** Sada basanti kinar sari/*Plain divided-border sari;* **(6/4)** Mungi kaniyari basanti sari/*Fine check, divided border sari;* **(6/5)** Neel resham kinar jote/*Indigo body, silk border sari;* **(6/6)** Bhaga rui phool kinar sari/*Bhaga cotton flower border, striped body sari.*

of the fifteenth century, still beckons with the power of his *bani*, or the call of his words. Unlike other religious sects, the Kabir Panthis are not members by birth and it is mostly a matter of spiritual inclination. When asked why he joined the Kabir Panth, one weaver replied very poetically saying:

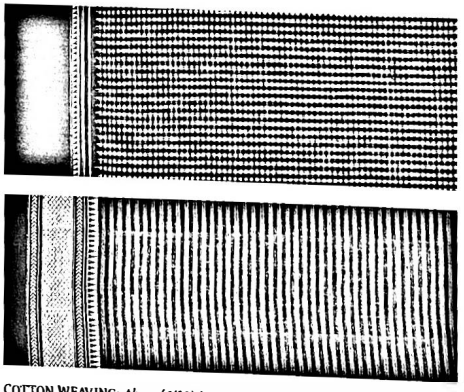
सतगुरू पकड़ी है बाहें मारी,
नहीं तो मैं बह जाती।

The true teacher holds me by the arm; if not for him, I'd be swept away.

In spite of the economic and social situation and its limitations, a number of saris with an exciting potential have been produced in different districts of Madhya Pradesh by weavers whom we met during the course of this study. A brief overview of the sari types can be described in the following categories:

COTTON WEAVING

The coarse cottons are widespread, especially in the eastern and western segments of the state, with distinct qualities apparent in each area. The 10s to 20s count saris are to be found in the Mandla, Shahdol and



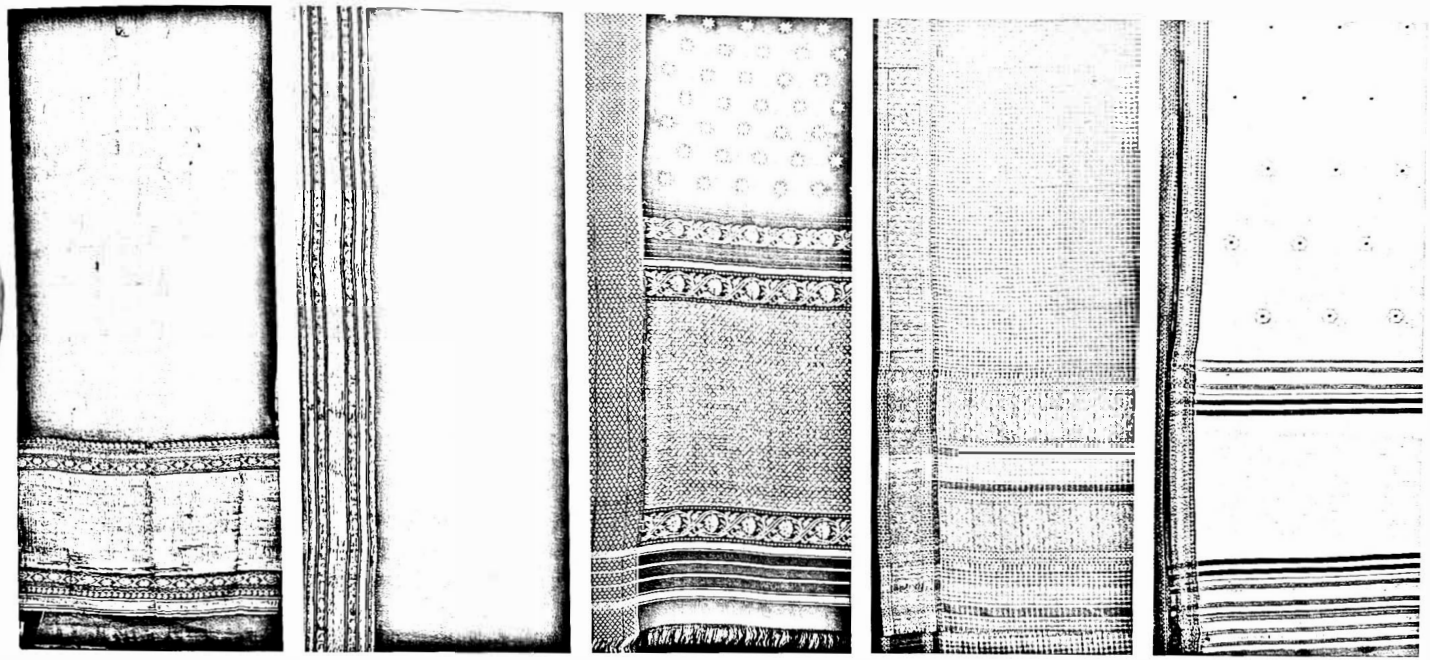
COTTON WEAVING: *Above* **(6/12)** Mungi paratni karvati resham kinar jote/*Even check body, silk border sari; Below* **(6/14)** Rasta sari/*Striped sari.*

Jabalpur districts in the east, ranging from the plain body *sada basanti kinar sari* (6/1) which shares its sari range with Bilaspur and Raipur district in neighbouring Chhatisgarh (6/6, 6/7; pg 125). This builds up towards bold and fine checks in the *mungi kanyari basanti* (6/4). Significantly, it is the border divisions of the *basanti kinar* and its extra weft patterned elements in the end-piece that compensate for the lack of checks or stripes in its body.

There is another cluster of villages in Balaghat, Seoni and Chhindwara districts, which are in the 20s to 40s count range, and sometimes even in the 60s; with a plain, striped and checked body, combined at times with silk in the borders as well as in the end-pieces, highlighted with *zari* gold or silver, depending on the client's ability to afford them. From the simplest *sendri* sari (pg 116) to its more sophisticated *neel resham kinar jote* (6/5), with the single or double row of the *rui phool* (cotton flower) and thereafter, a wide variety of stripes and checks, as in 6/6, 6/8, 6/9 and 6/12 (pg 125-126). These southern districts also have a finer border range that extends up to west Nimar in the southwest, weaving upto 80s count, a range of fine bordered saris that reflect the *bugdi katari* (ear ornament/saw-edged/arrowhead patterned; see 6/12) borders of neighbouring Maharashtra. Here again, there is not only a plain body range, but also a complex variety of checks and stripes in the body, as seen in the *bugdi katari puari dhoop chhaon* (6/13, pg 126) and *rasta* sari (6/14).

Coarse count saris, fabrics and loincloths are woven in the western districts of Jhabua, Dhar and Nimach, but they have already lost their markets to mill-made substitutes, particularly the nearby printing and fabric-resist areas.

Further to the north, there are several medium and fine count cottons in the districts of Rajgarh,



COTTON WEAVING: **(6/16A)** Zari pagdi/*Turban cloth with zari*; **(6/17)** Baan/*Skirt fabric*; SILK WEAVING: **(6/18)** Chatai kinar reshami paithani shalu/*Mat patterned border, paithani silk drape*; COTTON AND SILK/ZARI WEAVING: **(6/21)** Phutani chowkda badam kinar garbh reshmi sari/*Almond patterned border, cotton x silk check sari*; **(6/24)** Jaaldar adda kinar chakri buti lugda/*Extra weft patterned border sari.*

Shajapur, East Nimar, Guna and Ujjain, originally weaving cotton turban cloths and saris in the range of 40s to 120s counts with or without gold in the borders and end-pieces. The *pagdi* (turban; see 6/16A) is a fine example of this and eventually inspired the weaving of saris. There is also a range of *kota* (self-checked fabrics and saris), at times in silk, to be found in Sarangpur, Rajgarh district. The northern areas adjoining Uttar Pradesh, particularly the districts of Chhatarpur and Tikamgarh, reveal another range of coarse count weaves in 20s to 40s counts; the most outstanding of which is the *baan* (6/17).

SILK WEAVING

Although Madhya Pradesh lost its tussar silk rearing and weaving areas to the newly created state of Chhattisgarh, in the distant past of Burhanpur, in the southwest district of East Nimar, was a silk weaving centre of some repute, as can be seen in the *chatai kinar reshmi paithani shalu* (6/18).

The confluence of north and south is visible not only in the weight of the silk, but also in the juxtaposition of the Paithan-like border from Maharashtra, the *bel* (vine) from Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh, and the *puvvu* (8-petal flower) from Tamil Nadu.

COTTON AND SILK/ZARI WEAVING

In the western districts of West and East Nimar, Ujjain, Shajapur, Rajgarh and Guna, we find what was originally a cotton body, silk border range. Those now produced at Chanderi and Maheshwar, epitomize the finest of this range of saris. Sometime in the mid-twentieth century, both these centres turned to silk warps and cotton wefts, as silk was less fragile and easier to weave, and also because of the declining availability of the root needed for sizing fine count cotton and the shortage of manpower within the family for the preparatory processes.

The Maheshwar saris, influenced as they were by adjoining Maharashtra, introduced silk in the stripes and checks; often in the same colour as the cotton ground, achieving a very effective dual tone check, as can be seen in the *phutani chowkda badam kinar garbh reshmi* sari (6/21).

From the original unbleached cotton body of Chanderi saris, a unique pastel colour palette was achieved when they began to combine dyed silk in the warp with plain cotton weft, as can be seen in *jaaldar adda kinar chakri buti lugda* sari (6/24). Yet, Chanderi's greatest achievement can be seen in the all-cotton body, double-coloured satin-weave silk borders of the *do chashmee* sari.

BLOCK PRINTING

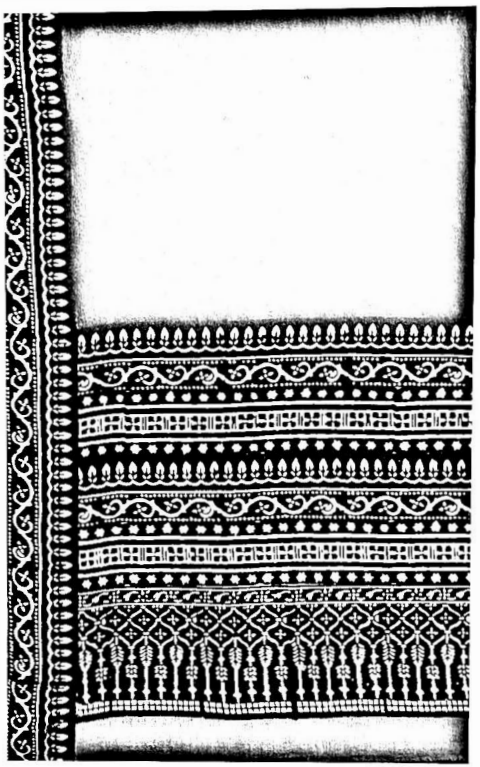
रंग राजा, पोत प्रजा, भांत दासी

Colour is king, fabric the subject, and motif the maid!

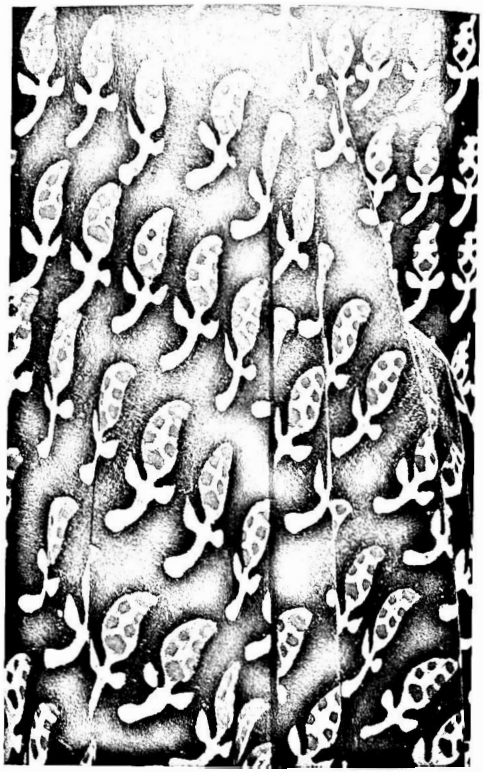
A wide array of block prints were produced in the western districts of Dhar and Jhabua, not only for the

COTTON AND SILK ZARI WEAVING: Do chashmee/*Cotton body, silk satin weave double-sided border sari.*

BLOCK PRINTING: (6/27) Angochhi/*Child's veil.*



(6/25) Pomia lugda/*Printed border, end-piece sari.*



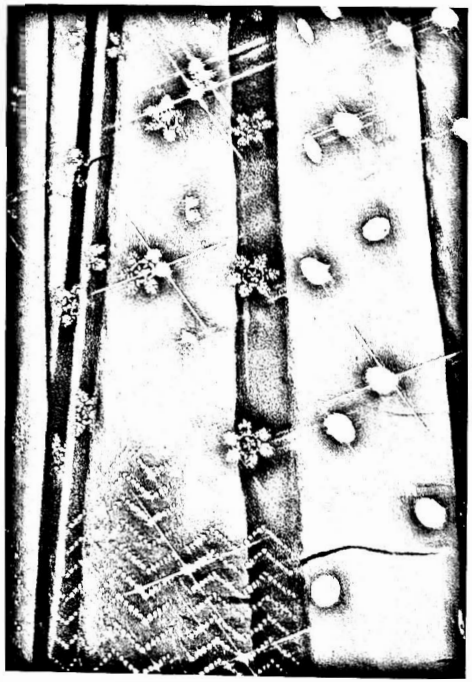
(6/28) Nandana lugda/*Mango motif sari.*

local tribal population but also for neighbouring Gujarat. Bagh produced the finest examples of the tribal collection that were printed by the exceptionally talented dyer/printer Ismail Suleman Khatri. The *pomia lugda* sari (6/25) is a prime example of his workmanship. Further northwards, Ujjain and Nimach districts produce a fine range of printed saris, as can be seen in the *angochhi* (6/27) and the wax-resist, block-printed *nandana lugda* (6/28).

There is also some tinsel printing called *roghan*, done in the western districts, especially around Indore. The fabric is imprinted with a paste pushed through a brass dye-cut plate with a wooden mallet, over which gold/silver dust is sprayed and the excess brushed off (see *khari chadar* (6/30). Earlier gold/silver leaf was used, but it is considered expensive and now the expertise has been lost.

FABRIC-RESIST

In the districts of Mandsaur, Indore and Ujjain, there are small pockets of fabric-resist, not perhaps as fine as Rajasthan and certainly crude if compared with Gujarat, especially Kachchh. Yet, these fabric-resist saris and veils



BLOCK PRINTING: (6/30) Roghan chadar/*Blanket of tinsel prints.*

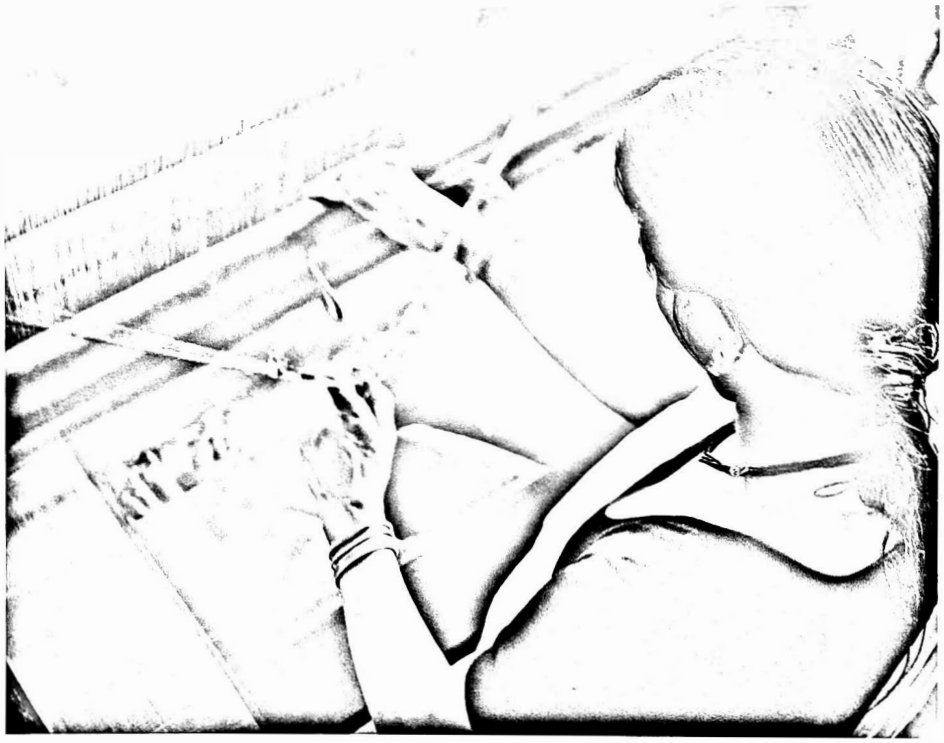
are auspicious symbols as the *peeriya lugda* (6/33); of a young girl's rite of passage from youth to marriage, through motherhood, till her death.

~

The stability of traditional demand created institutional support structures that were intimately connected with the feudal order. Hierarchical in nature, these institutions gave social sanction to distinct divisions in the market, based upon caste and class. For instance, Devangan weavers were assured that farmers of Rajnandgaon (now in Chhattisgarh) would always buy the *bhanwarai* sari (6/11; see page 139) for their family weddings. This was the kind of stability that energized and nurtured the arts, giving artisans space to explore and strengthen their own sensibilities.

With the influx of cheaper imitations and substitutes, traditional saris lost their firm anchor in usage and, over the years, their direct relevance as well. We are now at a stage where there are only a few weavers who still have the skill, and even fewer who are using it. Though the traditional order of relationships has almost totally broken down, in the course of this project it was found that wherever a traditional sari involving higher levels of skill was being produced, it

FABRIC-RESIST: (6/33) Peeriya lugda/*All over ~~fabric resist in yellow on red veil ground~~.*



Base fabric being woven for fabric resist.

was only because a few clients still maintained their preference for it.

In all cases, a cross-fertilization is taking place at such a rapid pace that the producer weaver has lost his moorings and tends to go with what the trader/buyer demands, or faces extinction. This in itself, is not an entirely negative situation, but for the fact that there is hardly any long-term planning for a product, variety, or trend. Thus, so far, in spite of a sufficiently wide state and central government network of retail outlets for the handloom product, weavers have failed to keep up a constant and fast-moving business interaction with their producers; with the result that the local organization can barely survive. So the weaver's future is more or less as uncertain as it ever was. Moreover, the weaver himself is in no position to invest in his product with anything but his time and effort, for he is too 'distanced' from his market to have any real understanding of it or draw comparative economic benefit.

Indeed, cooperatives were set up to alleviate this problem, but a large number of them fail to serve their purpose. Though infrastructures have been created to sustain the cooperatives - by providing access to cooperative bank loans, state and national retail outlets - most of them have not developed into economically or socially viable concerns. They have become hunting grounds for all shades of political interests and self-seekers too advantageously placed in the hierarchy to allow any significant, long-standing change to take place in the economic balance. There have been some relative exceptions to this; wherever there was an individual or a group of individuals whose integrity ensured the success of the cooperative.

The lesson from Madhya Pradesh is all about finding the means of making a wide production base possible in handlooms, in order to sustain a variety and range in products.

चम्पा तुझ मे तीन गुण
रूप रंग, आभास,
अवगुण तुझ मे कौन है,
क्यों भंवर ना आवत पास।

Champa of three graces blessed,
beauty, colour and fragrance,
what then is lacking thereof
that bees visit thee not!

- Devotional song, Balaghat district

STYLE 1: JHABUA/West Madhya Pradesh style
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.30 m
WORN BY: Bhil and Bhilala community
AREA: West Madhya Pradesh

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at front waist. Bring outer end-piece over head to right shoulder back to front.
2. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari. Tuck gathered pleats at centre front waist.
3. Pick up centre front pleat from bottom and take front to back between legs.
4. Tuck in at centre back waist.
5. Tuck left corner of outer end-piece into left waist.

STYLE 2: BALAGHAT/South Madhya Pradesh style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.36 m
WORN BY: Marar community
AREA: South Madhya Pradesh

1. Take inner end-piece and fold over into triangle at waist.
2. Take free ends of triangle at either side of waist.
3. Tie knot over triangle at centre front waist.
4. Bring outer end-piece over head left to right.
5. Tuck left corner of outer end-piece at left back waist.
6. Make pleats from right to left.
7. Leaving two to three pleats free in left, tuck gathered pleats at centre front waist.
8. Pick up centre point of loose pleats.
9. Take it back between legs.
10. Spread borders on right side of hip and tuck in.
11. Gather both draped border ends from back lower-end.
12. Catch firmly and bring to front.
13. Bring lower borders under front pleats.
14. Fold over front pleats in triangle.
15. Pick up front lower border.
16. Tuck in at left and right waist, preferably one leg more visible than the other.

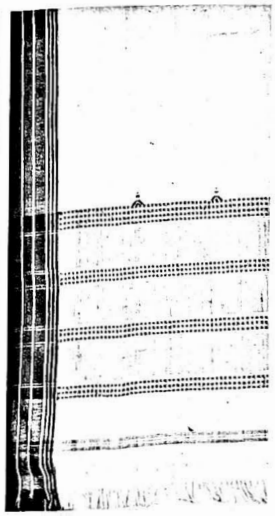
STYLE 2: VARIATION 1

Stages 1-14 are common with Style 2
15. Pick up right portion of sari. Tuck in centre front.

STYLE 1: JHABUA/West Madhya Pradesh style

STYLE 2: BALAGHAT/South Madhya Pradesh style

STYLE 2: VARIATION 1



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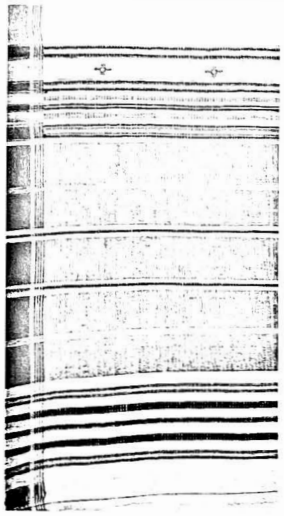

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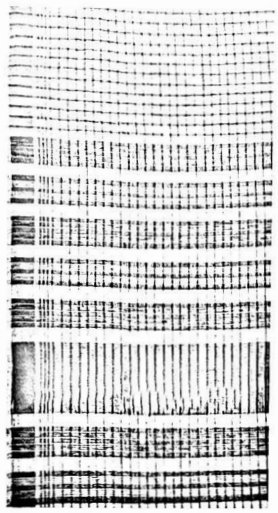

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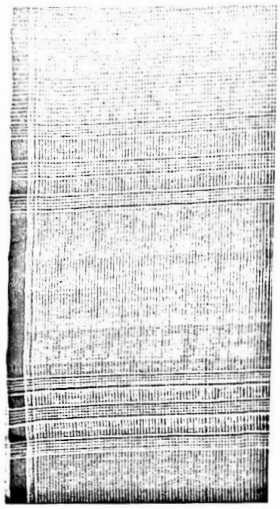

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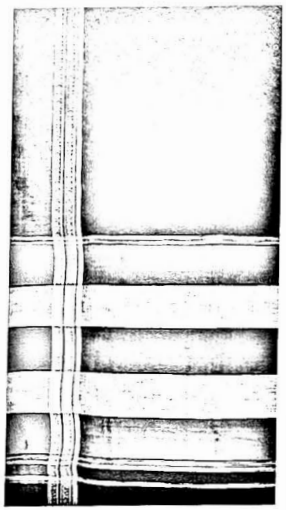

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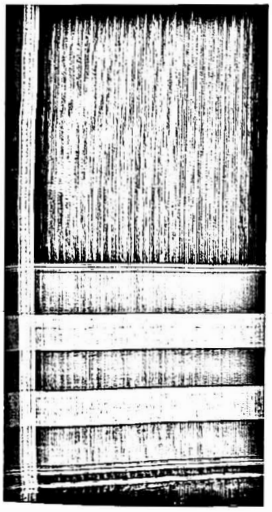

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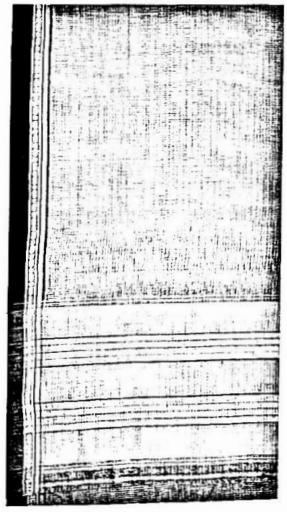

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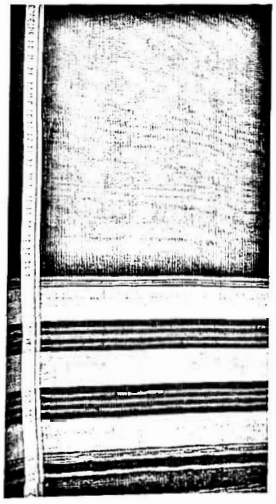

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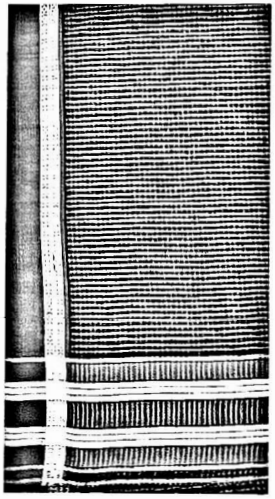

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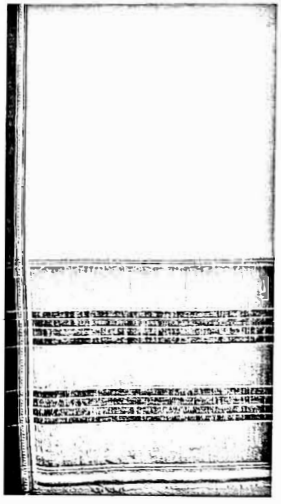


6/10

6/1: Name: *Sada basanti kinar* sari/Plain divided-border sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 5.90 m; Width: 0.94 m; Weight: 1,250 gm; Origin: Pindrukhi, Dindori district

6/2: Name: *Chakdharia* sari/Marriage sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 7.11 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 1,380 gm: Origin: Pindrukhi, Dindori district

6/3: Name: *Chowkhana baiga* sari/*Baiga* check sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 7.11 m; Width: 1.00 m; Weight: 1,320 gm; Origin: Pindrukhi, Dindori district

6/4: Name: *Mungi kaniyari basanti* sari/Fine check, divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 7.43 m; Width: 1.03 m; Weight: 1,380 gm; Origin: Pindrukhi, Dindori district

6/5: Name: *Neel resham kinar jote*/Indigo body, silk border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 8 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 860 gm; Origin: Waraseoni, Balaghat district

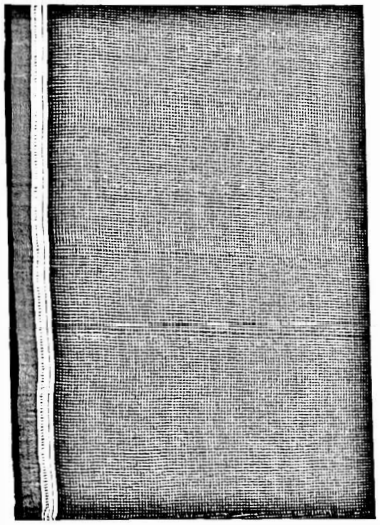
6/6: Name: *Bhaga rui phool kinar* sari/*Bhaga* cotton flower border, stripe body sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 8.13 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 865 gm; Origin: Hatta, Balaghat district

6/7: Name: *Muktiya chowkda* sari/Fine-check body sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 8.33 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 830 gm; Origin: Hatta, Balaghat district

6/8: Name: *Muktiya chowkda* sari/Fine-check body sari; Material: Cotton, 24s; Length: 8.77 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 820 gm; Origin: Waraseoni, Balaghat district

6/9: Name: *Cheenchopodi resham kinar jote*/Check body, silk border sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 4.27 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 380 gm; Origin: Waraseoni, Balaghat district

6/10: Name: *Karvati kinar karvat kathi* sari/Saw-edged border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 8.16 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 810 gm; Origin: Hatta, Balaghat district



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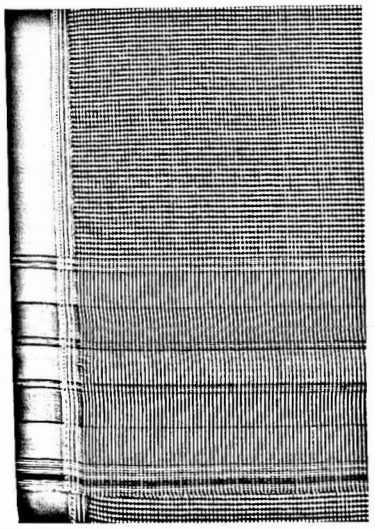

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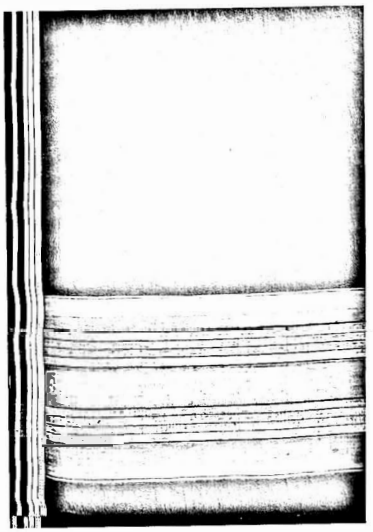

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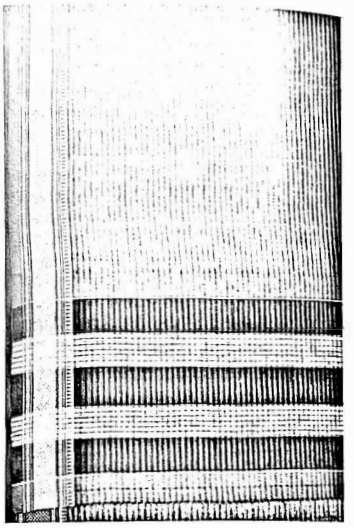

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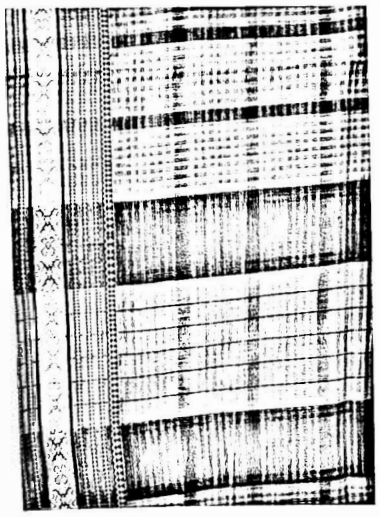

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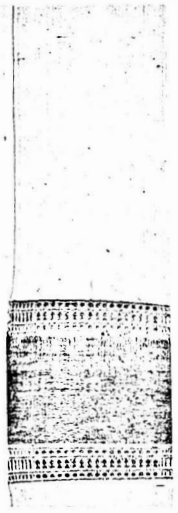
6/16A



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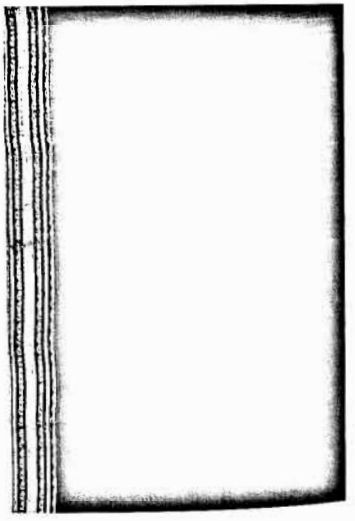


6/17

6/11: Name: *Muktiya chowkda resham kinar jotel*Fine-check body, silk border sari; Material: Cotton x Silk, 40s; Length: 7.01 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 510 gm; Origin: Waraseoni, Balaghat district

6/12: Name: *Mungi paranti karvati resham kinar jotel*Even check body; silk border sari; Material: Cotton body/silk border, 40s; Length: 7.42 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Waraseoni, Balaghat district

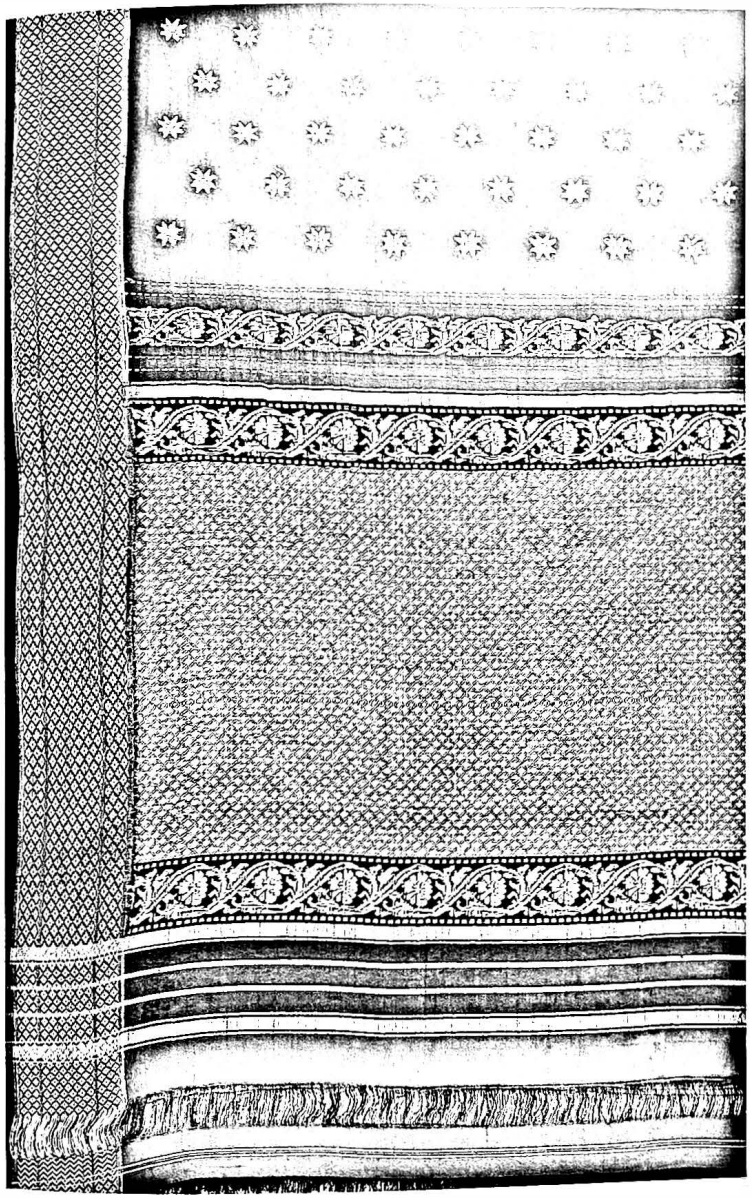
6/13: Name: *Bugdi katari puari dhoop chhaon* sari/Saw-edged, arrowhead border sari for Puars in shot colour; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.11 m; Width: 1.01 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Sausar, Chhindwara district

6/14: Name: *Rasta* sari/Striped sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.75 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 360 gm; Origin: Sausar, Chhindwara district

6/15: Name: *Waraseoni nakshi kinar* sari/Waraseoni patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 120 s; Length: 5.08 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 220 gm; Origin: Waraseoni, Balaghat district

6/16; 16A; 16B; 16C: Name: *Zari pagdi*/Turban cloth with zari; Material: Cotton, 40s to 100s; Length: 17m to 34m; Width: 0.15m to 0.27m; Weight: 220 to 420 gm; Origin: Ujjain, Ujjain district

6/17: Name: *Baan*/Skirt fabric; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.28 m; Width: 0.83 m; Weight: 580 gm; Origin: Sarsed, Chhatarpur district



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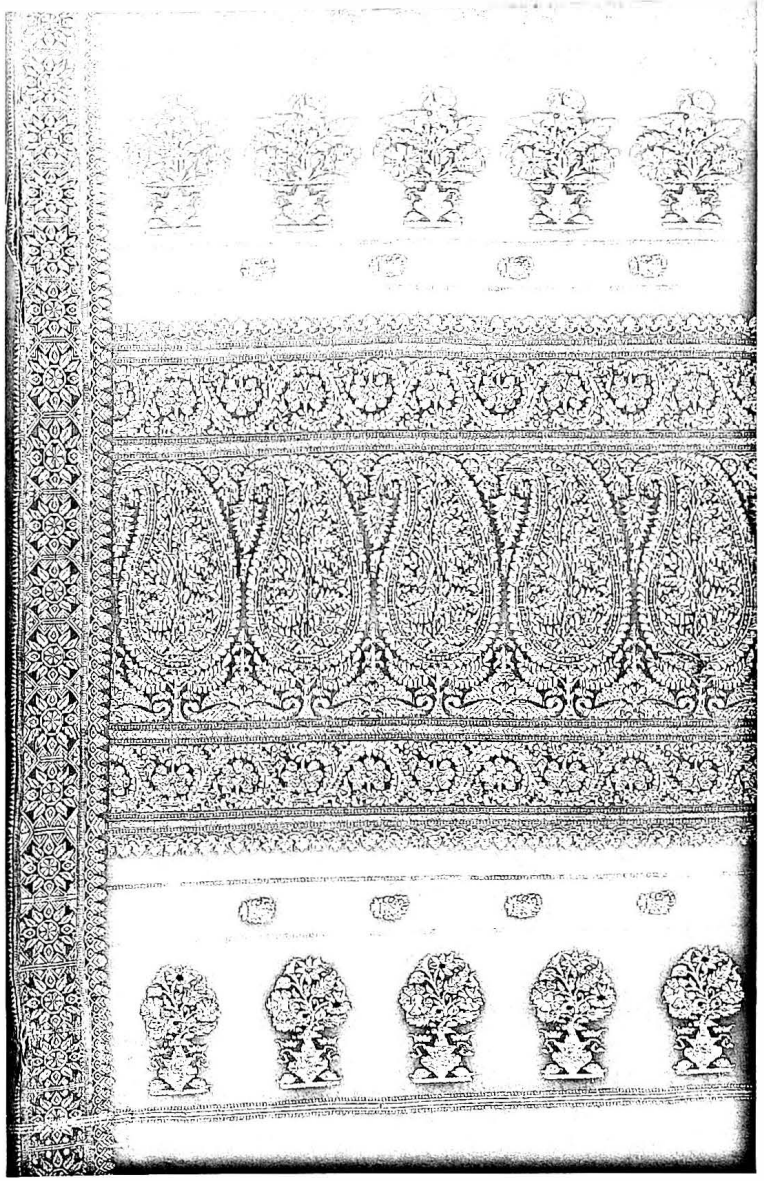
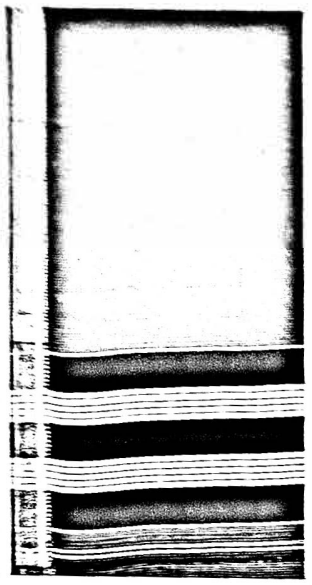


6/19

6/18: Name: *Chatai kinar reshami paithani shalu*/Mat patterned border, *paithani* silk drape; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 3.60 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Burhanpur, East Nimar district

6/19: Name: *Jai phool kinar reshmi paithani* sari/Jai flower border, *paithani* silk sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 7.20 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 920 gm; Origin: Burhanpur, East Nimar district



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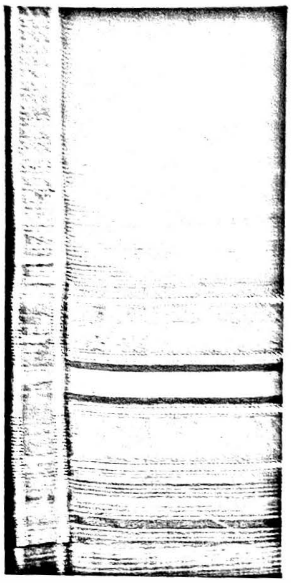

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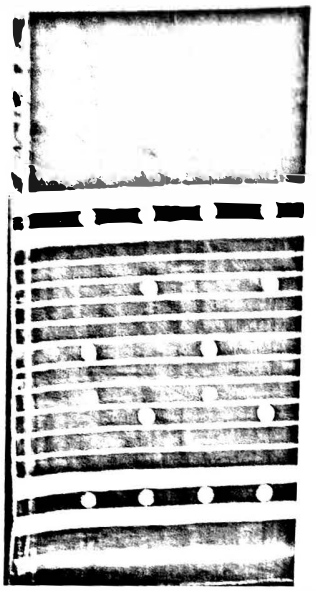

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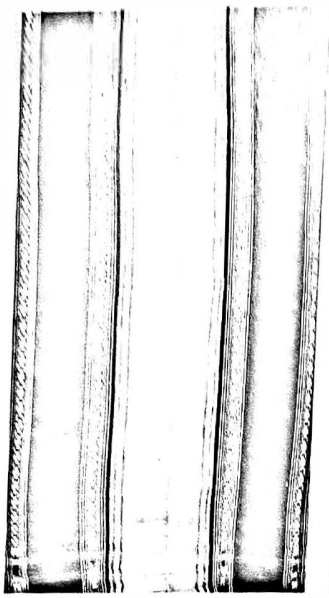

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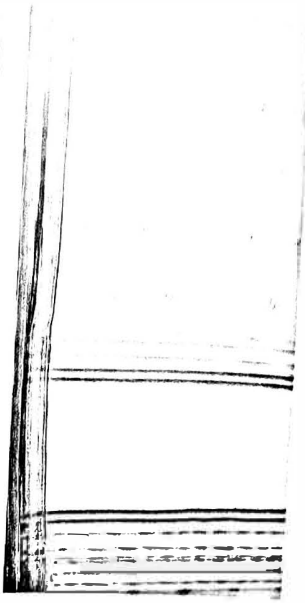

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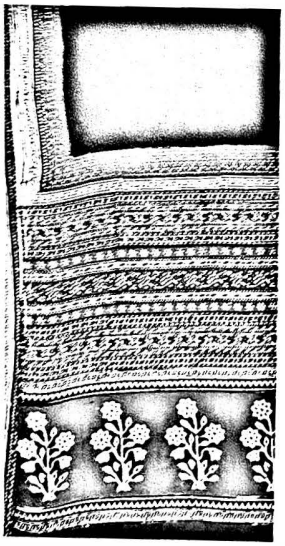

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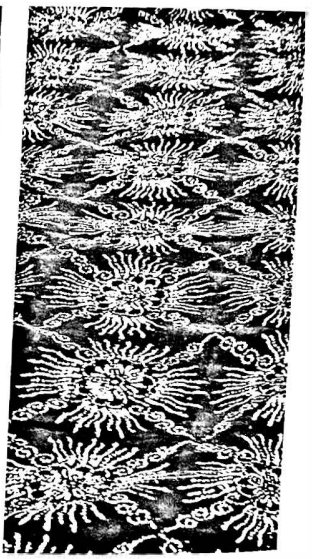


6/29

6/20: Name: *Chowkda sari*/Check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 340 gm; Origin: Burhanpur, East Nimar district

6/21: Name: *Phutani chowkda badam kinar gurbh resami sari*/Almond patterned border, cotton x silk check sari; Material: Cotton x silk, 80s/Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 280 gm; Origin: Burhanpur, East Nimar district

6/22: Name: *Gol piping kinar sari*/Piping border sari; Material: Cotton, 150s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 220 gm; Origin: Chanderi, Guna district

6/23: Name: *Dupatta ganga Jamuna*/Veil with two-colour border; Material: Cotton, 80s/Silk border, 28/32 dn; Length: 3.80 m; Width: 1.44 m; Weight: 150 gm; Origin: Chanderi, Guna district

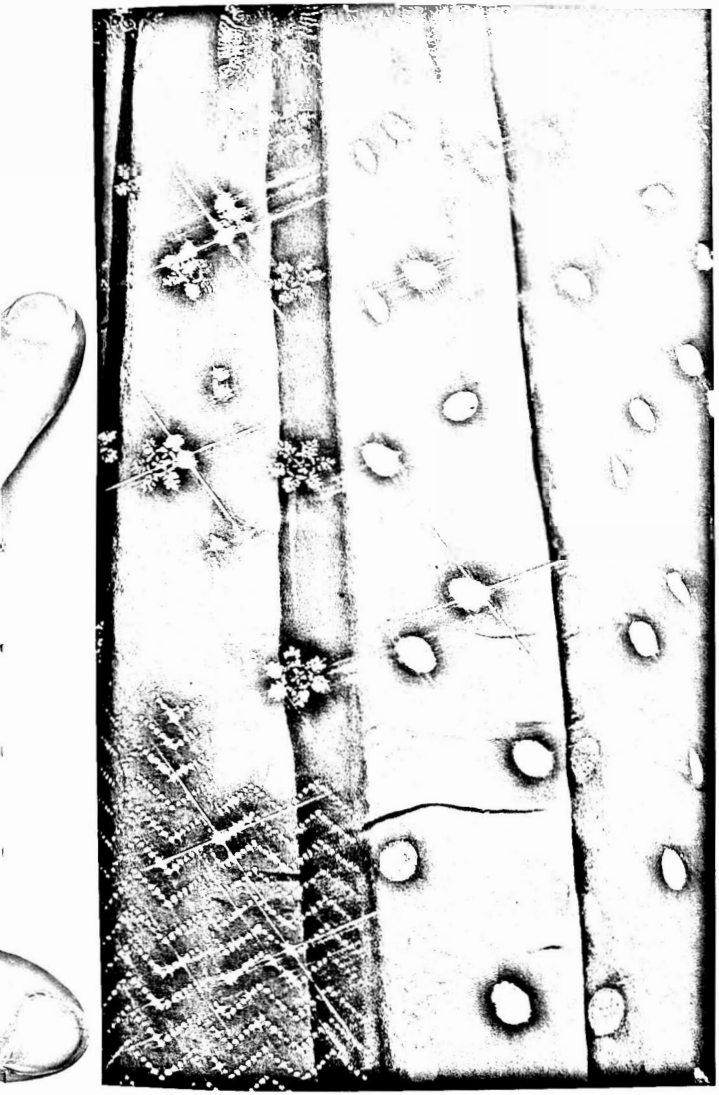
6/24: Name: *Jaaldar adda kinar chakri buti lugda*/Extra weft-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 140s/Silk, 40/42 dn; Length: 8.80m; Width: 1.30m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Chanderi, Guna district

6/25: Name: *Pomla lugda*/Printed border, end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 200 gm; Origin: Bagh, Dhar district

6/26: Name: *Bhairongadi neela lugda*/Bhairongarh indigo sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 300 gm; Origin: Bagh, Dhar district

6/27: Name: *Angochhi*/Child's veil; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 1.44 m; Width: 0.76 m; Weight: 80 gm; Origin: Jawad, Nimach district

6/28: Name: *Nandana lugda*/Mango motif sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 8.56 m; Width: 0.89 m; Weight: 600 gm; Origin: Ummedpura, Nimach district



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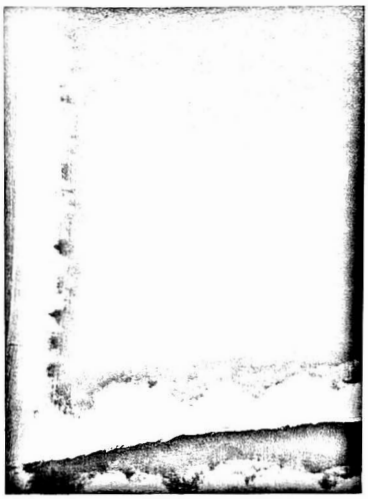

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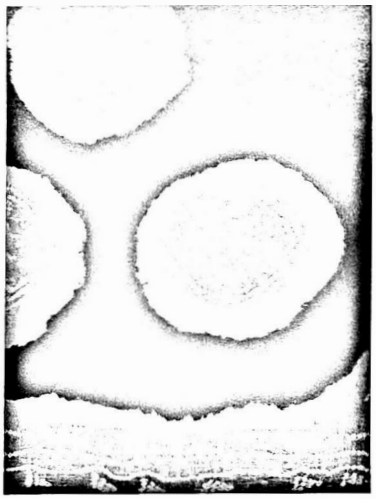

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6/33

6/34

6/29; 6/30: Name: *Roghan chadar*/Blanket of tinsel prints; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 10 m; Width: 1.02 m; Weight: 560 gm; Origin: Indore, Indore district
6/31: Name: *Bandha lugda*/Fabric-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Bagh, Dhar district

6/32: Name: *Renia duppata*/Dark ground, circular fabric-resist veil; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 2.70 m; Width: 1.68 m; Weight: 210 gm; Origin: Ujjain, Ujjain district
6/33: Name: *Peeriya lugda*/All-over fabric-resist in yellow on red ground veil; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 2.84 m; Width: 1.81 m; Weight: 220 gm; Origin: Mandsaur, Mandsaur district
6/34: Name: *Suhag chunri*/Wedding veil; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 1.64 m; Width: 1.79 m; Weight: 180 gm; Origin: Mandsaur, Mandsaur district

बेफिक्री का नाम है छत्तीसगढ़ी *Carefree thy name is Chhattisgarhi.*
- Local saying

Chhattisgarh

Created in 2000, the state of Chhattisgarh consists, at its northern and southern ends, of a rich tribal belt that cultivates in its forests numerous varieties of tussar silk. Since the 1970s, there has been an attempt to initiate reeling and spinning, with the 1980s witnessing a partial success in weaving with tussar. Traditionally, it was largely sold in the central districts of Bilaspur, Janjgir Champa, Raigarh and Mahasamund, where there has been a long-standing weaver population skilled in working with tussar.

Cotton weaving is most widespread from the north to the central districts and the southern tribal districts. Nevertheless, there are characteristic regional varieties woven in each area and therefore, the overall picture is rich and varied.

Beginning with the northern most districts of Surguja and adjoining Koriya, we find a range of coarse-count saris that reflects the enigmatic and unique geometric tribal design sensibility. Their painted huts, pottery and textiles speak a common language. The *oraon turra* (6/5, pg 139) and the *oraon mae sari* (6/2) are prime examples of the plain body, 10s count, weft loom-embroidered end-piece saris. The end-piece of the latter, faces the sari body with the auspicious *singhaulia* flower said to resemble the *singhada* (water chestnut) also found in Bilaspur and Raipur districts. It is a symbol of the *sindoor dani* (container for *sindoor*, the auspicious vermilion powder used in the parting of a married woman's hair) called *singhauda*, which is tied into the bridegroom's *patka* (shoulder cloth) along with some yellow rice at the *pehli haldi* (purification ritual before marriage) ceremony, three or five days before the wedding. It contains a *sava tola* (1¼ *tola* or approximately 12 gm) of *sindoor*. *Sava* is the symbolic measure of incompleteness, interpreted as potential growth. As expressed in the phrase:

सवा में अँकुर फुटता है
डेढ़ में टुटता है
और पौने दो में नाश हो जाता है।

The seed sprouts at one-and-a-quarter, breaks at one-and-a-half and is finished by a quarter to two.

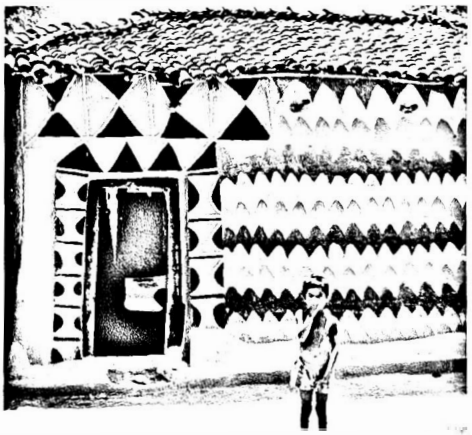
COTTON WEAVING

We now move south via the easternmost districts of Raigarh, Raipur and Mahasamund facing Orissa. The simplest are the coarse-count saris of Bilaspur and Raipur districts which are unbleached; with or without self-stripes in the body, and marked by solid or divided and accented borders with some pattern elements in the end-pieces. These are usually wedding saris sprinkled with auspicious turmeric for the bride and her mother. The *patta kinar doria* sari (6/8; pg 131) is a fine example of this. The *goyal kapta* sari (6/4) is a classic example of the end-piece patterned, interspersed with yarn-resist sari, reflecting the Oriya sensibility of the adjoining state.

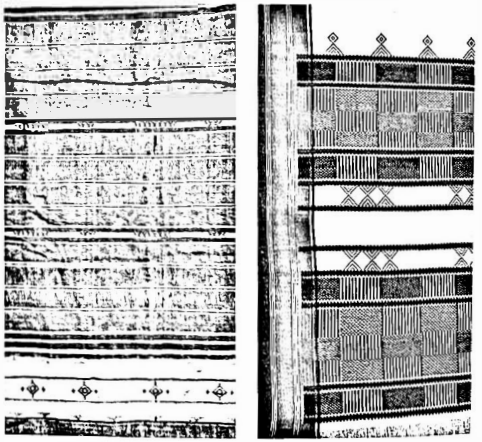
The *teen phulia basanti kinar lugda* (6/15; pg 131) from the Bilaspur region, eliminates the yarn-resist elements with the addition of the extra-warp, three-flower repeat motif borders and a restricted dash pattern in relief in the end-piece, culminating in the *kadam jhad*, a symbolic fertility symbol used especially on wedding saris in the districts of Rajnandgaon and Raigarh. The *phulwar bhanwari phera* sari (6/19; pg 140) is an example of the coming together of the *rui phool* (cotton flower) and the *machhi* (fish) motif of Orissa.

Often the motif elements reflect a world of ritual invested with symbolic meaning. The connotations are subconscious, as they belong to a vernacular medium that at times reveals its underlying source and inspiration. There is, for instance, the auspicious *rui phool*, seen in the central region in various interpretations; the well-enunciated crown *phool*, the *chitpat rui phool* (positive/ negative) , and the *teen phulia* in a three-part repeat. In fact, it can be seen in one form or another in many other parts of India as well, where it is known by different names.

The saris of Rajnandgaon, such as the *dhoop chhaon*

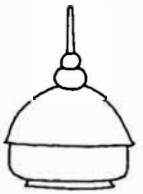


Exterior of an Oraon home.

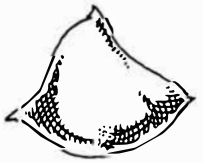


(6/3) Oraon turra/*drape*; (6/2) Oraon mae sari/*Oraon mother-of-bride sari.*

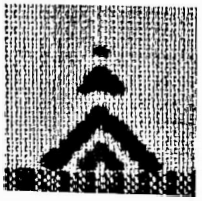
INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SINGHAULIA MOTIF



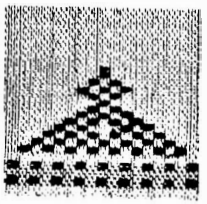
Singhauda



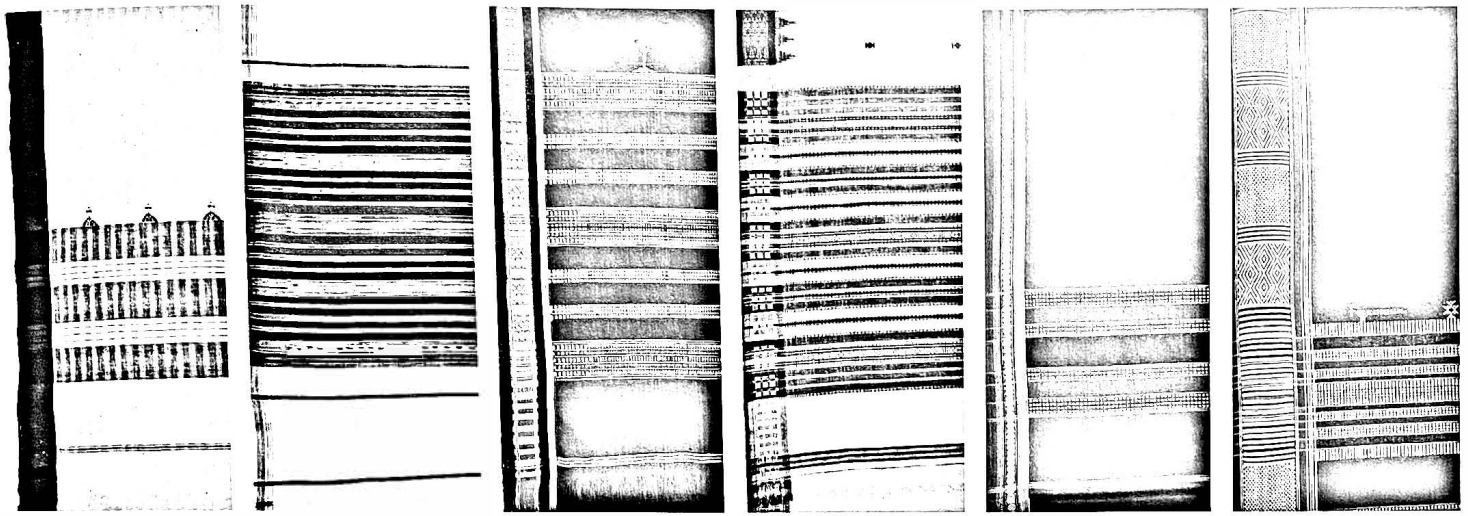
Singhada



Bhanwarpur, district Mahasamund



Ambikapur, district Surguja



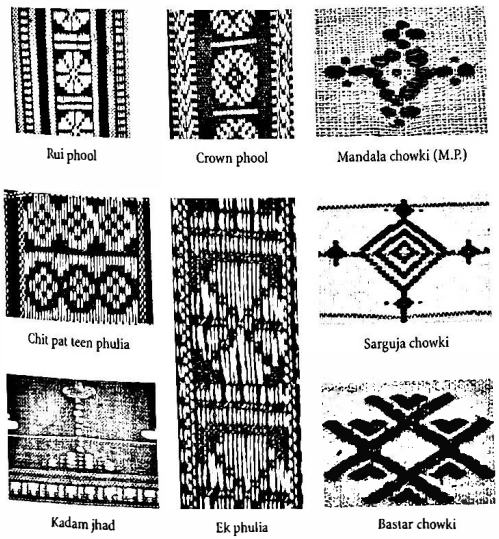
Left to Right: COTTON WEAVING: **(6/8)** Patta kinar doria sari/*Plain border, self-stripe sari;* **(6/4)** Goyal kapta lugda/*Goyal sari;* **(6/15)** Teen phulia basanti kinar lugda/*Three flower divided border* sari; Phulwar bhanwari phera sari/*Temple border, body motif wedding sari;* **(6/10)** Dhoop chhaon ek phulia kinar sari/*Shot colour, single flower border sari;* **(6/11)** Lodhi bhanwarai kinar mae lugda/*Lodhi wedding sari for bride's mother.*

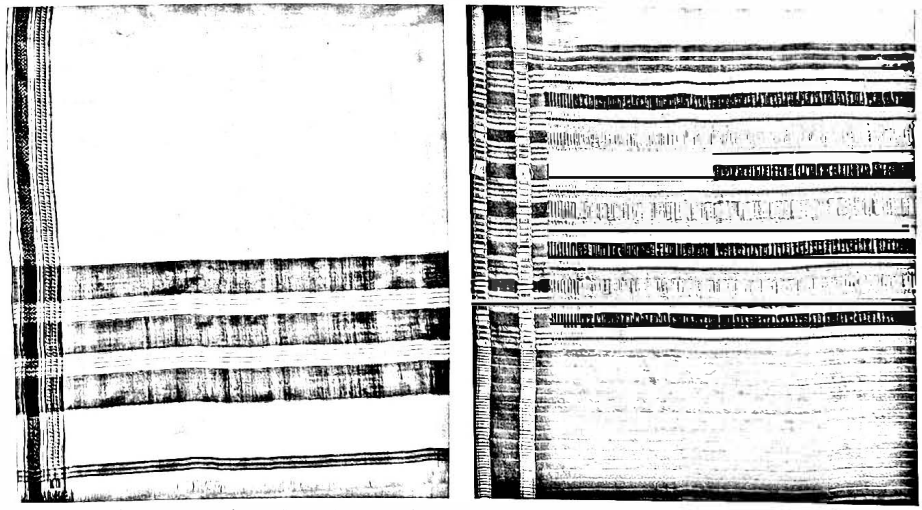
ek phulia kinar (6/10), are classic examples of the single flower-patterned border, coloured plain body saris for everyday wear and their upgraded version is worn during weddings with multiple patterned borders and weft-patterned end-pieces, as seen in the *lodhi bhanwarai kinar mae lugda* (6/11). In Raigarh, Raipur and Bilaspur districts, there are 40s-count cotton body, tussar border and end-piece saris, as seen in the *motim chowk choor kosa dheek lugda* (6/23; pg 132); with a more finely enunciated division of borders and end-pieces.

The southernmost districts of Bastar and Dantewara have a range of plain-body, *aal* (madder) dyed, three-shuttle woven borders and end-pieces that were commissioned for this project. They also revealed their symbols like the *chowki* (bridegroom's seat of honour) often used as a motif in the end-piece of the wedding sari in Bastar, Surguja, Rajnandgaon, Rajgarh districts and even Mandla (in Madhya Pradesh). The *mae lugda tadap pata* (6/21; pg 132) with its *phool cheetah chowk;* the central motif on the endpiece providing the finale to the weft-patterned end-piece facing the body, is a fine example of a coarse-count sari with the most sophisticated combination of functionality in its patterned elements. The *bagh chowda bandi pata* (6/22; pg 132) is the ultimate three-part divided body/borders and double-attached end-pieces/check-body sari of the area which was described and thereafter woven on request.

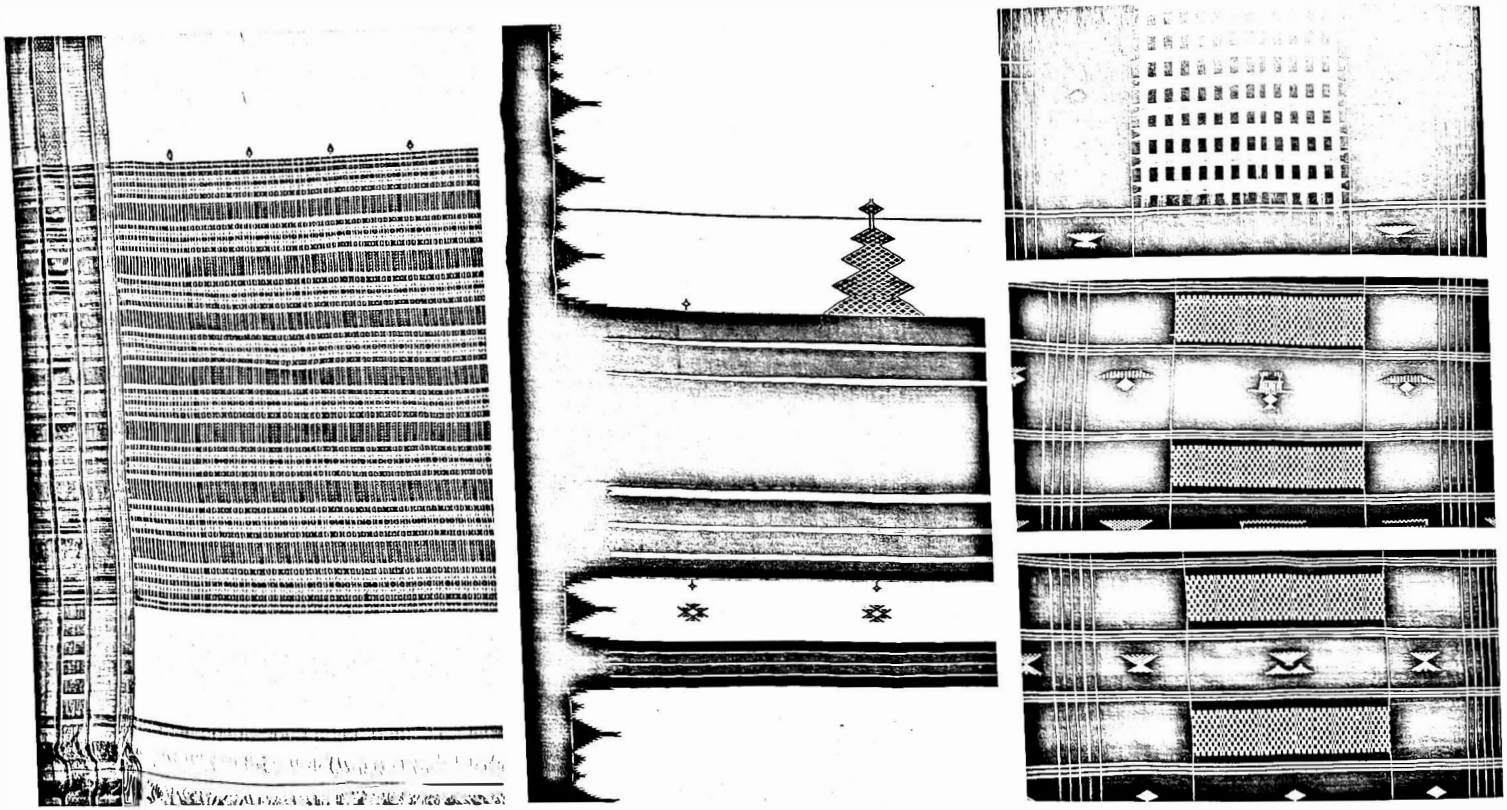
SILK WEAVING

In the districts of Raigarh, Bilaspur and Janjgir Champa, weavers have traditionally produced a range of pure tussar saris such as the *bhaonrai kesari potia lugda* and the





SILK WEAVING: Bhaonrai kesari potia lugda/*Saffron wedding sari;* **(6/25)** Dariyai sari/*End-piece, border yarn-resist sari.*



Left to Right: COTTON WEAVING: **(6/23)** Motim chowk choor kosa dheek lugda/*Cotton pearl check body, tussar border sari;* **(6/21)** Mae lugda tadap pata/*Sari for bride's mother;* **(6/22)** Bagh chowda bandi pata/*Dhurua tribal sari.*

dariyai (6/25, pg 131) which is a plain body with yarn-resist dyed borders and end-piece.

While the tussar weaving districts, along with Bastar and the southern region, have seen tremendous growth both in sari and fabric production, the northern tribal districts and the central region have seen a gradual decline. On the whole Chhattisgarh, with its access to raw materials including tussar and natural dyes, can build upon its handloom skills much more than it has been able to. This is partly due to social distance between the tribal and non-tribal which has gradually grown with development efforts.

मानसिया तो कता कता दिखाए,
नारू कारू रेड़

Too few of us humans here,
no good voyeurs too many...
– Local saying

An afternoon of stories with Nandram Devangan and friends

The story of how the weaving communities came to be; their beliefs and how easily they can be dispensed with when it comes to living the everyday life. The mundane acquires a sense of magic, and becomes extraordinary as we look beyond the texture of a sari in our hands, and into a world of intangibles; yet another support structure that is slowly falling apart. What follows is the story shared with us by Nandram Devangan and his friends.

HOW THE DEVANGANS LEARNT TO WEAVE

In the beginning there was nothing, neither the sun nor moon or any other gods. There was only Mother Durga. It was she who later gave birth to Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. She was naked and the gods born of her spake thus, "As you are our mother, it is not becoming for us to see you uncovered." She listened to them and acknowledged their concern. A few days later when she went for a bath in the great pond, from the dirt of her body, she made the first man and brought him to life. With that done, she returned to create the rest of the devas- Chandra, Surya, Indra, Varun, Kuber and others, and also one Maikasur Danav. All the gods went to Durga and fell at her feet saying "Mother, amidst your creation, Danav has been born. He troubles us so, we cannot bear it any longer. He has snatched our kingdoms, power and position. There is no place for us in your creation. How can we go on living in hiding?" When she heard them, she was angry and replied, "Now I will kill this Danav!"

With the protection of Brahma's boon no one could kill Danav, so he went and asked Brahma, "...how shall I die if no one can kill me? Tell me about my death." He was told, "If any woman who is naked comes to kill you, she will succeed. No one else need your fear." With this secret knowledge between him and his mentor, he came away. Then came havoc. The Devi fought for many days till it dawned on her that only if she was naked would she be able to kill him. She mounted her tiger, throwing away what little cover she had, and went for him till he was killed.

Then she called Vedram Devangan and told him, "Prepare yourself to clothe me." With his hands joined in prayer, he answered "Mother you have created me and named me Devangan, how shall I clothe you? What instrument do I have?" She then, showed him how to draw fibre from the lotus stalk growing in the pond and with it, weave a garment for her. The first Devangan was half-man half-woman. The woman was called Devangana.

While 'he' removed fibres from the stem, 'she' spun them into yarn. Meanwhile the Devi called Visvakarma and said, "Visvakarma, make from the bones of this Danav the instrument that shall be required for weaving." Thus from the buffalo horns was made the first shuttle. Maikasur had a pair of these on his head and was, as his name indicates, of buffalo form even as he was a Danav.

I remember that we were using these horn shuttles right up to 1944. Then they began making the shuttles from wood and now we have plastic ones too,' says Nandram with a laugh, holding up the story.

From Maikasur's hair was made the brush used for sizing the yarn, from his ribs the parallel bars that hold the warp apart, and so on, till every little bone was put to good use. And thus, the making of the Devi's first *patar*, or sari, could now begin. It had no borders or *pallav*, it was a simple garment and when it was ready, Vedram Devangan took it to Hingolaj to present it to her. When he arrived, the Devi was surrounded by her maids and followers, but he went forward and said, "Oh mother, I have brought the garment you had ordered." He was offered a seat of gold. On receiving the garment the Devi bid her maids to send for the *dakshina*, which was his due, on a platter of gold. While the maids were away, Vishnu came to know of the priceless gift the Devangan was about to receive and thought, "This Devangan has woven a garment for the Devi. If she gives the Devangans so much at one time, why will they continue to weave? They won't need to as they can live off this gift alone."

And when he heard her say to the Devangan as she left, 'Go, may this be enough for you Devangan, for generations to come,' he could bear it no longer. He disguised himself as a Brahmin and went into the Devi's courtyard, where the Devangan was awaiting his due. On seeing a Brahmin enter, the Devangan rose and graciously offered his golden seat to him. Meanwhile, according to the instructions the Devi had left with her maids, the man on the golden seat was given a platter heaped with gold coins. The Brahmin received the dakshina, while the Devangan was left waiting till it was well past midday. Then he went to the Devi and said, "Mother, what about my wages?" "Oh, I have already given them," she said. "The Brahmin has taken what you sent, I have not received a thing," he replied. Then the Devi was angry. Admonishing the Brahmin she said, "You, Brahmin, have acted wrongly. That is how you are. No matter how much wealth you receive, you will remain thus." And then she turned to the weaver, "Whatever happens, you will always be able to sell the cloth you make. Now I have this Parasmani gem, take it, and whatever it touches will turn to gold." She gave it to him and 'he' brought it home, but the 'she' of Devangana was angry. "We need rice and lentils and you bring this stone!" she shouted. She picked it up and threw it with so much anger that it broke through the wall and created a second doorway in the house. Since then, the homes of the Devangan community have always had two doorways. "Now let me tell you how this Kosa came about," Nandram says.

By the time the Devangan had made enough saris for all the gods, devas and devis, with fibre from the lotus stem, the Devi Durga said to him, "How much more will you make with this one fibre, now you must have something else." She made a phal (fruit) that later became a kosa cocoon, into which she breathed life. It began to multiply and when it had grown in numbers, she told the Devangan to take it and make new fabric out of it. Since then, Devangans who work with kosa have come to be known as Koshtas.

As the Koshta community grew in numbers, they called a large gathering. In those days when nobody was educated, the spoken word had its own weight and they were now going to choose their own mukhiya, or respected spokesman. Now, you see, at a gathering, some find it easier to speak. Look at all of us here, some always find it harder to express themselves in words. In those days elected spokesmen were called Mehers. So, from among the Koshtas came the Mehers.

At first the Devangans, then Koshtas, and then Mehers. Sometimes they call us by any of these names. The Pankas, Julahas and others are separate, they learnt it all by watching us weave. None can do kosa work as well as the Koshtas, who have the blessings of the Devi. In the early stages we clothed all the gods and their consorts, including Vishnu's Lakshmi and Siva's Parvati. The garments we made for them were Deva Vastras, or Garments of the Gods, which we still make; it is the purest form of worship. From that one family of Vedram Devangan came others, various gotras (clans) of our community. The first garment the Devi wore was a white sari with *neela* (blue) in the border and pallav, neel being the colour of the Devi. "Since then, whenever we offer prayers we wear the Neelaha lugda. Blue was chosen perhaps because she is worshipped as Jyotirmaya Mata, in the form of the blue flame that is pure and intense."

It is the border and pallav of a sari that really distinguishes it; otherwise, it is only a widow's garment. It is here that a weaver fulfils himself. He has worked on the sari for hundreds of years and has enlarged its meaning in terms of beauty, design and colour. Nowadays, no one is prepared to work that hard. Many younger women in our families don't even know how to spin kosa yarn on the thigh. It is something you learn from the age of nine or ten. It is a lot of hard work drawing double strands of kosa out clean, early in the morning before other housework. It can go all wrong if it is too much or too little. It comes with ease only after many years of practice. There is no taboo against women weaving in the community, but why should they do it when we can manage it as well ourselves. The Khangar weavers of Hoshangabad and Momins in Chhattisgarh, whose women work at the loom, spend their time loafing around, playing cards, drinking and sometimes doing a little bit of marketing. The women bear the children, look after the house, and help in spinning and sizing, then why add to this hard work at the loom? It is too much. That's the norm amongst us. We, too, used to wear the janeu, the sacred Brahmin thread but gave it up since we start early in the morning with sizing and later weaving; there are many an 'impure' task we handle. We fast only when weaving the Neelaha, over the course of a day.

~

The ritual, myth, legend, story, comment are all part of a reality without which the Nandrams cannot create...even though he is having a hard time keeping his worlds together, his imagination alive, independence intact and surviving.'

WEARING STYLES – CHHATTISGARH

STYLE 1: CHHATTISGARH/East Chhattisgarh style

LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.5m
WORN BY: All communities
AREA: Central and east Chhattisgarh

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot/fold over at right waist.
2. Bring free end-piece at left waist and tuck in.
3. Bring free end-piece over left shoulder holding right loose portion in right hand.
4. Bring loose portion right to left back waist and tuck in.
5. Bring free end-piece to front from right waist.

6-7. Wrap free end-piece around waist anticlockwise.

8. Throw free end-piece over left shoulder.

STYLE 2: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style

LENGTH: 6 yd/ 5.5 m
WORN BY: All communities
AREA: Central Chhattisgarh

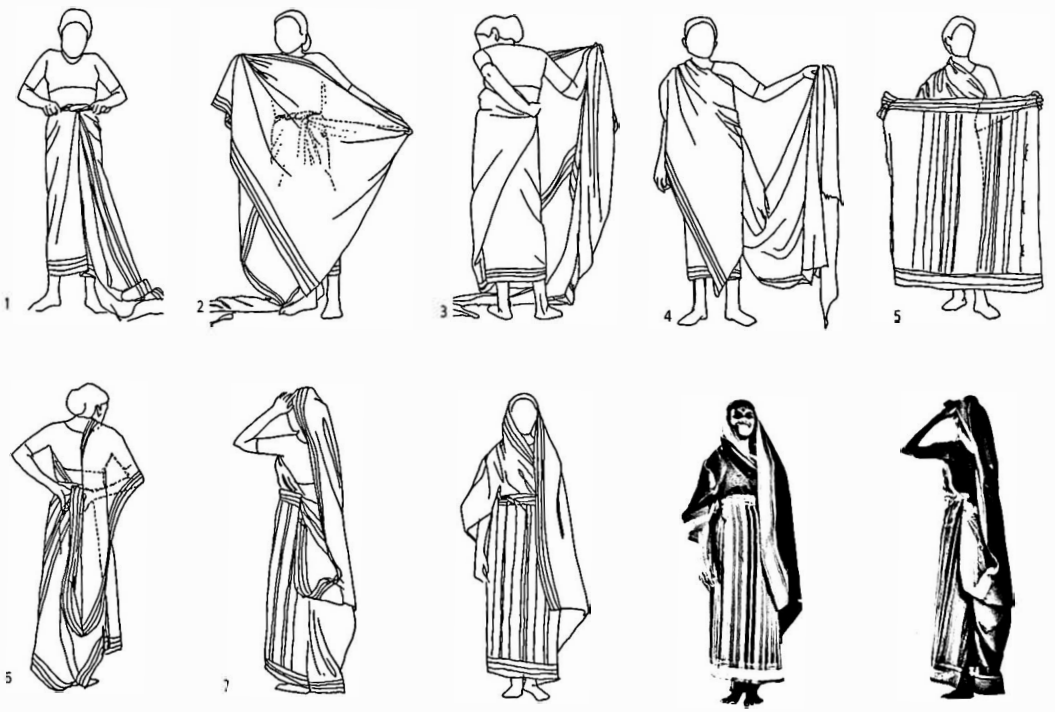
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist anticlockwise and tie knot at centre front waist.
2. Throw free end-piece over right shoulder holding loose portion in left hand.
3. Bring loose portion from left to right back waist and tuck in.
4. Bring free end-piece from back to front clockwise.

5-6. Tuck left and right of outer end-piece into either side of back waist.

7. Sari portion thrown over right shoulder is adjusted over head.

STYLE 1: CHHATTISGARH/East Chhattisgarh style

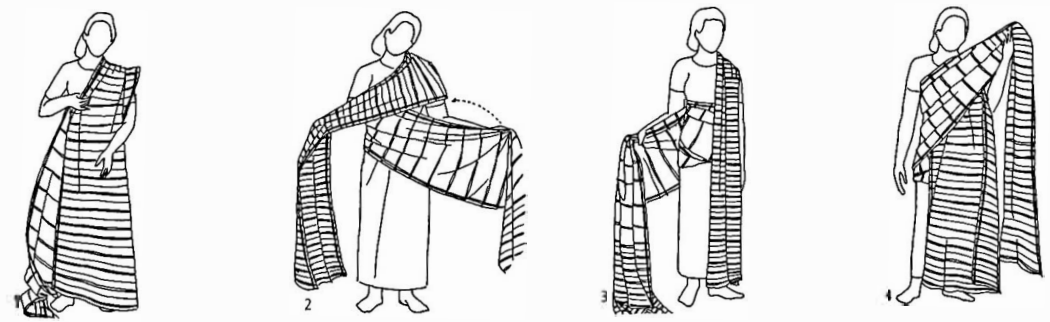
STYLE 2: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style



STYLE 3: SURGUJA/North Chhattisgarh style

STYLE 3: VARIATION 1

STYLE 4: SURGUJA/North Chhattisgarh dance style



STYLE 3: SURGUJA/North Chhattisgarh style
LENGTH: 6 yd/ 5.5 m
WORN BY: Oraon community
AREA: North Chhattisgarh

1-2. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot in centre front waist.
3. Bring free end-piece to left waist and tuck in.
4. Throw free end-piece over right shoulder.
5. Bring free end-piece over head right to left. Gather outer end-piece into pleats and throw over right shoulder.

STYLE 3: VARIATION 1 SURGUJA/North Chhattisgarh style

Stages 1-5 are common with Style 3
6. Bring free end-piece around waist clockwise.
7. Tuck free end-piece into right waist.

STYLE 4: SURGUJA/North Chhattisgarh dance style
LENGTH: 5.3 yd/ 4.8 m
WORN BY: Oraon community
AREA: North Chhattisgarh

1. Drape upper piece over left shoulder, back to front, till ankle length.
2. Bring free end-piece lying at back to front from right waist.
3. Wrap free end-piece around waist anticlockwise and hold at right waist.
4. Throw free end-piece over left shoulder forming a whirling drape.

STYLE 5: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style
LENGHT: 7 yd/ 6.5 m
WORN BY: All communities
AREA: Central Chhattisgarh

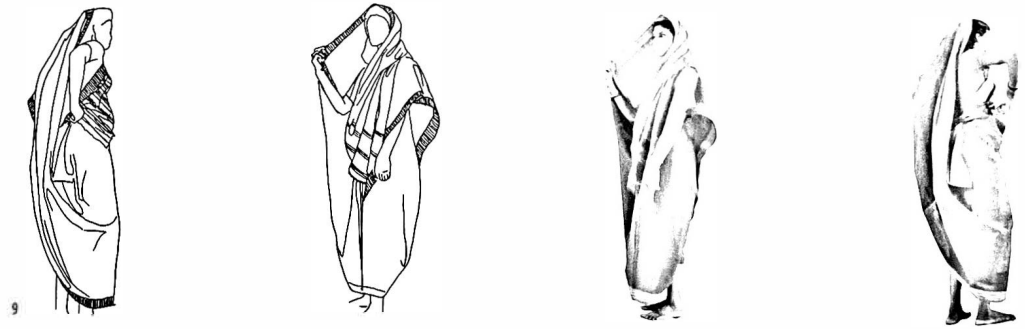
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie/tuck in at right waist.
2. Tuck in free end-piece at left waist and fold in front in 'V' shape.
3. Bring left side of folded 'V' to back waist and tuck in.
4. Bring free end-piece over left shoulder to right shoulder and drape in front.
5. Pull left corner of outer end-piece to left waist.
6. Bring left pulled corner around waist anticlockwise.
7. Tuck pulled portion into front left waist.

STYLE 6: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style
LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.5 m
WORN BY: Lodhi community
AREA: Central Chhattisgarh

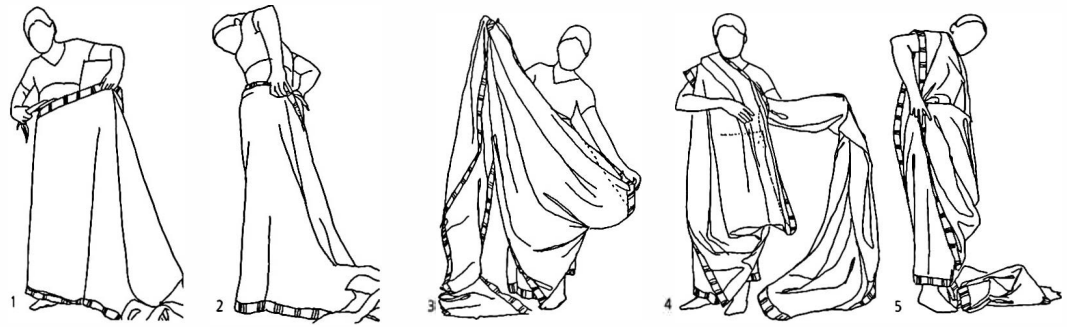
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot/tuck in at centre waist. Tuck in free end-piece at left front waist.
2. Hold upper and lower border of free end-piece in front.
3. Bring lower border to centre front waist and tuck in.
4. Pick up loose portion of sari from bottom.
5. Bring to back between legs and tuck in at centre back waist.
6. Bring free end-piece to front between legs and hold upper border with both hands.
7. Bring both ends of border to centre back from either side and tuck in.
8. Take outer end-piece over head from right to left and drape in front.
9. Bring right corner of outer end-piece to right back waist and tuck in.

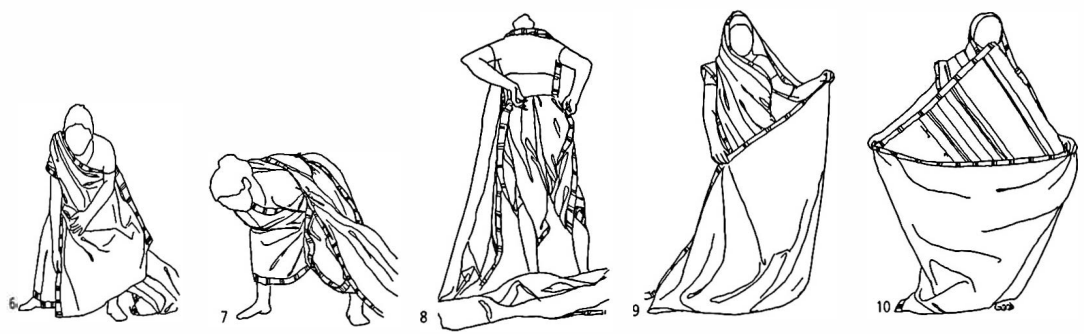
STYLE 5: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style

STYLE 6: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style



STYLE 7: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style





STYLE 7: CHHATTISGARH/Central Chhattisgarh style

LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.5 m
WORN BY: Lodhi community
AREA: Central Chhattisgarh

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot/wrap at right waist.
2. Bring free end-piece to left waist and tuck in.
3. Bring free end-piece over right shoulder front to back, looping sari with left hand.
4-5. Leave looped portion in front.
6. Pick up lower looped portion of border falling on right side.
7. Take looped portion between legs front to back.
8. Tuck in at back waist draping borders over hip on either side.
9. Bring free end-piece over head from right to left arm.
10. Hold corner of upper border with mouth and stretch free portion with both hands.
11. Fold over the held piece in front forming a 'V' shape.
12. Bring both ends held in hand to centre back from either side and tuck in.

STYLE 7: VARIATION 1

Stages 1-9 are common with Style 7

10. Fold upper border outwards up to 12 inches in front.
11. Bring both ends held in hand to centre back from either side and tuck in.

STYLE 8: BASTAR/South Chhattisgarh style

LENGTH: 5 yd/ 4.50 m

WORN BY: Bastar community

AREA: South Chhattisgarh

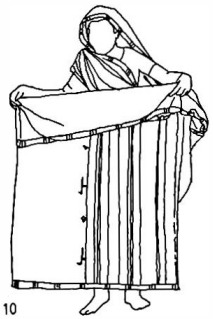
1. Throw free end-piece over left shoulder taking inner end-piece over draped portion clockwise.
2. Bind/tuck in inner end-piece at right waist.
3. Bring free end-piece to front anticlockwise.
4. Tuck upper corner of outer end-piece into back waist.

STYLE 8: VARIATION 1

Stages 1-3 are common with Style 8

4. Wrap free end-piece around chest anticlockwise.
5. Bring upper corner of outer endpiece to right shoulder and tie knot with front upper border.

STYLE 7: VARIATION 1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11

STYLE 8: BASTAR/South Chhattisgarh style

1

2

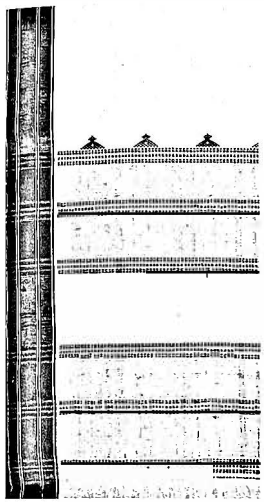
3

4

STYLE 8: VARIATION 1

4

5



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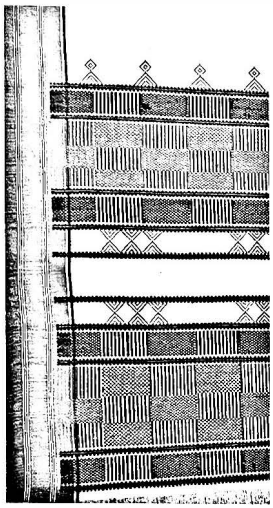

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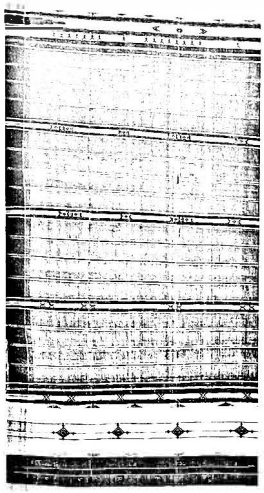

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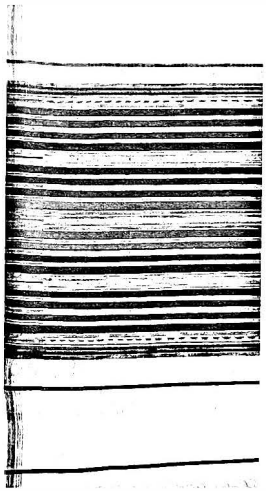

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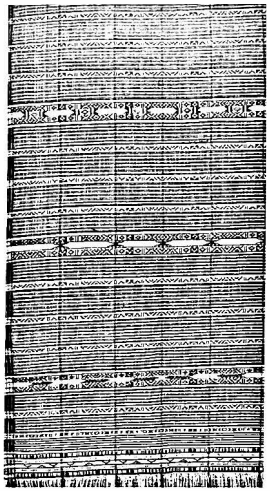

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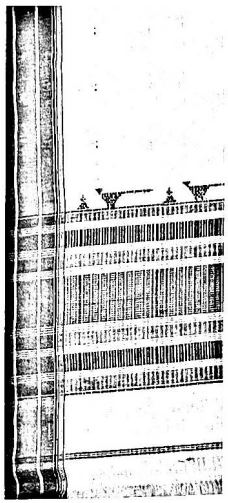

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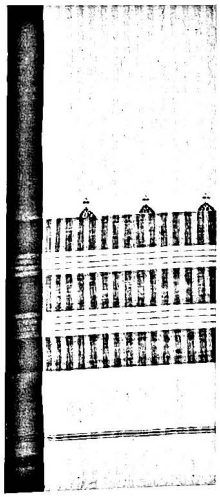

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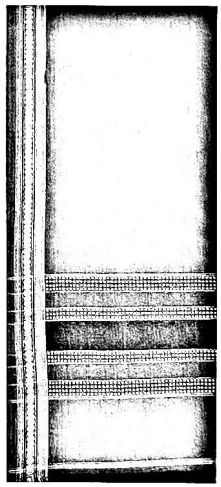

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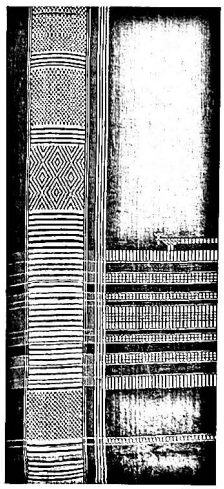


6/11

6/1: Name: *Teen dhadia oraon* sari/Three-part border *Oraon* sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 0.86 m; Weight: 1,200 gm; Origin: Ambikapur, Surguja district

6/2: Name: *Oraon mae sari*/*Oraon* mother-of-bride's sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 6.40 m; Width: 0.97 m; Weight: 1,430 gm; Origin: Ambikapur, Surguja district

6/3: Name: *Chowdah solah dori lugda*/Fourteen cubits, sixteen bands in end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 6.55 m; Width: 0.96 m; Weight: 1,100 gm; Origin: Sukhrapara, Surguja district

6/4: Name: *Goyal kapta lugda*/Goyal sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 4.17 m; Width: 0.91 m; Weight: 780 gm; Origin: Kasdol, Raipur district

6/5: Name: *Oraon turra*/Oraon drape for dances; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.12 m; Width: 0.63 m; Weight: 915 gm; Origin: Sukhrapara, Surguja district

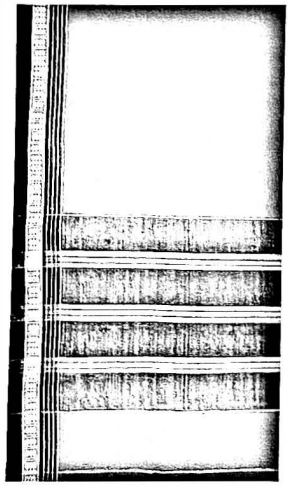
6/6: Name: *Vidhva doria* sari or *seti* sari/Widow's self-stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 5.29 m; Width: 1 m; Weight: 950 gm; Origin: Bilaspur

6/7: Name: *Dorla basanti kinar* sari/Self-stripe, divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 16s; Length: 6.56 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 620 gm; Origin: Kunwargarh, Raipur district

6/8: Name: *Pata kinar doria* sari/Plain border, self-stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.29 m; Width: 0.96 m; Weight: 690 gm; Origin: Simga, Raipur district

6/9; 6/10: Name: *Dhoop chhaon ek phulia kinar* sari/Shot colour, single-flower border sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 6.10 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 1,050 gm; Origin: Chhuikhadan, Rajnandgaon district

6/11: Name: *Lodhi bhanwarai kinar mae lugda*/*Lodhi* wedding sari for bride's mother; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 6.50 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 1,100 gm; Origin: Chhuikhadan, Rajnandgaon district



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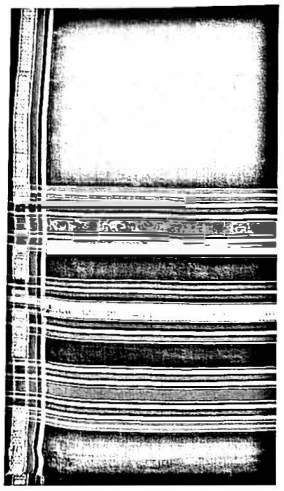

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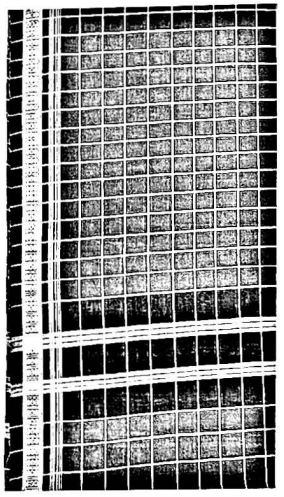

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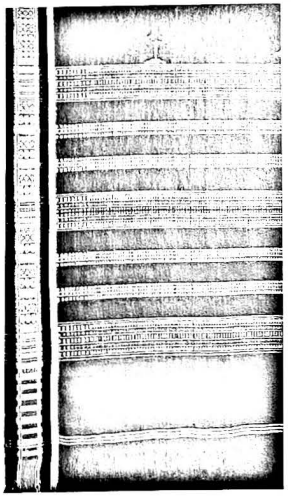

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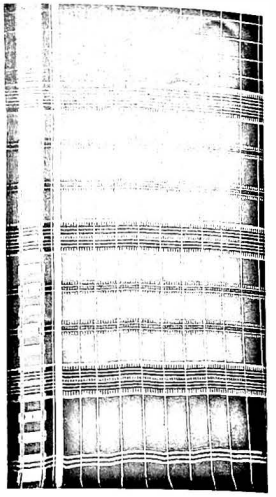

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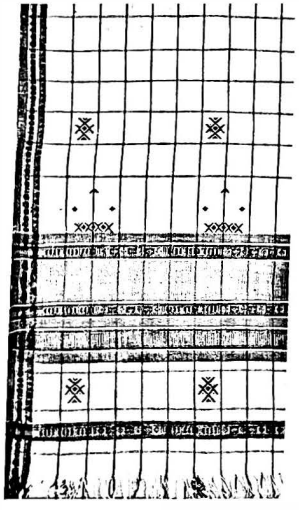

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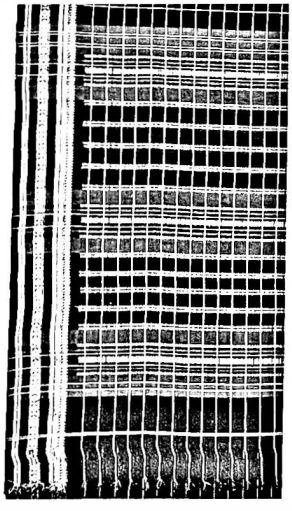

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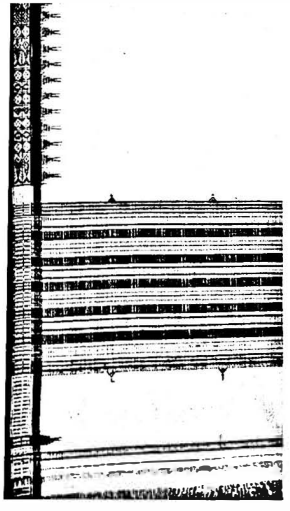

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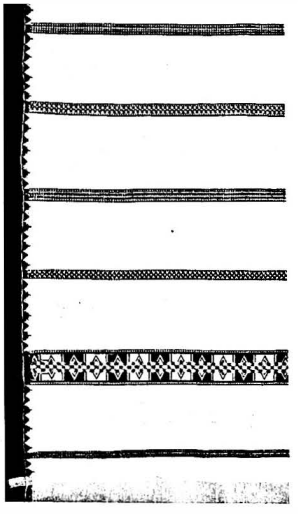

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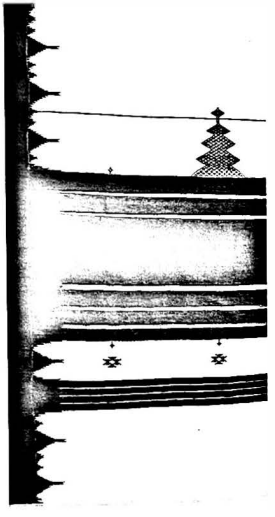


6/21

6/12: Name: *Lal teen phulia basanti kinar* sari/Red three-flower divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 36s; Length: 5.33 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 510 gm; Origin: Raigarh, Raigarh district

6/13: Name: *Teen phulia basanti kinar* sari/Three-flower divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.28 m; Width: 1.02 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Sakti, Janjgir Champa district

6/14: Name: *Chowkda teen phulia basanti kinar* sari/Three-flower divided border, check-body sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 5.38 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 900 gm; Origin: Raigarh, Raigarh district

6/15: Name: *Teen phulia basanti kinar lugda*/Three-flower divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 4.98 m; Width: 1.02 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Sakti, Janjgir Champa district

6/16: Name: *Teen phulia chowkda lugda*/Three-flower check sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 4.67 m; Width: 0.99 m; Weight: 800 gm; Origin: Madua, Raigarh district

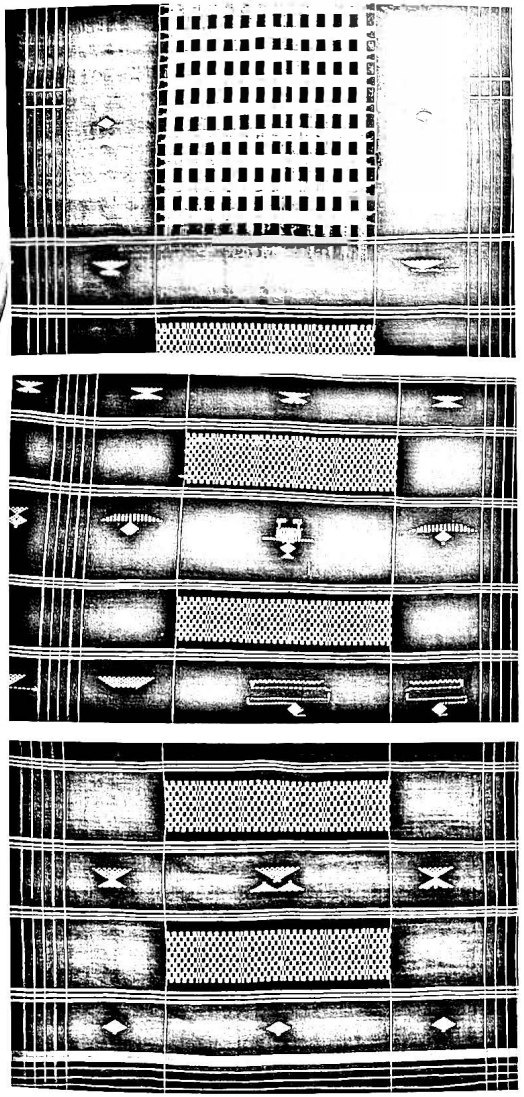
6/17: Name: *Kutela tuwal*/Shoulder cloth from Kutela; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 1.93 m; Width: 0.89 m; Weight: 90 gm; Origin: Kutela, Raigarh district

6/18: Name: *Ek phulia chowkda* sari/Single-flower border, check sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Seraipalli, Mahasamund district

6/19: Name: *Danda phera lugda*/Self-stripe, temple border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.18 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 580 gm; Origin: Bhanwarpur, Mahasamund district

6/20: Name: *Oncha pichhori*/Men's lower garment; Material: Cotton, 14s; Length: 4.16 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 800 gm; Origin: Tokapal, Bastar district

6/21: Name: *Mae lugda tadap pata*/Sari for bride's mother; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 6.98 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 980 gm; Origin: Nagarnar, Bastar district



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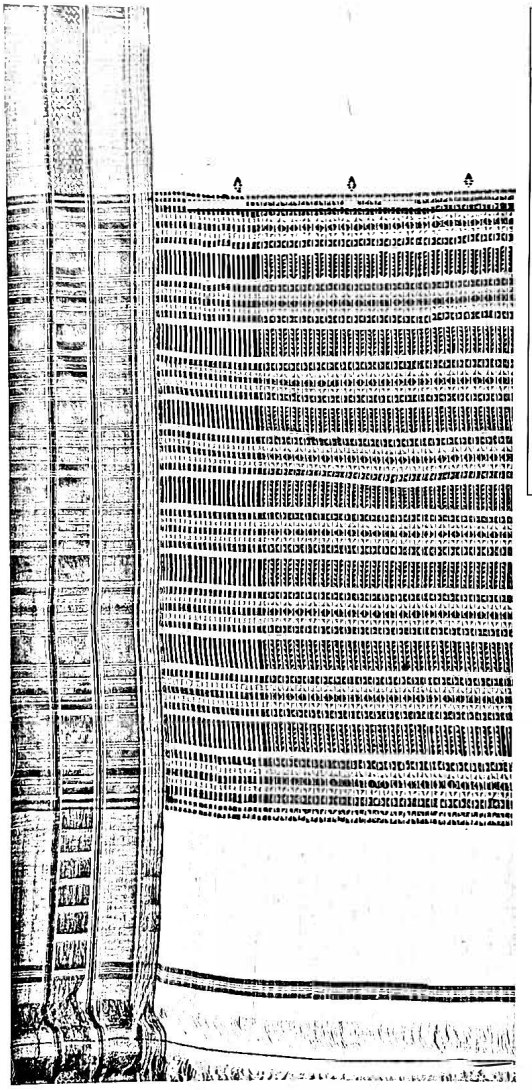

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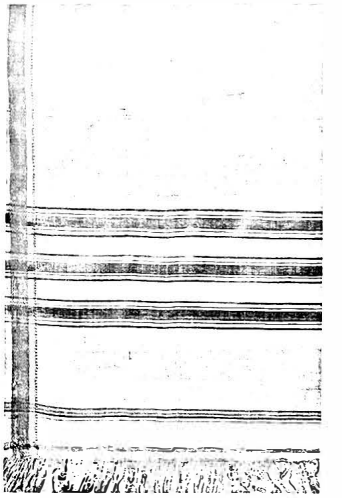

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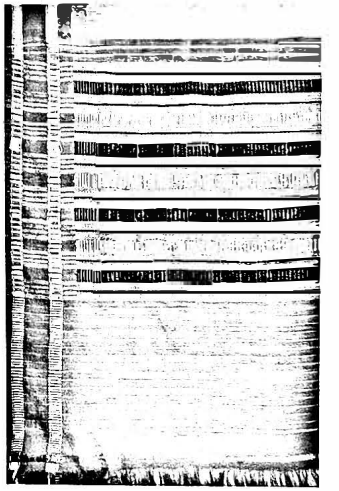


6/25

6/22: Name: *Bagh chowda bandi patal Dhurua* tribal sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.40 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 800 gm; Origin: Bastar, Bastar district

6/23: Name: *Motim chowk choor kosa dheek lugdal* Cotton pearl check body, tussar border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.08 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 530 gm; Origin: Chhuri, Korba district

6/24: Name: *Chatai kinar potia lugdal* Mat pattern tussar sari; Material: Tussar, 8 cocoon; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 320 gm; Origin: Chandrapur, Janjgir Champa district

6/25: Name: *Dariyai* sari/End-piece, border yarn-resist sari; Material: Tussar, 8 cocoon; Length: 5.26 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 330 gm; Origin: Chandrapur, Janjgir Champa district

पानी में पीन प्यासी
मोहे सुन-सुन आवे हाँसी
आतम ज्ञान विन नर भटकत
कोई मथुरा कोई काशी
जैसे मृग नाभी कस्तूरी
वन वन फिरत उदासी।

The fish thirsts in water,
I laugh each time I hear,
wanting in selfknowledge men wander
to Mathura and Kashi, far and near
the musk deer's fragrance in its navel lies,
but in search it roams the woods I fear.

– Kabir, weaver & saint-poet, fifteenth century

Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand

This is the heartland of northern India which gave birth to its *ganga jamuni* culture, and a worldview emerged from the fertile lands between and beyond these rivers. It is a region that displays a receptive and perceptive attitude, rather than a confrontational one, whenever it meets with the unfamiliar or alien that disturbs the serene calm of its way of life. The intruding force invariably finds itself transformed even as it attempts to transform its surroundings. The region has absorbed, amalgamated and made its own, cultures with diverse skill, language and aesthetics which were attracted to it. This is the ground on which the Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Sikh begin to look alike in their architecture, weaves, prints and embroideries, if not in the garments they made out of these fabrics. The stark preference for the unstitched among Hindus and stitched for others, is what distinguishes the communities.

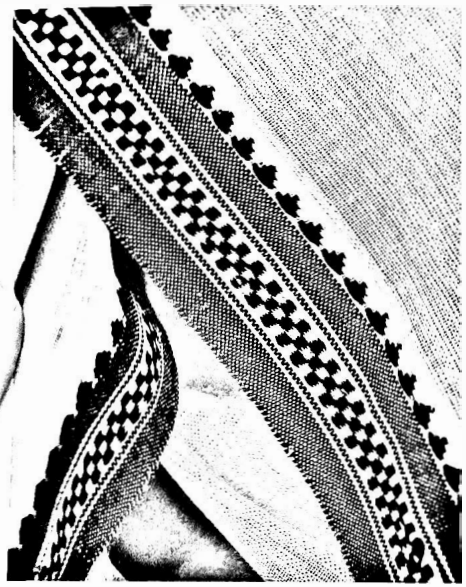
At its northernmost mountainous end, the river Ganga is born. Much of it has now become part of the newly created state of Uttarakhand, which is itself largely not a sari producing area, but more of a wool producing and weaving region. Although there was cotton cultivation in the Garhwal, Nainital and Almora hills till the late nineteenth century, it had entirely disappeared by the mid-twentieth century. The region now imports cotton fabrics as well as combed and carded cotton for hand spinning and weaving. Once, the area between the Ganga and the Jamuna, referred to as Doab and the more arid Bundelkhand, were the most important cotton growing areas and many short staple cottons were mixed with lentil crops, especially near Allahabad, Bahraich, Banda, Barabanki, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Sultanpur regions. All these areas have seen a decline in cotton cultivation. As far as silks were concerned, many varieties of indigenous silk producing worms were collected from the wild and hand reeled for a limited domestic market. The British often attempted to initiate the cultivation of mulberry, tussar and *eri* silks in various parts of the state - from the hill tracks of Garhwal and Kumaon to the plains of Saharanpur, Avadh and the eastern districts of Pratapgarh and Banda. Through the nineteenth century, they met with marginal success and many British importing companies got interested in the enterprise. However, the activity could not be sustained due to lack of knowledge and expertise, as well as limited economic benefit to those involved in the rearing and caring of the worms. Today, Uttarakhand has a small amount of cultivation, reeling, spinning and weaving of oak tussar along with wool.

A roadside signboard conveying religious harmony.

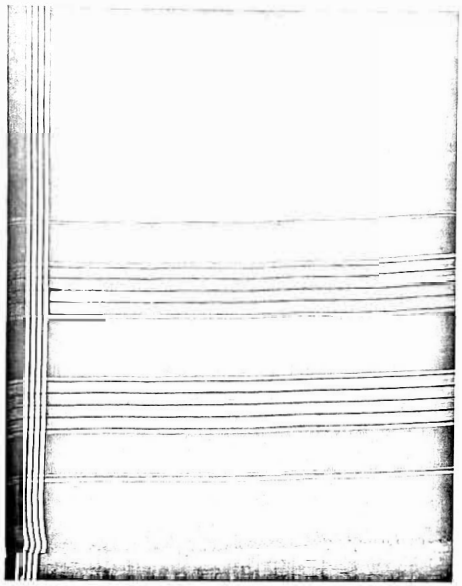
A stream running through low-lying fields.

The weaving, printing and dyeing map of Uttar Pradesh has changed drastically since Independence and we could go well into the depressing conditions that the handloom industry faces today. The most recent survey of handlooms in ten districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh (September 2004) reveals the dire conditions weavers are

HIMACHAL PRADESH
CHINA
N
UTTARKASHI
TEHRI GARHWAL
CHAMOLI
DEHRADUN
UTTARAKHAND
PITHORAGARH
SAHARANPUR
PAURI GARHWAL
ALMORA
MUZAFFARNAGAR
BIJNOR
HARYANA
BAGHPAT
MEERUT
NAINITAL
AMROHA
RAMPUR
NEPAL
GHAZIABAD
MORADABAD
PILIBHIT
BULANDSHAHR
BAREILLY
LAKHIMPUR KHERI
NOIDA
BUDAUN
ALIGARH
UTTAR PRADESH
MAHAMAYA NAGAR
ETAH
SHAHJAHAPUR
BAHRAICH
MATHURA
SITAPUR
SRAVASTI
FARRUKHABAD
HARDOI
BALRAMPUR
FIROZABAD
MAINPURI
SIDHARTHNAGAR
AGRA
KANNAUJ
MAHARAJGANJ
GONDA
ETAWAH
LUCKNOW
BARABANKI
RAJASTHAN
AURAIYA
KHUSHINAGAR
BASTI
FAIZABAD
GORAKHPUR
KANPUR RURAL
KANPUR URBAN
UNNAO
AMBEDKAR NAGAR
SULTANPUR
DEORIA
BIHAR
JALAUN
RAEBARELI
AZAMGARH
PRATAPGARH
FATEHPUR
HAMIRPUR
JAUNPUR
BALLIA
JHANSI
BANDA
GHAZIPUR
KAUSHAMBI
MAHOBA
BHADOI
VARANASI
CHITRAKUT
ALLAHABAD
CHANDAULI
MIRZAPUR
LALITPUR
SONBHADRA
Govind Ballabh Pant Nagar
JHARKHAND
MADHYA PRADESH
CHHATTISGARH
Motia saris- Coarse Count (Gara and Gazi)
Baun- Coarse Cotton with Silk/Zari Border
Jamdani- Fine Count Loom Embroidered saris
Hand Embroidered
Dyed and Printed saris
Warp/Weft Patterned in Fine Count Cotton/Silk
Varanasi- Weft Patterned Cotton/Silk



COARSE COUNT COTTON: (7/3B) Motia nakshi kinar dhoti/*Patterned border sari.*



COARSE COUNT COTTON: (7/1B) Nehtaur motia nakhooni/*Fine stripe sari.*

facing because of a sudden decline of production orders, especially since 2002 (post W.T.O.) In the rural and semi-rural areas, most weavers are landless and starvation-like conditions are evident everywhere. Given a choice of migrating to a bigger city, perhaps because some family member is already there, the more able-bodied are moving. In cities like Varanasi, only those traders who have found markets in the metropolitan cities are able to give work to weavers, while the rest have already left weaving, becoming street vendors or rickshaw drivers instead. We are told that there are approximately 25,000 metres of plain Chinese silks entering the market everyday which are either sold after dyeing or embellished with embroidery, both for saris and other garments. Embroidery is the only skill that is growing. The Chinese strategy seems to be one of consciously providing subsidized fabrics to flood the Indian market, if this can help in capturing it. If Chinese chiffon can be sold in India at Rs 45-90 per metre, we can only estimate the no-cost or low cost at which raw materials are being procured in state-owned factories with labour, and finishing costs that are either minimal or compensated by state facilities like food and shelter.

However, in order to understand what has brought this about as well as to realize its inherent potential, it is better to first examine the lay of the land, at least as it was described by the living memory of weavers in the course of our travels in the early 1990s and again in mid-2004 (when we revisited several districts in eastern Uttar Pradesh). Weaving, printing and dyeing in Uttar Pradesh may be roughly described in seven broad categories.

MOTIA SARIS – COARSE COUNT (GARA & GAZI)

Uttar Pradesh was a vast sari producing area, most extensively of coarse cottons. The widespread practice of spinning and weaving created a strong base of khadi (hand-spun) production including saris, mostly of coarse and medium counts.

In terms of handloom saris, the most prevalent in almost all regions of the state were the *motia* (coarse) saris and their equivalent, the *gara* (coarse) and the finer *gazi* (gauze-like) plain fabrics for daily wear. The *motia* saris with plain or stripe borders, or with extra warp patterned borders (known as *motia nakshi kinar* saris, 7/3B), are woven with or without a *nakhooni* (half inch fine body stripes) as seen in *nehtaur motia nakhooni* (7/1B). The fabric structures were invariably dense with subtle and effective relief in the patterning, highlighted with colour. The *motia* saris survive even when a more sophisticated and finer range of saris develop due to either patronage or broad market reach. With access to chemical dyes in the late nineteenth century, the ground colour of these saris became exuberant and bright in stripes as well as plains. It may be relevant to point out that the large part of *motia* sari weaving receded in the 1970s and was barely alive in some areas in the early 1990s, and totally obliterated by 2004.

In the single town of Kalpi in the district of Jalaun, nearly 500 weavers had given up coarse-count weaving in early 1989 with the advent of power-looms, which gave them only a rupee more per metre, and for much less independence and skill. In 2004, though, there were some remnants of sari and *dhoti* weaving in 40s and 60s count, with unbleached or coloured grounds, patterned borders and minimally embellished end-pieces. They too, are on the verge of extinction largely because of rising costs, irregular supply of raw materials, low wages and inadequate market support. There was also a range of finer counts that emerged, from the coarse-count range with refined border and *palloo* patterning, in most areas where there was a wealthier clientele who could afford these more expensive versions in 40s, 60s and at times even 80s count.

It was this broad base of *motia* sari weaving that provided the strong foundation from which the skilled weavers created a unique hierarchy, which found its way through traders and raw material suppliers to markets far beyond. Even in 2004 we met with one Mohiuddin who was referred to as the 'Abdul Kalam' of Rampur Kotra in Barabanki district, because he could see a pattern and translate it immediately into a weaving graph for the weaver community. He was the one they turned to for developing new patterns and fixing dobbies and jacquards whenever the need arose. It was with him that we pleaded for the weaving of the *nakshi kinar* saris, of which he showed us several fragments.

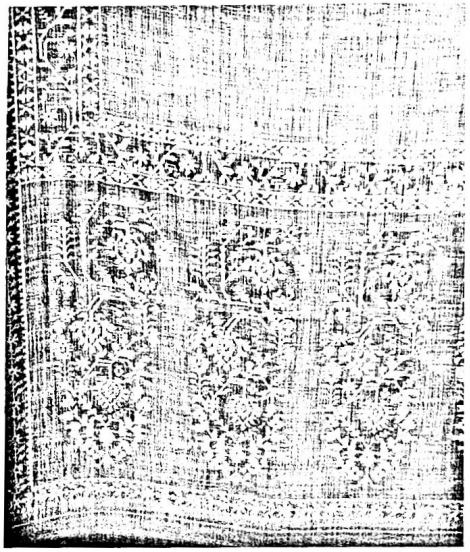
BAUN – COARSE COTTON WITH SILK/ZARI BORDER

The *motia* saris in the past had continued to exist beneath the *baun* variety in the southwestern region of the state, in 10s, 20s and 40s count, in the districts of Lalitpur, Jhansi and Jalaun. The *baun* was essentially worn as a skirt with a fold-over along one side of its width, through which a drawstring was passed. However, its layout in concept and form was

(7/4A) *Old woman showing her* baun.

essentially the same as a sari, with borders and a simple weft band as an end-piece. The *baun* has been included in this book because it represents a significant design range that is extremely relevant to saris. What characterizes the *baun* group of sari-like fabrics is that at their finest, they have the rare distinction of combining coarse-count cotton with the bold use of *zari* (gold or silver metallic yarn) in the borders and often in the body as well, for extra warp-patterning. In its daily-wear version it became the *kasbi* or *chadhiyaon*, which retained the extra warp-patterning in the borders and even the variegated stripes in the body in coloured cotton yarns, with yellow/white substituting the metallic yarns (see 7/4, 7/5; pg 153). The ground colours were often *khooni* (blood red), *totia* (parrot green) or *gehra hara* (dark green), *neela* (indigo blue), *kala* (black) and *katthi* (catechu brown), with a minimum of three colours in the extra warp-patterning which usually included *narangi* (orange), *kirmanji* (magenta) and white. There was yet a third version woven for weddings, referred to as the *churia*, which had the extra warp elements woven with *pattu* (floss silk). The *baun*, *kasbi* and *churia* were worn with a *jhabla* (blouse) made of *gara* (coarse fabric) and a locally printed *odhni* (veil), referred to as *raini* or *kalmi*, of up to four metres in 60s count fabric covering the head and at least one side completely, and could be drawn over the other side as well if required. This range of *baun*, *kasbi* and *churia* has been overtaken since Independence by the more popular sari, worn in the urban wearing style referred to as *seedha palla* or *gol* sari. As almost every community in the village was wearing the *baun* till the 1960s, there was a varied quality of fabric structures and combination of materials depending on one's ability to afford them. For instance, a light fabric with a low reed pick would be woven with coloured cotton yarn for the patterning, whereas the better woven fabrics would be combined with the finest-quality *zari kalabattu* (silver or gold plated silver wire wound on silk or cotton yarn). The weavers who were producing this range have either moved away from the profession, or the more capable have taken up production of Chanderi-type saris with silk warps and cotton wefts which they sell to traders in Mauranipur, Jhansi district, for Chanderi in the adjoining state of Madhya Pradesh.

It took just one enterprising weaver who, having seen the *baun* disappearing from their landscape in the 1970s, went to Chanderi, picked up weaving with a silk warp, brought back yarn on credit from a trader, and found a way out for the more capable weavers of the region. As Moti Ram, a weaver in Budhwar village, Lalitpur district, put it, 'When we have one walking stick to help us get by and earn a living, why drop it and pick up another?' They now consider it unthinkable to go back to cotton weaving, with all the labour involved in sizing the yarn and handling the more fragile cotton.



FINE COTTON, LOOM-EMBROIDERED: **(7/9A)** Tanda jamdani bel kinar butta palla sari/*Vine-border big motif end-piece sari of Tanda.*

JAMDANI – FINE COTTON LOOM EMBROIDERED SARIS

The geometric and the floral, the paisley and the vine, the single motif and the bunch or bouquet, all take root here. They resonate with the influences of Persia, Central Asia, China, Tibet and Europe in the most unique flowering of forms. They are transformed in the heartland of the subcontinent, which has had a legacy of a number of royal weaving *karkhana*s (workshops) through history. The royalty and the nobility of Varanasi, Avadh and Rampur, and the Mughals have provided the inspiration and support to the weaving, embroidery and printing communities. It was their success and the constant search for refinement, combined with exposure, which brought them fame within the country and beyond.

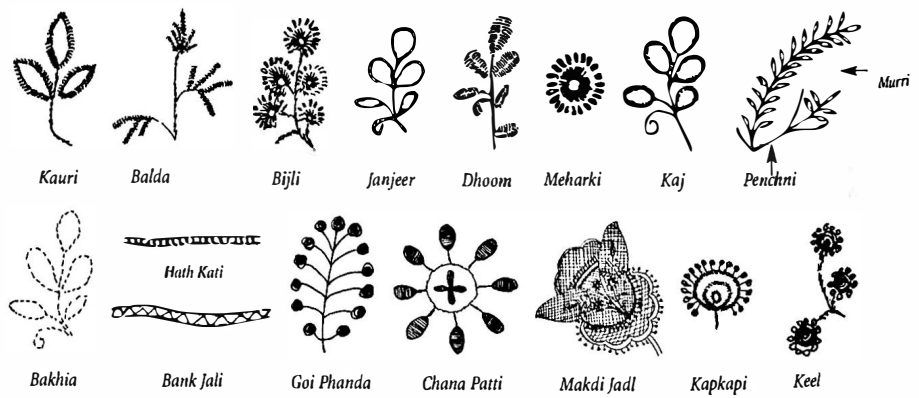
The fine cotton loom embroidery of Tanda, referred to as *jamdani* (7/9A) in Ambedkarnagar district, is the culmination of the fine count cotton range of Uttar Pradesh. It surpassed the *jamdani*s of other parts of India including Bengal, by achieving a curvilinear edge in its patterning with a fine extra-weft shuttle at every pick. Its fabric structure and the dense clarity of its patterning was so finely balanced that it clearly transcended the warp / weft grid of the fabric, to create a smoothly delineated motif.

Ali Ahmed, the last of a family of *jamdani* weavers whom we met in 2004, had returned to Tanda after working in Varanasi in 1986. His grandfather had kept a home in Lucknow for the convenience of selling and had many looms working with them in Tanda. With the decline of this source of patronage that paid for months of laborious work, there was a decline in the efficiency and creativity of the skill itself. In 2004, there were at least six sons of Ali Ahmed who brought out samples of the *bel* (vine), *buti* (fine motif), *butta* (large motif), and *kinar* (border patterns) for saris and other fabrics. They were also willing to take up weaving with some backing and support. However, the fact that at least two recent commissions they received have not enabled them to stand on their own feet; raises several doubts about their capability.

HAND-EMBROIDERED

Chikan embroidery and its various incarnations flourished in and around Lucknow, Rampur, Agra and Varanasi, and

STITCHES/MOTIFS IN CHIKAN EMBROIDERY



they were inspired by the shadow effect and delicacy of *jamdani*. They enhanced the opaque on translucent motif with heightened relief as well as *jali* (trellis) work, by tearing apart the warp-and-weft thread network and binding it with the embroidery needle. In its original form, *chikan* celebrates at least nine shades of white in its base fabric, which was *mal/tanzeb* (muslin), adorned with a bleached white thread embroidery that creates the opaque configuration either as a shadow from below or on the surface, or in relief. *Motia* (jasmine-white), *khaskhasi* (poppy seed-white), *kapasi* (cotton fluff-white), *baze kora* (unbleached white), *telia* (oil-white), *zard* (egg-white), *amua* (mango-white), and *makkaiya* (corn-white), were some of the celebrated whites of *chikan*.

Promoted and sponsored by the nawabs of Avadh, the skill of *chikan* embroidery (pg 154) fanned out as a means of livelihood within the safety of home, from Malihabad, Kakori, Kushalganj, Alamnagar, Muftiganj in Lucknow district to Sitapur, Godhi and Kannanuj districts. In 1989 there are said to have been 70,000 *chikan* embroiderers in Lucknow alone, and 50 per cent of what they produced were saris. There is some controversy about the range of stitches in the *chikan* repertoire, which academics list as basically six, but the practitioners of the art, who include the permutations and combinations, list out at least seventy.

Zardozi, or metallic-yarn (flat, round-edged, or coiled) embroidery as seen in *badla kadhai orhna* (7/13A), runs parallel and in some cases, even exceeds the area covered by *chikan* embroidery. It is relevant in this context only because along with *chikan*, it has seen a great resurgence from the 1970s, and found an expanding world market in the 1990s. Although these were traditionally techniques of surface ornamentation on saris, veils and stitched apparel, they continue to have a fresh appeal with the aspiring and upwardly mobile youth, as well as in the increasingly ostentatious celebration of marriages and events.

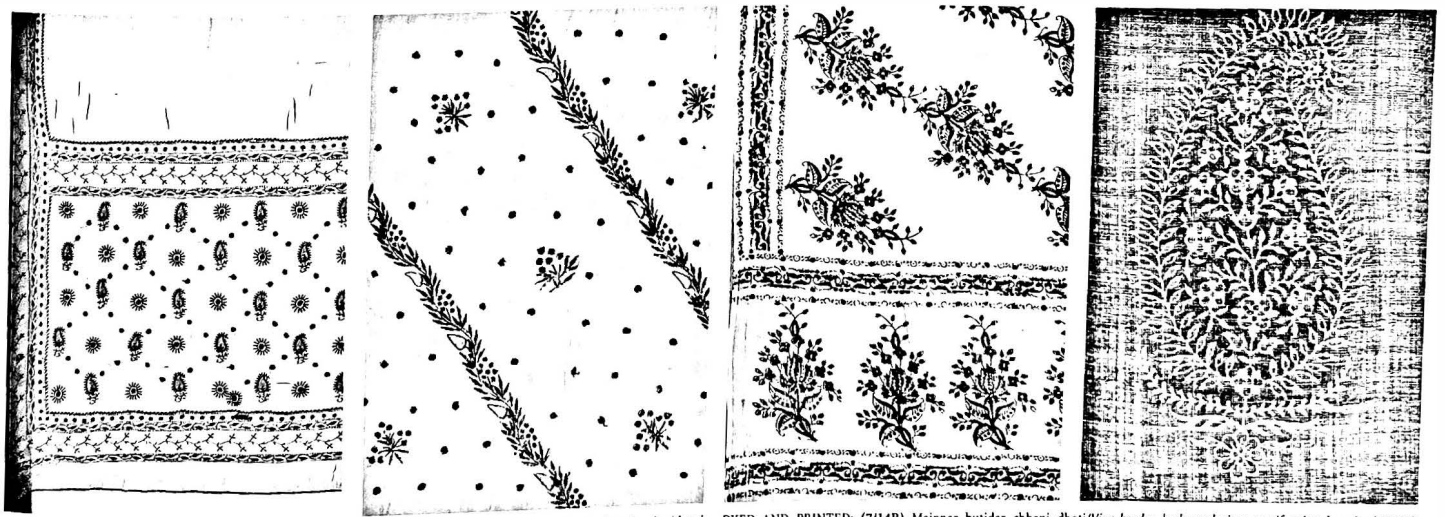
DYED AND PRINTED SARIS

Printing at its finest echoes the white-on-white image of the embroideries, yet it makes them not only cheaper but also available in much larger quantities. In centres such as Farrukhabad (7/16A) which has had exposure to the international design range of printing curtain drapes and the tree-of-life patterns, the sari had also developed a consistent market. With base fabrics varying from the coarse *gara* and *gazi* to the finest muslins, there are a wide range of prints, from the *mota kaam* (bold, non-refined prints) as seen in *mainpar buti chhapi dhoti* (7/14B), to the finest *jaal* (all-over vine) motif, sometimes even in white-on-white as seen in 7/16A. Apart from the Mathura and *pahari* saris, printing was commonly done for tent coverings, *farad* (hangings), *parde* (curtains), *jajam* (floor cloths), *jahan namaz* (prayer cloths) and *dastarkhwan* (table covers), and presently, on bed covers, linen and running fabrics. The design directory has absorbed a great deal of the woven motif range of adjoining Rajasthan, and the woven and embroidered imagery of Tanda, Ambedkar Nagar district, Varanasi and Lucknow. Apart from the major centres of Farrukhabad, Mathura and Varanasi, printing was prevalent in a number of smaller centres such as Kashipur, Kanpur rural district and Bijnor district. With a traditional colour range of madder red, iron black and *katha* (catechu brown), and wide varieties of white, turmeric yellow, *neel* (indigo) and *hararra* (myrobalan), it developed a wide-eyed love of colour once chemical dyes were accessible from the early twentieth century onwards.

Printing has seen a complete decline both in terms of market as well as skill. Unlike Rajasthan, most printers from Uttar Pradesh have not been able to find a foothold in the export market or in the production of saris for the urban markets. Most of them have migrated to the mills in Gujarat and Maharashtra, whereas block makers have turned their skills to making furniture and home accessories in order to survive.

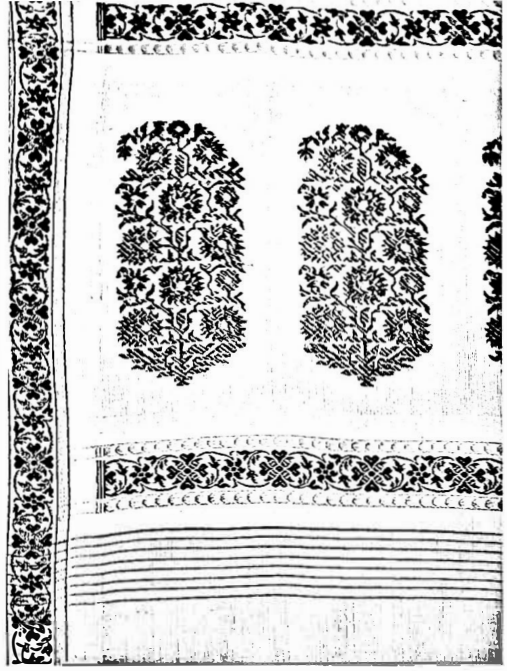
WARP/WEFT PATTERNED IN FINE-COUNT COTTON/SILK

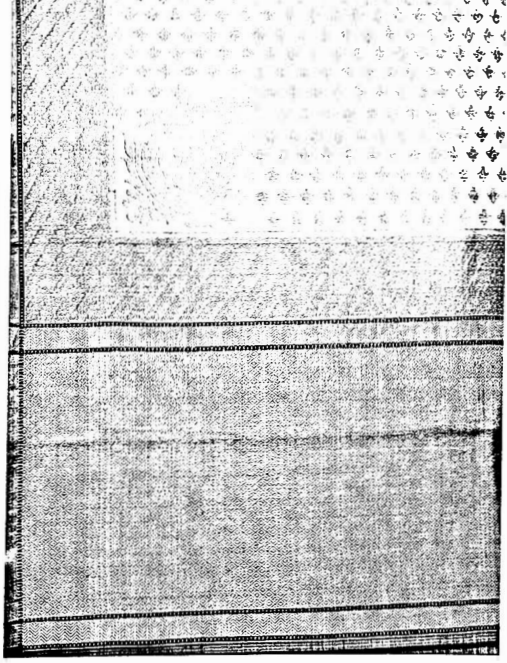
The culmination of the skill hierarchy in the state moved towards Varanasi and its hinterland of several villages and towns in the districts of Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh and Maunath Bhanjan, which became the suppliers to this most ancient trade centre for textiles and other crafts. These areas absorbed and upgraded the warp patterning skills of eastern Uttar Pradesh with weft patterning that they learnt while producing cheaper saris for Varanasi. While Maunath represents cotton and silk in combination and at times, even a pure cotton range like *suti beldar buta*



HAND-EMBROIDERED: **(7/11)** Butidar palla bel kinar chikankari sari/*Multiple-motif end-piece, vine border, hand-embroidered sari*;**(7/13A)** Badla kadhai orhna/*Flattened silver wire hand-embroidered drape.*

DYED AND PRINTED: **(7/14B)** Mainpar butidar chhapi dhoti/*Vine-border body end-piece motif printed saris*; **(7/16A)** Farrukhabad chhapa buta sari/*White-on-white printed paisley sari.*





WARP/WEFT-PATTERNED IN FINE COUNT COTTON: (7/20A) Suti beldar buta palla sari/*Cotton vine border, big motif end-piece sari*; VARANASI: (7/41) Namavali/*Upper religious drape*; GETHUA: (7/28) Ada bel aamrasi/*Diagonal multi-heddle woven, mango colour sari.*

palla sari (7/20A), Mubarakpur constitutes the mass-production centre of Varanasi silks, which were essentially weft-patterned (7/25, 7/26; pg 157).

VARANASI- WEFT PATTERNED COTTON/SILK

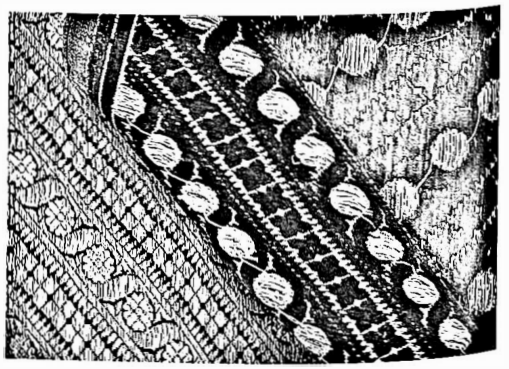
Over hundreds of years, Varanasi, one of the oldest cities in the world, has attracted scholars and travellers from all over India and abroad. As a seat of the arts, learning, philosophy, music, as well as religion, it has always had a large visiting population who come to learn or worship at the numerous temples, or bathe in the river Ganga; some even come to die and be cremated on its banks. Varanasi has attracted weavers and traders from all over the country and absorbed the influences and market sensibilities of all the regions it has produced for, such as Tamil Nadu (7/36) or the *namavali* for Bengal (7/41).

Although the uniqueness of Varanasi cannot be underestimated throughout history, there was a spurt in its expansion as a weaving centre from the early nineteenth century as the smaller centres of spinning and weaving were pushed out of production. With the import, at first of mill yarns, followed by plain-dyed and printed fabrics, initiated by the British and retained by Indian mills before and after Independence, the producers of coarse saris and fabrics with minimal or limited pattern elements were hard pressed to compete. That was the first exodus out of the weaving profession and there have been several since. However, the more capable weavers turned towards Varanasi, not only because it provided a market for their talents, but also because it had the infrastructure to provide them with loom accessories, appropriate raw materials and living space either within the city or its satellite towns and villages. There was a significant growth in the weaving population of the Varanasi region between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and once again in the first twenty years after Independence.

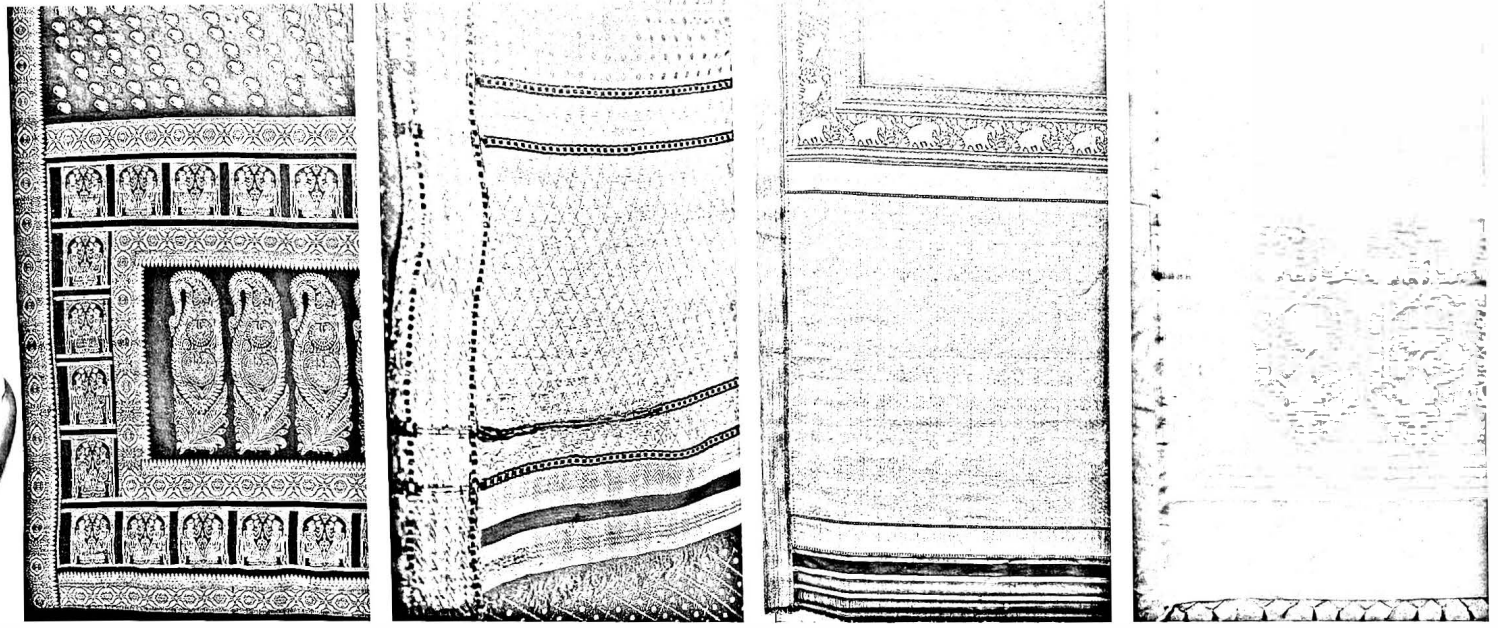
Varanasi absorbed the weaving skills and techniques from all over India and beyond in order to enhance its capability to cater to the various markets. Even a cursory review of its weaves will reveal its versatility and ability to generate and regenerate a broad spectrum of design for all manner of demands. In sari types alone, there is an astounding variety of techniques, material combinations and design types, which can be used in innumerable permutations and combinations. What is most striking is the mastery of weft patterning, probably inherited from cotton but amply enlarged and enhanced in silks. Roughly, the Varanasi range may be recognised as follows:

- The *gethua* (multi-heddle loom), which produced the finest examples of geometrical patterning in cotton with metallic, gold and silver yarns used in the patterning or in the ground for tissue fabrics. It further begins to play with mixes of cotton and silk in the late nineteenth century as seen in *ada bel aamrasi* (7/28). At its finest, the *gethua* combined geometric *leheriya* (wave), *chatai* (mat), *jhad* (fan-like), *urtu* (half wave) in solid patterning with the pattern harness created curvilinear *konia* (corner motif) placed in fine proportion, diagonally facing the body.
- The *naksha jala* (draw loom) further stretches the frontiers of curvilinear weft patterning in silks with a plain or satin weave (for example, *baluchar*; 7/32), with a whole range of silks used as *kora* (singles), *katan* (twisted), or *paat* (plied) to create fabrics from sheer transparent to the weightiest opaque textures. These incorporate elements of *kadhwan* (loom embroidery) as can be seen in the *kinkhwab* - all-over, multi-yarn and colour patterning in metallic or silk yarns.

The combinations are numerous between qualities of single and multiple yarns ranging from the singles *kora* (undegummed) in warp and weft for organza sheers, to *kora* warps with mettalic yarn wefts for tissues; cotton wefts for *chanderi* translucents; building upto *kora* or *katan* (twisted) warps with sappe (low-



VARANASI: Kinkhwab/ *Heavy, mettalic patterned silk.*



VARANASI: WEFT PATTERNED: **(7/32)** Ada butidar baluchar naksha jala sari/*Diagonal motif, draw loom-woven sari;* **(7/33)** Phekwan do rukha moti choor tanchoi/*Reversible through-shuttle woven, bird's-eye patterned sari;* **(7/36)** Naksha jala kadhwan hathi bel kinar sari/*Draw loom-embroidered elephant-border sari;* **(7/46)** Phekwan katarwan sari/*Through-shuttle woven cut work sari.*

twisted) wefts of various ply for heavier drapes, high twist yarns for chiffons and georgettes and heavier compact katan warps with multiple coloured and plied wefts for satins or *tanchois*. The culmination of silk drapes was the *paatbana,* untwisted plied silks of various weights.

The pattern range is likewise complex and ever proliferating from the *butidar/butadar* (small/larger motifs), *kadhawan* (loom embroidered) or *phekwan* (all through weft) woven with or without *meena* (colour accented); to *adi pattidar, khadi pattidar, bede pattidar* (warp/diagonal/weft facing vine pattern); to the *jaal hunnar* (non directional all over pattern) and the *jangla hunnar* (facing any of the above mentioned directions). Motifs and patterns easily identify sari types as can be seen in the case of the *latifa buta* (floribunda motif), *sharifa* (custard apple), *kaire* (paisley motif) and *shikargah* (forest hunt).

- From the *phekwan* (all through weft), emerge the *gyaser* and *tanchoi* patterns (7/33) in which patterning itself becomes a texture of varying weight and *uthava* (relief from the base fabric), providing a three dimensional element.
- In the mid-twentieth century we find yet another innovation emerging from the *phekwan*, which is *katarwan* or cutwork (7/46), in which the opaque pattern is highlighted by the cutting away of the threads that run all through the weft but are not bound or woven into the warp. This has further enhanced the range of sheer fabrics with weft patterning in the weaving of saris as well as fabrics for home use.

Although the range of Varanasi may not be considered representative of the state of Uttar Pradesh as a whole, it has influenced production not only in all parts of the state but in other parts of the country as well. Wherever weavers of skill have found patronage and support, they have aspired to incorporate the patterning skills and sensibility of Varanasi to their advantage.

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Since the early 1990s, there has been a distinct shift away from the unstitched sari towards a variety of stitched Indian garments as well as Western wear. It is time to wake up if we want the hand-skill sector or even pockets of it, to survive or find a foothold in the Indian or international market. Pockets of high skill can certainly be maintained, but even these will require design and quality support on an annual basis in order to chart out a reasonably sound future. For those who will be eliminated from the profession, there are alternative industries that could benefit from their skills. Just as the IT hardware industry received the talents of whole families of jewellers in Karnataka in the 1970s, weavers too could be considered a vast skill resource for an alternative sector.

The patterned fabric and product range is our greatest asset, which no market including the Chinese can compete with, if only we judiciously plan, develop and promote its inherent skills. With the collapse of the sari market in India, a careful and concerted planning and effort is required both in the designing and marketing of patterned fabrics for varied use, from draperies to stitched apparel, in the national and international markets. The sari can certainly, maintain a unique corner in its role as special occasion wear.

तुलसी यह सँसार को
हुआ मोतिया बिंद,
नहरे है सूझे नहीं
घिग घिग ऐसा घित्र।

Says Tulsi, the world is cataract blind
Fie, fie on it,
for it looks yet sees not
only turbulence and din!

– Tulsidas, saint-poet, sixteenth century

WEARING STYLES – UTTAR PRADESH

STYLE 1: SEEDHA PALLA/End-piece back-to-front style
LENGTH: 5.8 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Middle class; rural and urban
AREA: Central and eastern U.P.

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist and tie knot at right waist.
2. Bring outer end-piece over right shoulder till thigh-length back to front anticlockwise, and make pleats of remaining sari.
3. Tuck the gathered pleats in at centre front waist.

VARIATION 1: PAGADI PALLA/End-piece around head style
LENGTH: 5.8 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Agricultural community
AREA: Central and eastern U.P.

Stages 1-3 are common with Style 1
4. Hold outer end-piece with left hand.
5. Wrap entire outer end-piece around head anticlockwise over draped portion on head.
6. Tuck end-piece at back over wrapped portion.

STYLE 2: LAPETAWALI SARI/Without-blouse style
LENGTH: 5.8 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Rural/Urban communities
AREA: Central and eastern U.P.

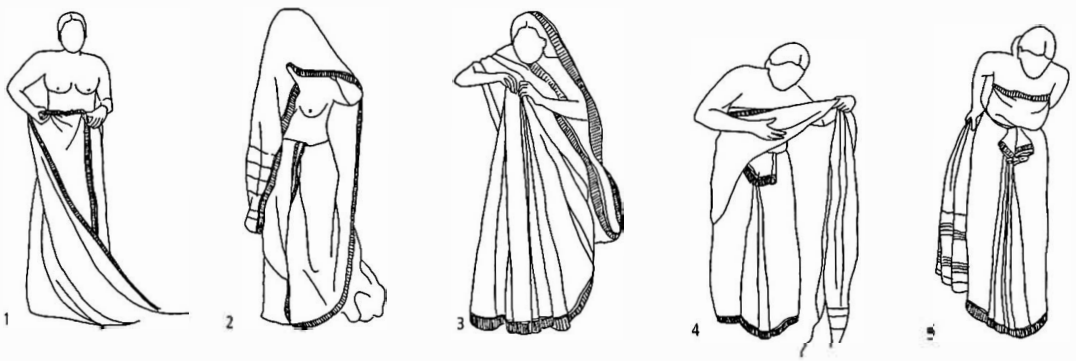
1. Wrap inner end-piece clockwise around waist and tie knot at centre front waist.
2. Bring outer end-piece over head over right shoulder, from back to front till thigh length.
3. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari.
4. Tuck gathered pleats at centre front waist facing upper border outwards, and take out outer end-piece from shoulder.
5. Bring outer end-piece around chest anticlockwise.
6. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder over head.

NOTE: See variation in Bihar STYLE 4

STYLE 1: SEEDHA PALLA/End-piece back-to-front style

VARIATION 1: PAGADI PALLA/End-piece around head style

STYLE 2: LAPETAWALI SARI/Without-blouse style



STYLE 3: KHASAUTA/Between-the-legs style

STYLE 4: BAUN/Rural skirt drape style

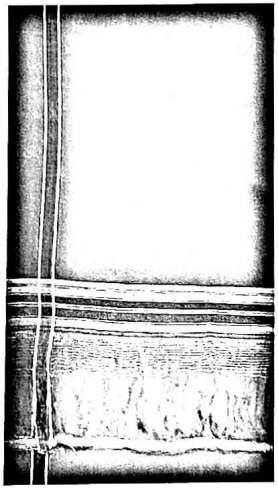
STYLE 3: KHASAUTA/Between-the-legs style
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.30 m
WORN BY: Rural community
AREA: Southwest Uttar Pradesh

1. Take outer end-piece overhead from left side till knee length.
2. Bring inner endpiece around waist anti-clockwise and tie knot at left waist and make pleats of free end portion.
3. Adjust pleated portion so that it is longer than wrapped sari length.
4. Tuck in pleats at centre front waist.
5. Hold pleats apart.
6. Pick up centre pleat.
7. Bring centre pleat between legs front to back.
8. Any loose portion can be put away under front left portion.

STYLE 4: BAUN/Rural skirt drape style
LENGTH: Skirt: 5.94 m; Veil: 4.15 m
WORN BY: Rural community
AREA: Southwest Uttar Pradesh

1. Take end portion of veil. (Baun is worn as long skirt with drawstring tied at waist).
2. Bring over head from left to right shoulder and hold other end.
3. Make pleats from free end of upper drape.
4. Tuck pleats at centre front.

1 COARSE COUNT



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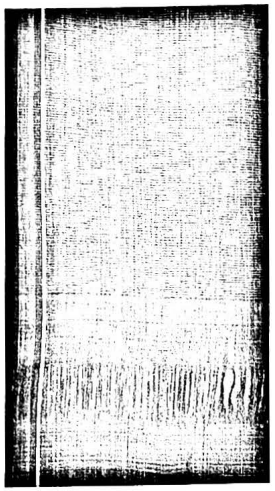

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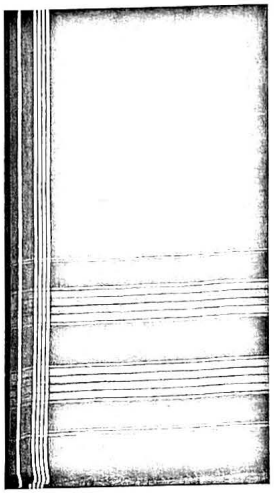
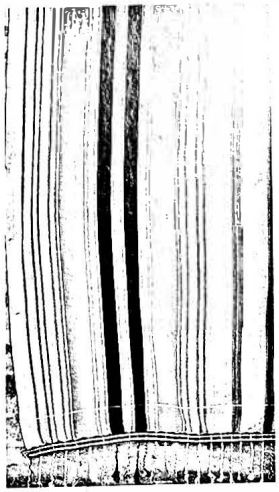


7/1B



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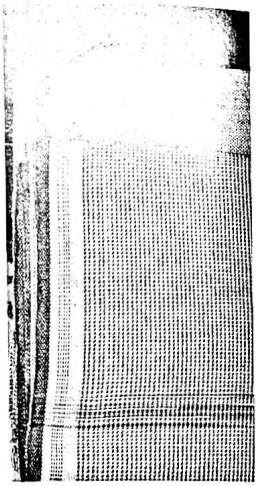

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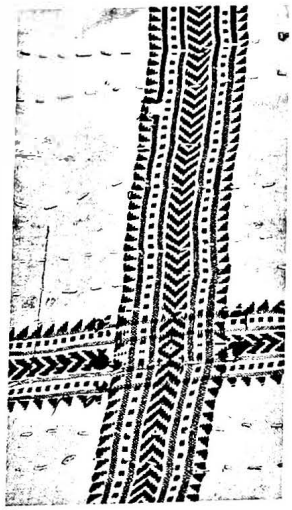

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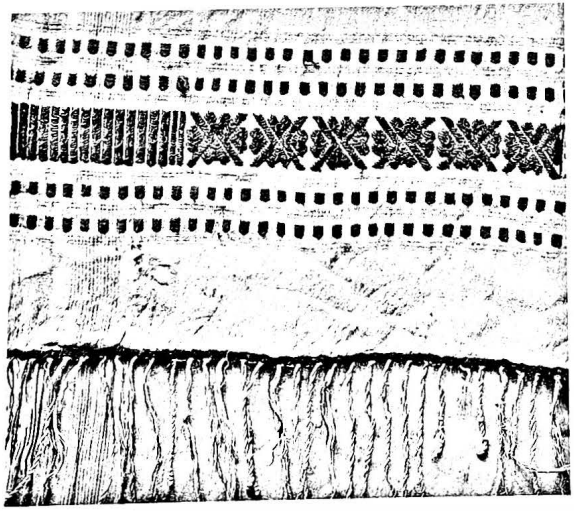
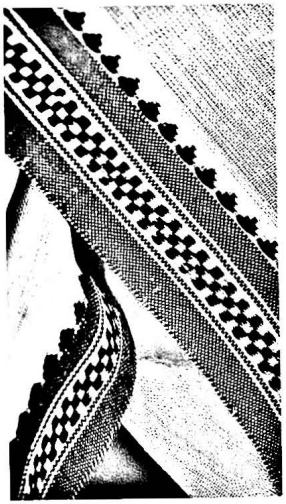


7/3A



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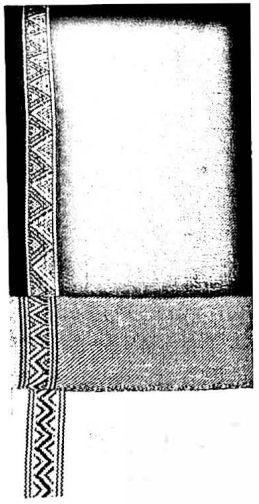


7/3C

7/1: Name: *Motia sada patta kinar dhoti*/Plain band border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 470 gm; Origin: Sandila, Hardoi district

7/1A: Name: *Motia nakhooni chowkdal*/Fine checked sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.10 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 490 gm; Origin: Khairabad, Sitapur district

7/1B: Name: *Nehtaur motia nakhooni*/Fine stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 7 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Nehtaur, Bijnor district

7/2; 2A: Name: *Motia patta kinari*/Bold stripe border-body drape; Material: Cotton, 2/60s; Length: 2.75 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Zaidpur, Barabanki district

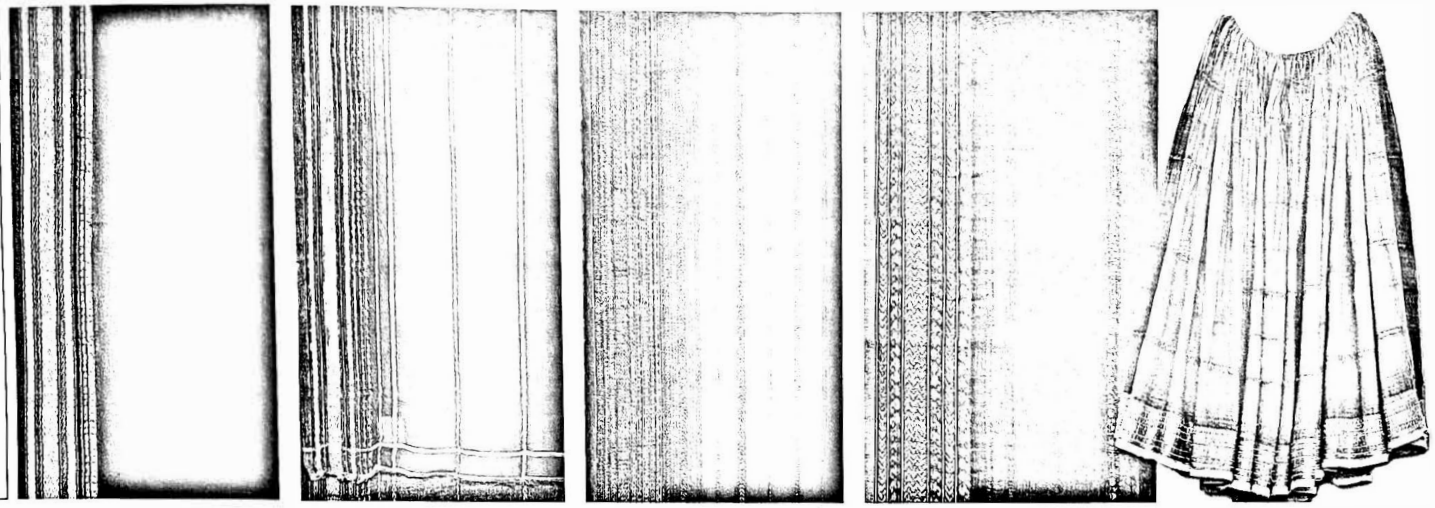
7/3; 3A: Name: *Motia nakshi kinari*/Patterned border end-piece sari (stitched into layered bed linen); Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 490 gm; Origin: Rampur Kotra, Barabanki district

7/3B: Name: *Motia nakshi kinar dhoti*/Patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.20 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Dodayya, Gorakhpur district

7/3C: Name: *Motia nakshi kinari*/Patterned border multipurpose drape; Material: Cotton, 2/60 s; Length: 2.75 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Rasoolpur, Gorakhpur district

■ *Baun*

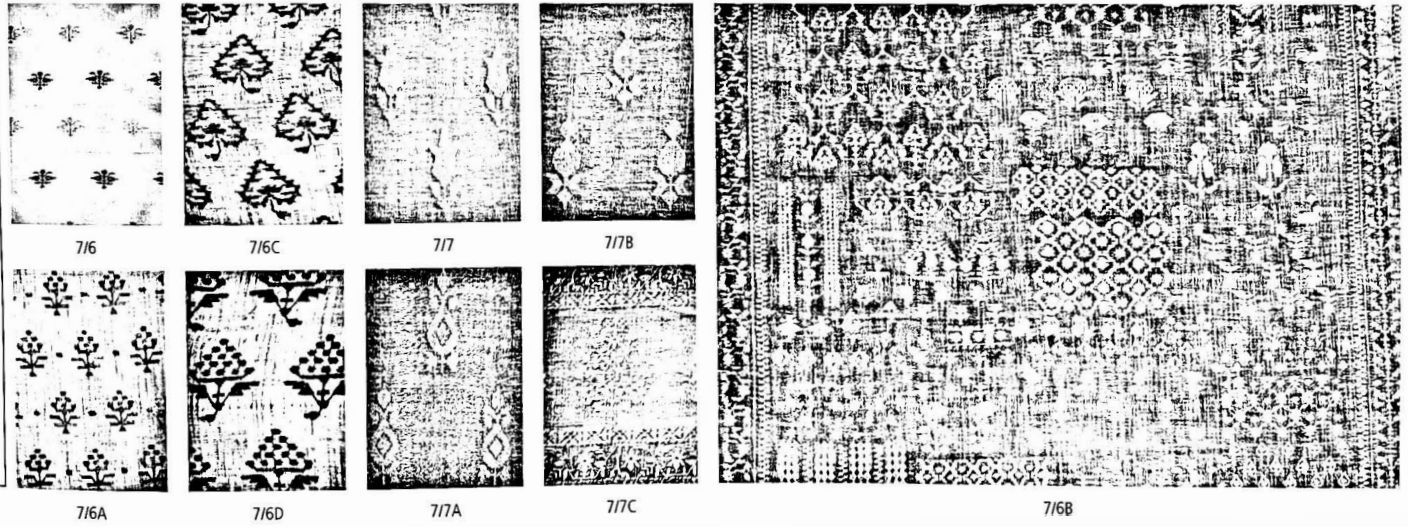
2 COARSE COTTON WITH SILK/*ZARI* BORDERS



7/4 7/4A 7/5 7/5A 7/5B

❊ *Jamdani*

3 FINE COTTON LOOM EMBROIDERED SARIS



7/6 7/6C 7/7 7/7B

7/6A 7/6D 7/7A 7/7C 7/6B

7/4: Name: *Kasbi baun*/Cotton patterned border drape; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.94 m; Width: 0.82 m; Weight: 410 gm; Origin: Saidnagar, Jalaun district

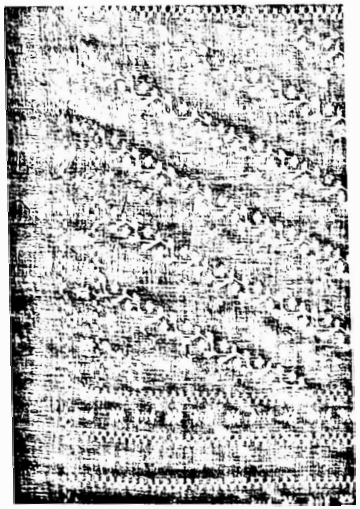
7/4A: Name: *Churia baun*/Silk stripe patterned body-border drape; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.84 m; Width: 0. 85 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Erich, Jhansi district

7/5: Name: *Zari baun*/Gold warp-patterned border-body cotton drape; Material: Cotton, 30s, metallic yarn; Length: 6.50 m; Width: 0.84 m; Weight: 825 gm; Origin: Chirauna, Jhansi district

7/5A; 5B: Name: *Neel zari baun*/Gold warp-patterned border-body indigo cotton drape; Material: Cotton, 30s, metallic yarn; Length: 6.50 m; Width: 0.84 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Chirgaon, Jhansi district

7/6; 6A; 6B; 6C; 6D: Name: *Jamdani buti* motif variations for body; Material: Cotton, 100s; Courtesy: Shri Ali Ahmed, Tanda, Ambedkamagar district

7/7; 7/7A; 7B; 7C: Name: *Jamdani* motif variations developed for Visvakarma Exhibition 1982; Material: Cotton, 100s; Courtesy: Visvakarma Exhibition Collection



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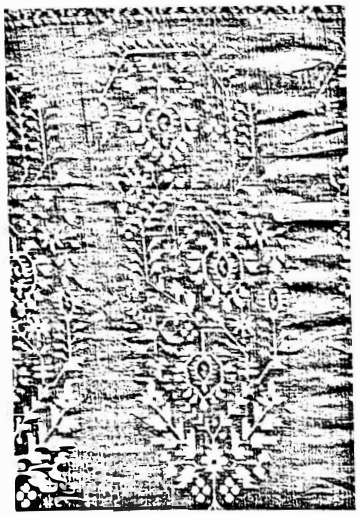

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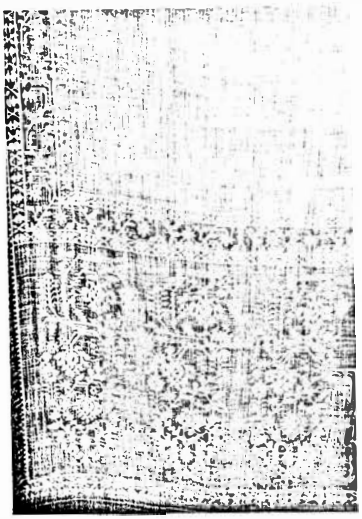
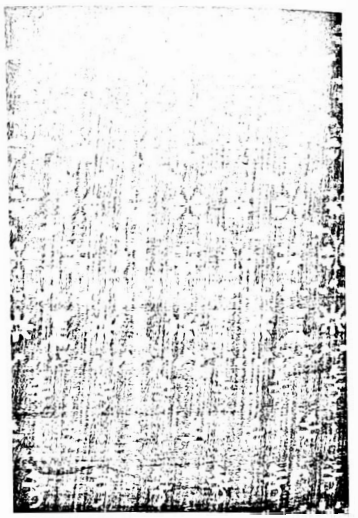


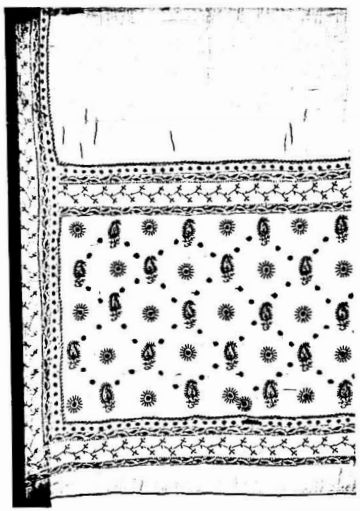
7/9A



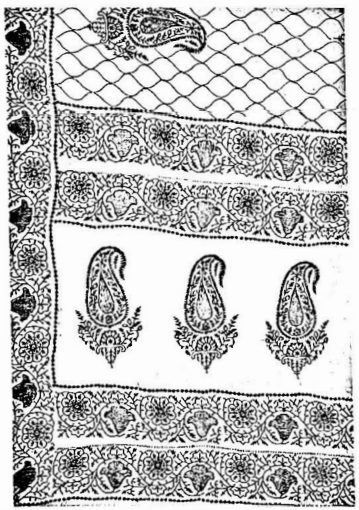
7/10

● *Chikankari*

4 HAND-EMBROIDERED SARIS



7/11



7/11A

7/12

7/13

7/8: Name: *Tanda jamdani ada bel shalu*/Diagonal vine-patterned upper drape; Material: Cotton, 100s/120s; Length: 1.2 m; Width: 0.48 m; Weight: 100 gm; Courtesy: Shri Mukund Lal Selat, Varanasi

7/9; 9A: Name: *Tanda jamdani bel kinar buta palla* sari/Vine border, big motif end-piece sari of Tanda; Material: Cotton, 140s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 340 gm; Courtesy: Ali Ahmed for Visvakarma Exhibition 1982

7/10: Name: *Tanda jamdani buti jaal* sari/Motif trellis body sari of Tanda; Material: Cotton, 100s/120s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 390 gm; Courtesy: National Handloom and Handcraft Museum, New Delhi

7/11: Name: *Butidar palla bel kinar chikankari* sari/Multiple-motif end-piece, vine border, hand-embroidered sari;

7/11A: Name: *Bel kinar buta palla chikankari* sari/Vine border, big motif end-piece sari

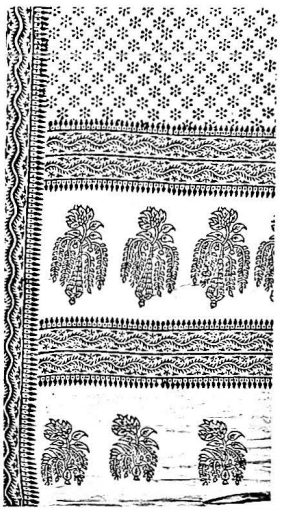
7/12: Name: *Buta palla ambi bel kinar chikankari* sari/Multiple-motif end-piece, mango vine border sari;

7/13: Name: *Phool jaal bel kinar chikankari* sari/Floral trellis all-overbody flower sari; Material: Cotton, 80s/100s; Length: 5.10-5.40 m; Width: 1.10-1.40 m; Weight: 550-580 gm; Courtesy: Laila Tyabji, New Delhi

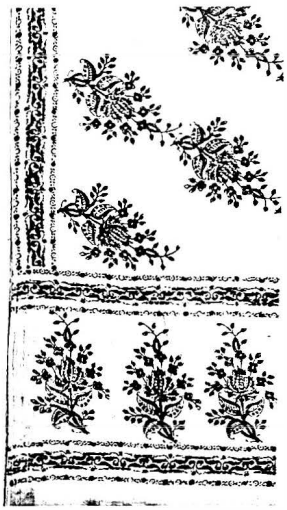
5 DYED AND PRINTED SARIS

7/13A

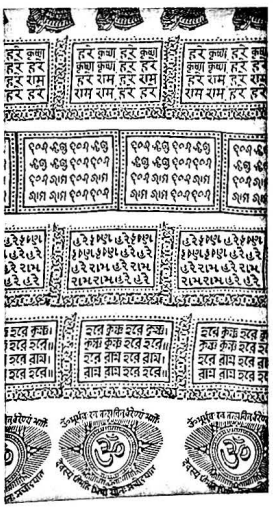
7/14



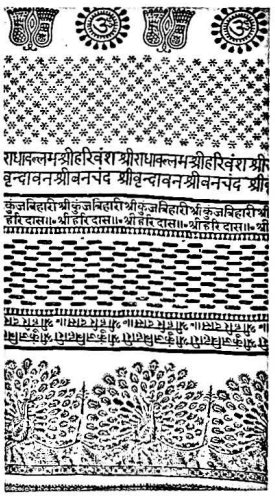
7/14A



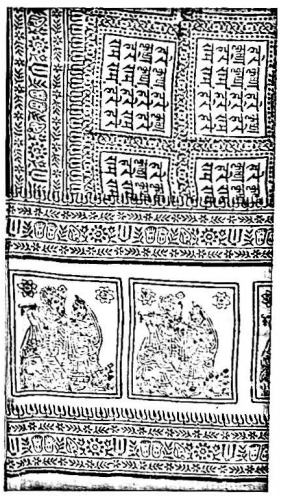
7/14B



7/15



7/15A

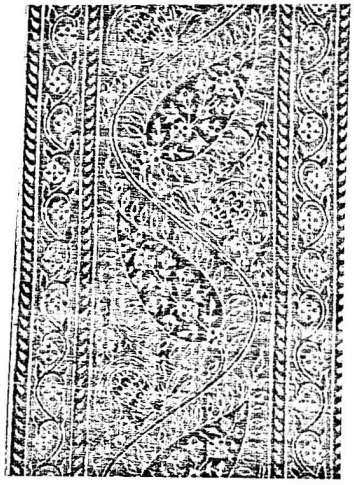


7/15B

7/13A: Name: *Badla kadhai orhnal*/Flattened silver wire hand-embroidered drape; Material: Cotton, 150s; Length: 2.50 m; Width: 1.10-1.40 m; Weight: 200 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

7/14; 14A; 14B: Name: *Mainpar butidar chhapi dhoti*/Vine border body end-piece motif printed saris; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.90-5.40 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 300-380 gm; Origin: Meerut, Meerut district

7/15; 15A; 15B: Name: *Mathura chhapa orhnal*/Printed upper drapes of Mathura; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 1.90-2.40 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 150-300 gm; Origin: Mathura, Mathura district



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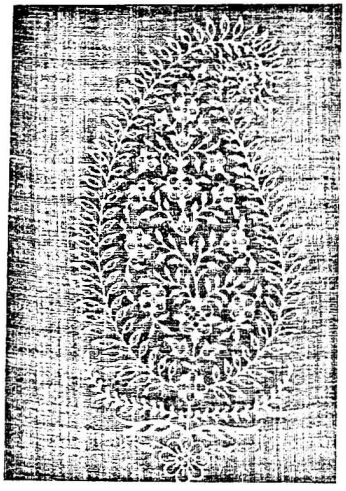

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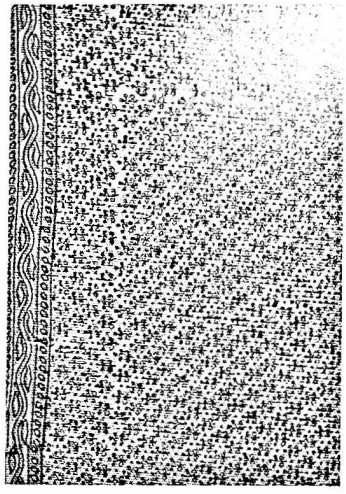
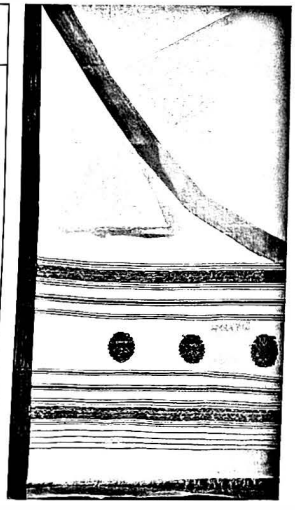


7/17

7/18

❤ Warp / Weft-patterned

6 FINE COUNT COTTON/SILK



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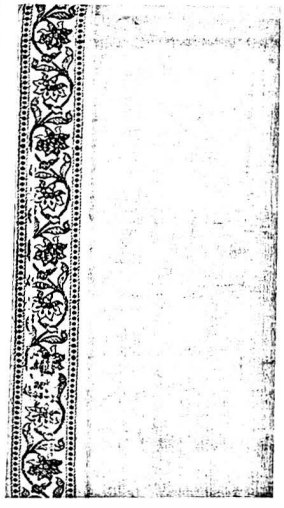

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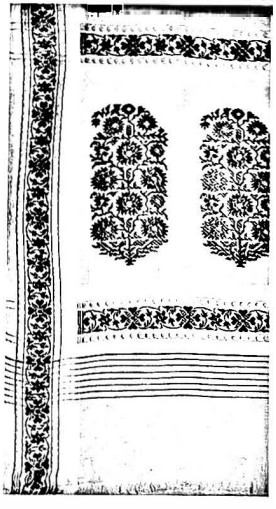

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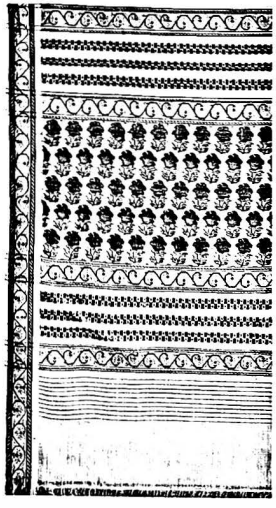

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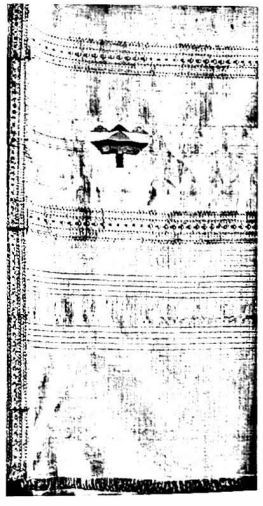


7/22

7/16; 16A: Name: *Farrukhabad bel kinar palla chhapa buta* sari/White print on unbleached body, vine border, paisley motif end-piece printed sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 410 gm; Courtesy: Blocks by Sardar Hussain Pilkhua, printed for Visvakarma Exhibition 1982

7/17: Name: *Avadh raidana chhapi* sari/Fine grain flower printed sari of Avadh; Material: Silk, 60 gm; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 330 gm; Courtesy: Blocks by Sardar Hussain Pilkhua, Gaziabad district; printed for Visvakarma Exhibition 1982

7/18: Name: *Roghan chhapi* sari/Tinsel printed sari; Material: Cotton, 150s; Length: 5.05 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 240 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

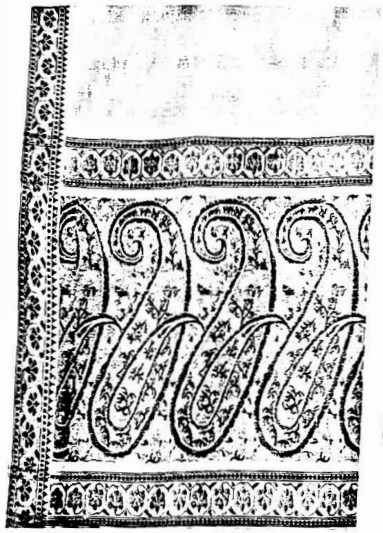
7/19: Name: *Suti patta kinar buti palla*/Plain border, end-piece motif, patterned sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.00 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 320 gm; Origin: Gangoli, Ghazipur district

7/20: Name: *Suti beldar kinar sari*/Cotton vine border sari

7/20A: Name: *Suti beldar buta palla* sari/Cotton vine border, big motif end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Shri Mohammad Yahya, Maunath Bhanjan district

7/21: Name: *Suti beldar buti palla* sari/Floral vine border, multiple small motif end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 360 gm; Courtesy: Shri Abdur Rehman, Maunath Bhanjan district

7/22: Name: *Suti paithani buta* sari/Cotton *paithani* end-piece motif sari; Material: Cotton, 60s, metallic yarn; Length: 5.04 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Shri Abdur Rehman, Maunath Bhanjan district



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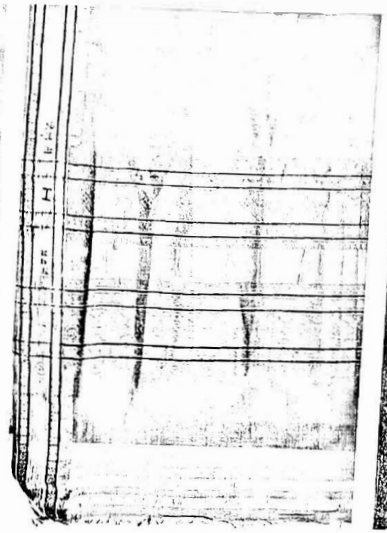
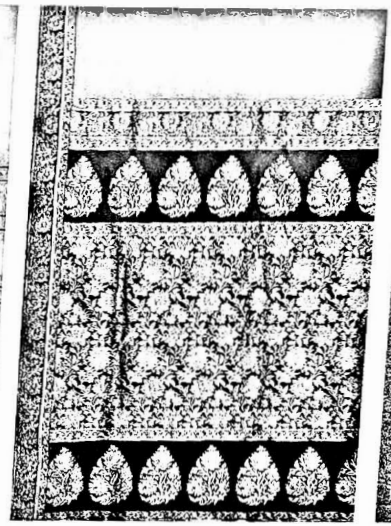


7/24



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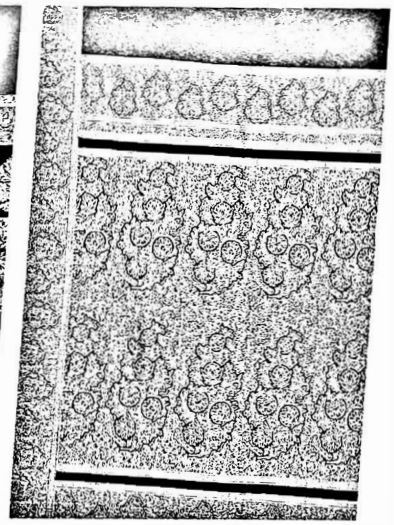

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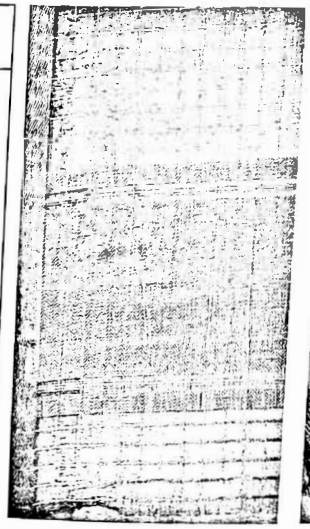
✦ *Varanasi – Weft Pattern*

7 COTTON/SILK SARIS



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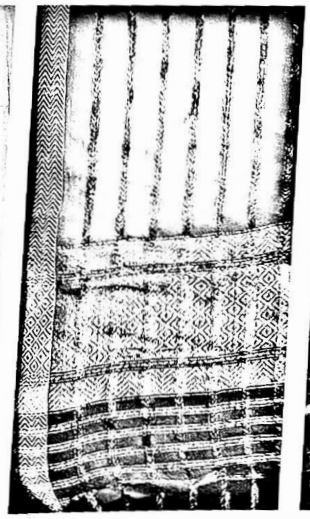
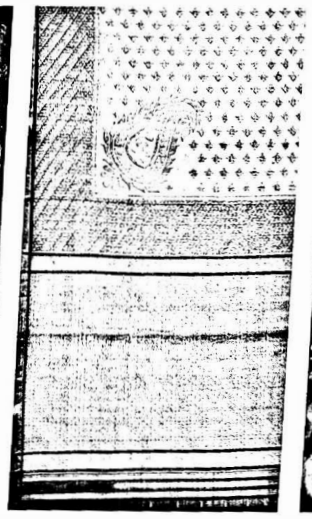
7/27A



7/27B



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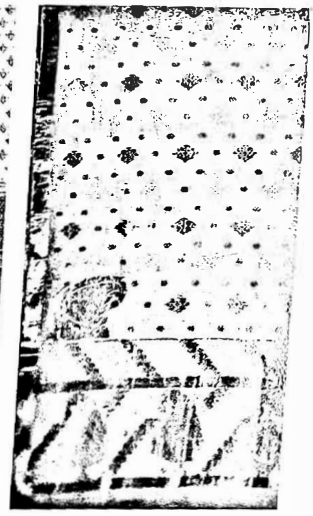


7/29

7/23: Name: *Suti reshmi jamavar palla buti kinar* sari/Silk x cotton paisley end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Silk, 13/15 dn; metallic yarn; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 360 gm; Courtesy: Shri Abdur Rehman, Maunath Bhanjan district

7/24: Name: *Suti phool kinar zari palla* sari/Cotton floral border, gold end-piece patterned sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Shri Abdur Rehman, Maunath Bhanjan district

7/25: Name: *Sada buta palla* sari/Plain body, big motif end-piece sari

7/26: Name: *Jaal buta palla* sari/Plain body, all-over trellis end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 16/18 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 5.50-6.20 m; Width: 1.1-1.15 m; Weight: 430-460 gm; Courtesy: Shri Ehsan Ahmed, Pioneer Cooperative Society, Khwajautarl, Mubarakpur, Maunath Bhanjan district

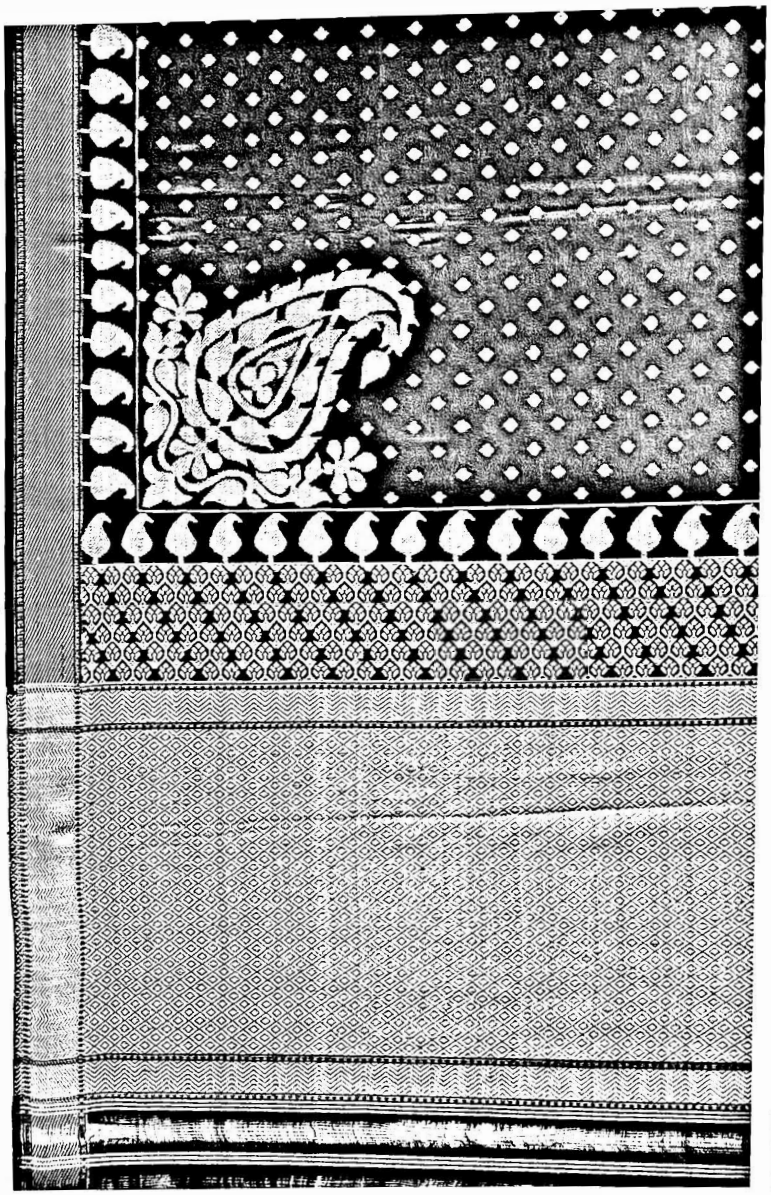
7/27: Name: *Suti gethua* sari/Cotton tissue, multi-heddle woven sari; Material: Cotton, 80s, metallic yarn; Length; 5.15 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 350 gm; Courtesy: Shri C.L. Bharany, New Delhi

7/27A: Name: *Gethua rumal*/Multi-heddle woven scarf; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 1.1 m; Width: 1.1 m; Weight: 50 gm; Courtesy: Shri Suhail Ahmed Ansari

7/27B: Name: *Gethua rumal*/Multi-heddle woven scarf; Material: Silk and zari, 28/30 dn; Length: 1.25 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 60 gm; Courtesy: Shri Suhail Ahmed Ansari

7/28: Name: *Ada bel aamrasi*/Diagonal multi-heddle woven, mango-colour sari; Material: Cotton 60s, metallic yarn; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

7/29: Name: *Suti gethua butidar* sari/Motif patterned body, multi-heddle sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Shri Shashank Singh, Varanasi



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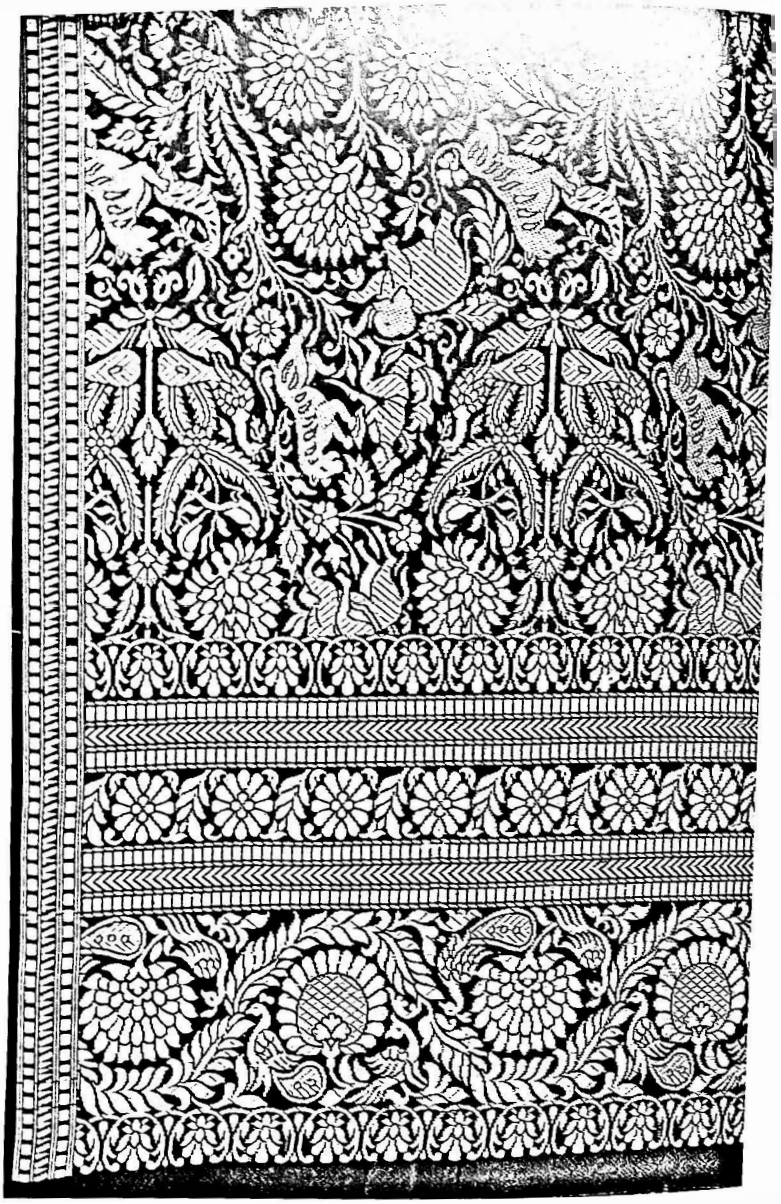

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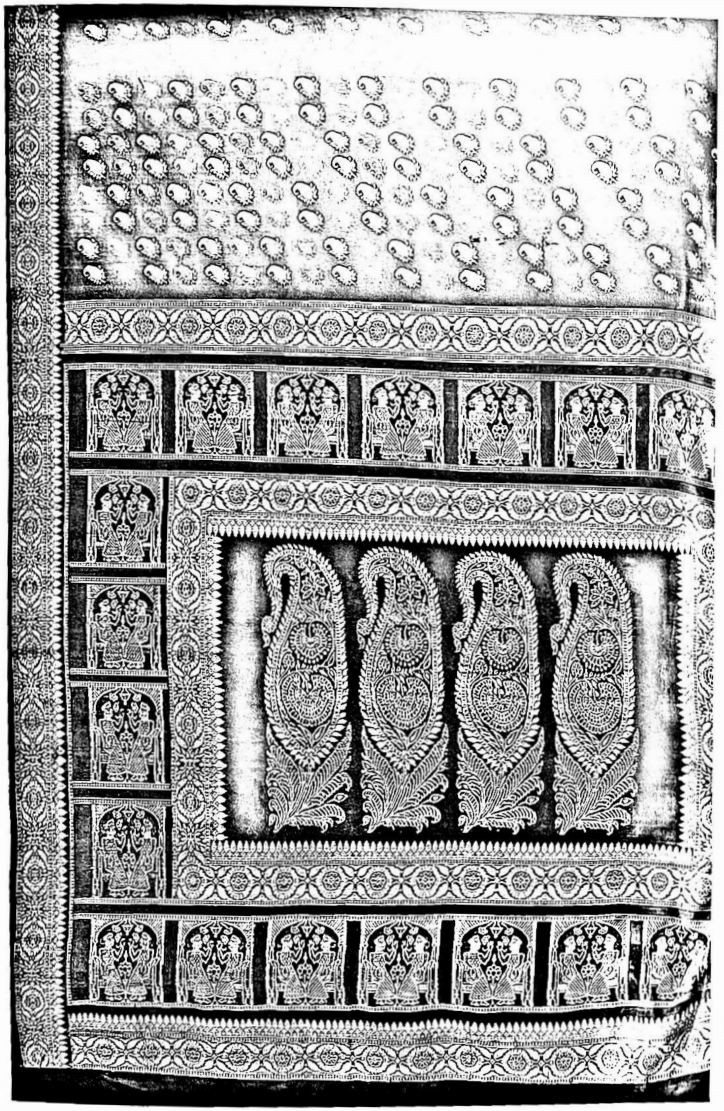
7/30: Name: *Butidar gethua palla* sari/Motif patterned body, multi-heddle woven end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 4.45 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 475 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

7/31: Name: *Shikargah naksha jala* sari/Forest hunt, draw loom-woven sari; Material: Silk; Length: 6.15 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 390 gm; Courtesy: Shri Sribhas Supakar, Varanasi



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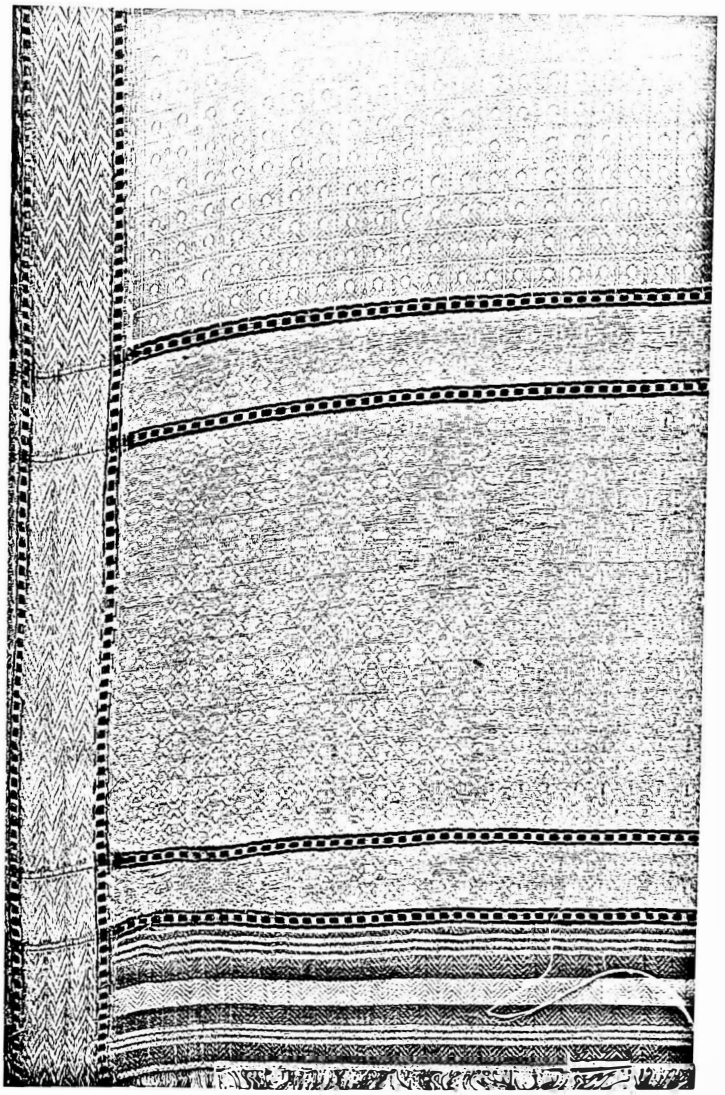

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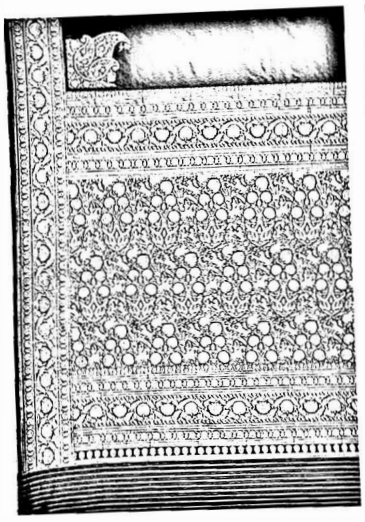
7/32: Name: *Ada butidar baluchar naksha jala* sari/Diagonal motif, draw loom-woven sari; Material: Silk, 22 dn, 3 ply; Length: 4.65 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 530 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

7/33: Name: *Phekwan do rukha motichoor tanchoi sari*Reversible through-shuttle woven, bird's-eye patterned sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn, 2 ply; Length: 4.95 m; Width: 1.30 m; Weight: 500 gm; Courtesy: Shri C.L. Bharany, New Delhi



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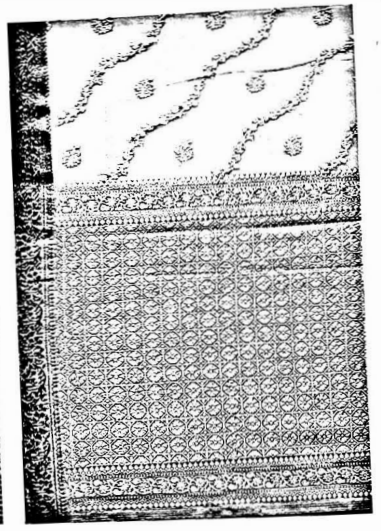

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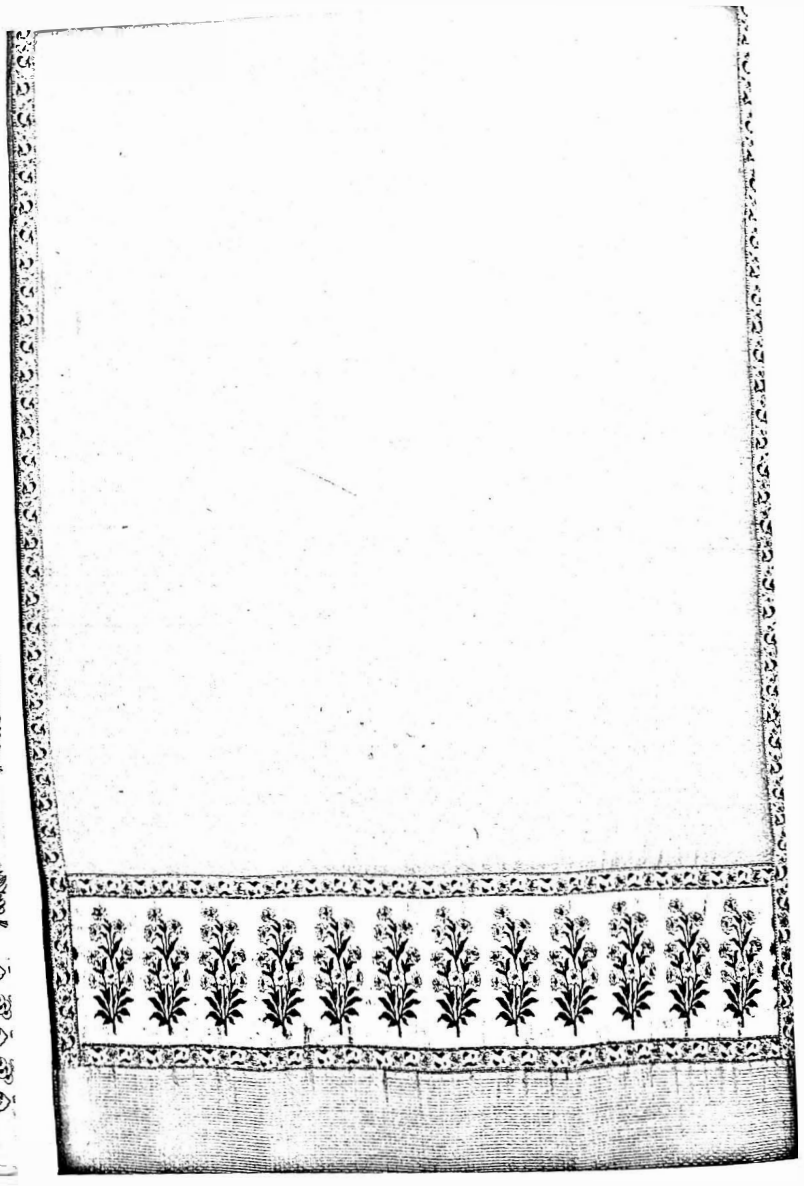

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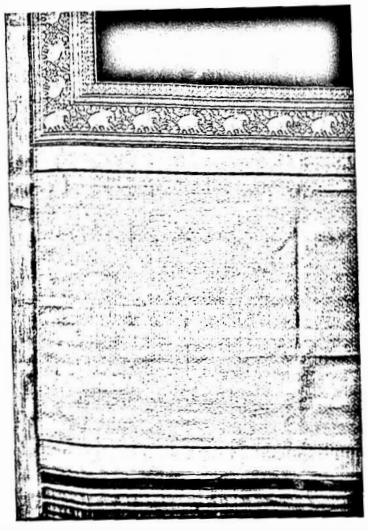

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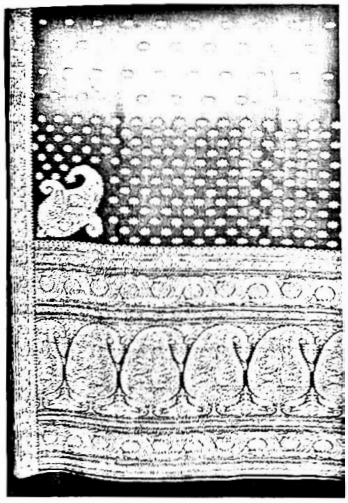
7/34: Name: *Shikargah naksha jala palla* sari/Forest hunt end-piece, draw loom-woven sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn, 3 ply; Length: 6.15 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 560 gm; Courtesy: Mallika Mathur, New Delhi

7/35: Name: *Aamras ada bel naksha jala* sari/Diagonal vine, draw loom-woven sari; Material: Silk, 15/18 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.45 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

7/36: Name: *Naksha jala kadhwan hathi bel kinar* sari/Draw loom-embroidered elephant-border sari for South India; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn, 3 ply, metallic yarn; Length: 5.00 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 820 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

7/37: Name: *Naksha jala kadhwan guchha buta* sari/Draw loom-embroidered, floral bouquet sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Shri Mukund Lal Selat, Varanasi

7/38: Name: *Phekwan tanchoi buta palla* sari/Big motif end-piece, through-shuttle woven, self-patterned sari; Material: Silk, 15/18 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.60 m; Weight: 520 gm; Courtesy: Visvakarma Exhibition Collection



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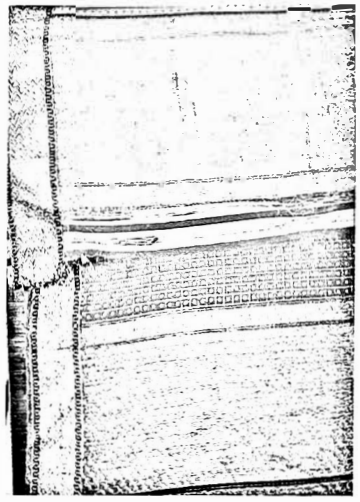

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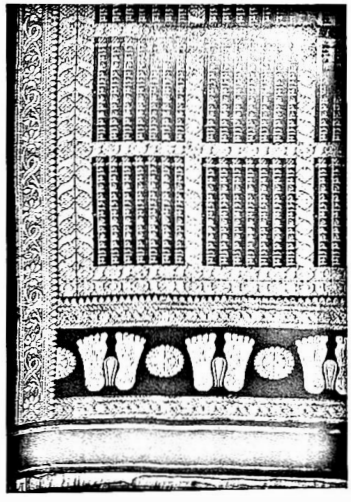

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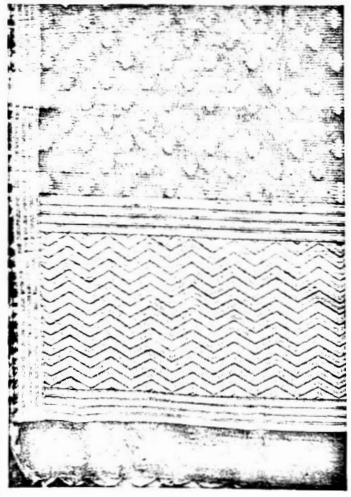

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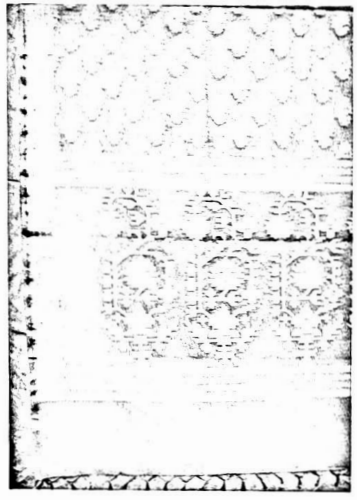


7/46

7/39: Name: *Naksha jala kadhwan ambi buta palla butidar* sari/Draw loom-embroidered, paisley end-piece, body motif sari for South India; Material: Silk, 22 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 7.25 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, DakshinaChitra, Chennai

7/40: Name: *Naksha jal kadhwan asavali butidar* sari/Draw loom-embroidered, paisley end-piece, all-over motif sari for Gujarat; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.30 m; Weight: 250 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

7/41: Name: *Namavali*/Upper religious drape; Material: Silk, 15/18 dn, metallic yarn; Length: 2.60 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Mukund Lal Selat, Varanasi district

7/42: Name: *Phekwan do rukha motichoor tanchoi* Odhni/Reversible through-shuttle woven, bird's-eye patterned upper drape; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn, 2 ply; Length: 2.75 m; Width: 1.35 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Shri Mukund Lal Selat, Varanasi

7/43; 7/44: Name: *Phekwan namavali*/Through shuttle woven religious upper drape for Bengal; Material: Silk, 20-22 dn; Length: 2.05 2.25 m; Width: 0.95-1.50 m; Weight: 380-600 gm; Courtesy: Shri C.L. Bharany, New Delhi

7/45; 7/46: Name: *Phekwan katarwan* sari/Through-shuttle woven cutwork sari; Material: Silk warp, 15/16 dn; Cotton weft, 80 s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Indian Textile Company, New Delhi

गोनई ते दोश गुणलेशो ना पाओनी
सव तूहू करबी विचार

The eye of judgement
Sees only vices not virtues
See only to enjoy and understand...
– Vidyapati, Bhakti poet, sixteenth century

Bihar

The reality of Bihar is deceptive, for it reflects too many stereotypical images: the apparent confusion, the lack of interest, and a pace that is hard to change. Yet, it was this very state that revealed some of the most crucial clues to the unique genius and possibilities within a low investment economy. Limited skills created a subtle yet stunning range of textiles, colour balances and a coherent aesthetic in each of its regional contexts. Bihar saris tell the story of texture rather than pattern, except in the case of the *baavanbuti* saris of central Bihar (8/21, pg 165). The texture is built up with varying densities in body, borders and end-pieces, even without the added element of handspun cottons. In the largely hand reeled tussar range with limited exploration of self patterning, the beauty lies in the texture with dense warp striping interspersed with missing warps; ingeniously heavily plied in all cases. Not that this became clear simply with the passage of time, for only with the archaeologist's skill could one fathom all that lay beneath the surface.

Bihar is blessed by nature either all too generously, or far too subtly. Long-time residents tend to take it for granted or do not perceive its potential; considering it unworthy of being developed or enhanced in any way. This attitude baffles as much as it provokes the worldly-wise who happen to visit, by accident or intent, Bihar today. Bihar leaves no one unaffected, for it has an insidious way of altering one's perception, most certainly of itself and of its relation with other regions of the country.

For centuries it had been the silent, rich hinterland in the grip of feudal lords, as wealthy, if not more than its very few maharajas. The large majority of its population has lived on the very brink of survival, at least for the last two hundred years.

The River Ganga, cutting through the heart of Bihar, is now entirely north of the dividing line between Bihar and the state of Jharkhand created in 2000; the latter comprising a majority of the tribal districts. However, as they were researched in 1989 as a single entity, they are being presented as a single chapter in this book. The Ganga provided the main trade route for a wide variety of goods including indigo, grain, muslin and tussar silk in the form of running fabrics, turban cloths and saris. This trade was the main source of wealth for the *zamindars* (landlords). Recognizing its immense trade potential, the British gradually brought vast areas under their direct control. By 1720, they had set up their first factory at Patna 'for the purchase of excellent calico and the working of raw silk into skeins.'

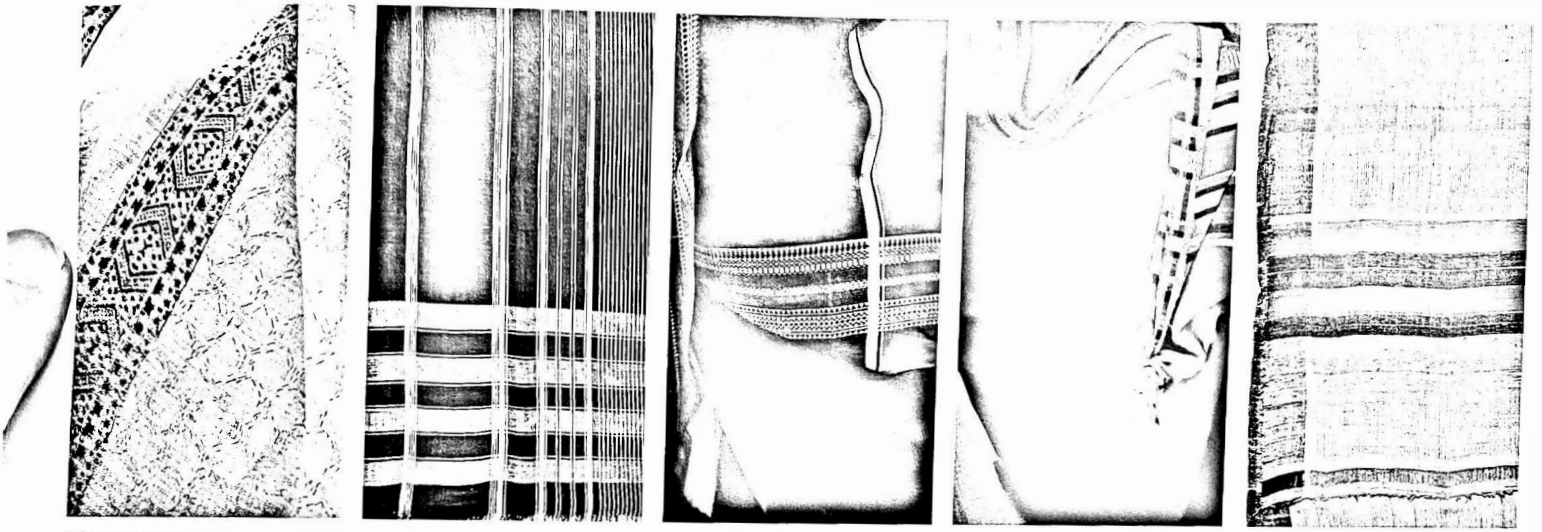
Mismanagement, collecting of grain for troops stationed at various places, lack of governance, administrative disorder, social insecurity, economic decline, and abuse of private trade by the company's servants, was the order of the day. Bihar was hit by one of its worst famines in 1769-70, losing 'one-third of the inhabitants in the plentiful province of Purnea,' and the company 'turned the public distress into a source of private profit.'

Administrative reforms were initiated by Warren Hastings in 1772. He appointed local *diwans* and *naib diwans* for revenue collection, and conciliated *zamindars* with incomes and titles of Raja, or defeated them outright. Despite several revolts in the tribal tracts (now in Jharkhand), an agent was finally appointed for the Ranchi region in 1834, and final reforms were seen in the wake of the 1857 revolt.

Bihar, Bengal and Orissa remained one administrative unit until 1912, with collectors and

Fertile ground for Lotus and Phoolmakhana.

NEPAL
UTTAR PRADESH
WEST BENGAL
CHHATTISGARH
ORISSA
N
BIHAR
JHARKHAND
WEST CHAMPARAN
EAST CHAMPARAN
SITAMARHI
MADHUBANI
SHIVHAR
MUZAFFARPUR
SUPAUL
ARARIA
KISHANGANJ
DARBHANGA
MADHEPURA
SARAN
VAISHALI
SAMASTIPUR
KOSHI
PURNIA
KATIHAR
BUXAR
BHOJPUR
PATNA
KHAGARIA
BEGUSARAI
NALANDA
BHABHUA
JAHANABAD
ROHTAS
AURANGABAD
LUCKEESARAI
SHEKHPURA
MUNGER
BHAGALPUR
SAHIBGANJ
BANKA
JAMUI
GODDA
GAYA
NAWADA
PAKUR
GARWA
PALAMU
KODARMA
GIRIDIH
DEOGHAR
DUMKA
CHATRA
HAZARIBAG
JAMTARA
LATEHAR
BOKARO
DHANBAD
LOHARDAGA
RANCHI
GUMLA
SARAIKELA KHARSAWAN
SIMDEGA
PASHCHIM SINGBHUM
PURBI SINGHBHUM
Motia/Khadi saris
Dyed, Fabric-Resist and Printed saris
Embroidered accessories
Plain Multicoloured Striped and Checked/Extra Warp Patterned
Plain Multicoloured Striped and Checked with Extra Weft
Baavanbuti- Cotton saris with Extra Warp and Weft
Tussar Silk saris
Tribal saris- Striped and Checked
Tribal saris with three-shuttle and Extra Weft



Left to Right: COARSE COTTON – MOTIA: **(8/10)** *Printed khadi sari;* MEDIUM COUNT COTTON: **(8/19)** Pataani kaapa/*Multicoloured stripe upper drape;* **(8/25)** Ek nakshi paar neela sari/*Extra-warp patterned border sari;* **(8/21)** Baavanbuti chain kinar/*Fifty-two motif body, chain patterned border sari;* TUSSAR SILK: **(8/26)** Maldehi sari/*Tussar gold colour body sari.*

commissioners being appointed by Lord Cornwallis, Viceroy of India. This was the backdrop of the period of free trade and the rise of missionaries who came in the wake of this development.

All through this period of turmoil and decline, the *zamindar* retained the economic edge. He stood to gain by this direct foreign trade connection and became the main local instrument in integrating Bihar's economy with that of the rest of the country. By the late nineteenth century, he had made available the infrastructure for the introduction of Lancashire yarns that began to replace the handspun varieties. Mill yarns were in fact, a stepping stone for the large-scale introduction of mill-made fabrics that hit the unornamented sari production areas in the first quarter of the twentieth century, slowly making inroads into other areas as well. By the time of our visit in 1987-88, the devastation had been enormous, yet there were some encouraging possibilities worthy of exploration and development.

We are told of a glorious past, of the great kingdoms of the Mauryas (300 BC) and the Guptas, and much later, the Tughlaqs and the Lodhis, and finally the Mughals (AD 1500-1700). These mighty empires may well have been realities in the past, but there is not a shadow of their magnificence left in the present. Therefore, our search and our senses were tuned to the premise of reality being inextricably linked to the last two hundred years. We were able to seek out at least in description, if not in actual samples, some of the fabrics of that period that can be woven today.

The range of Bihar saris and fabrics is not well-understood, partly because these saris have not been produced since the 1930s and '40s, and partly because they were never sold or marketed outside their production area (except along specific trade routes that have dried up altogether along with the local market). Yet, the wide sweep of Bihar, touching Nepal on its northern border, West Bengal on the eastern, and Uttar Pradesh on the western, reveals a distinct range of saris.

MOTIA/ KHADI SARIS; DYED, FABRIC-RESIST AND PRINTED SARIS

Varieties of plain, textured and coloured cotton saris dominate the north of the Ganga belt, sometimes combined with printing and fabric-resist (see 8/8 and 8/9; pg 169) for special occasions (8/10; handspun by Kasturba Gandhi for Late Smt. Sharad Machwe). There seems to have been a preoccupation with the plain fabric; either left in its natural unbleached state, functionally very useful for continuous wearing and washing, or dyed (8/6, 8/7; pg 169). In the urban areas, the *dhobi* (washerman) would sometimes dye the fabric in fugitive, non-fast colour giving it a new life each time it went for a wash. The sari was therefore, referred to as *dhoti* or plain fabric embellished only with colour.

The plain-coloured saris were of handspun-hand woven fabrics, usually in coarse count, known as *motia*. The *motia* started to lose ground to mill yarn, but it was still hand woven till the early twentieth century, when it gave way entirely to mill made fabrics. The unique drape of handspun saris with or without print (see example above left); with a range from coarse to fine muslin, served as all season and all-purpose wear, from the informality of home wear to formal occasions.

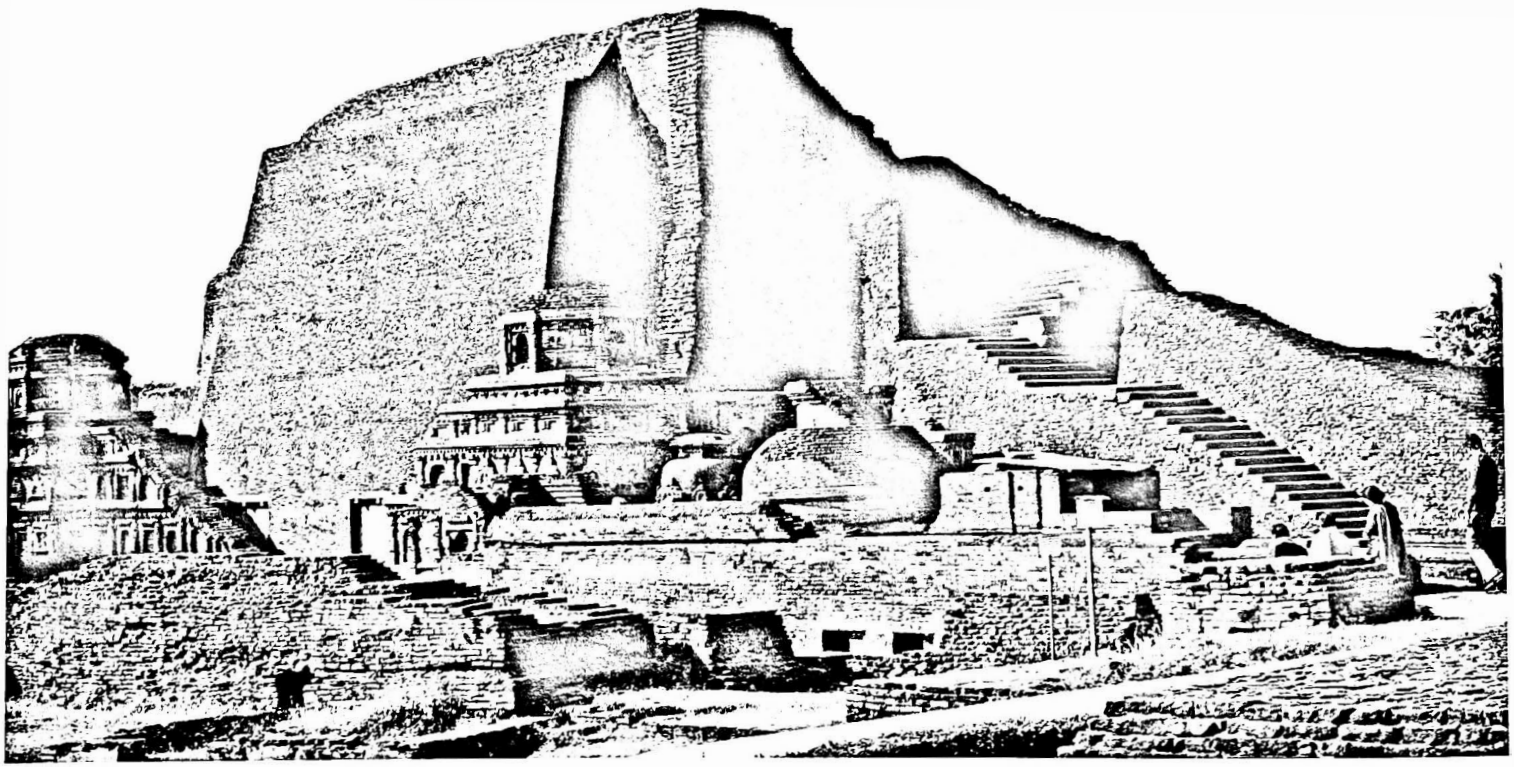
EMBROIDERED ACCESSORIES

Elaborate surface ornamentation was restricted to bright and multi-coloured embroideries in the *jhula* (blouse) (8/17) often worn long, hanging over the waist-end of the sari, matched only by a similarly adorned fold over bag. This was complemented by a rich sense of jewellery, often being silver in rural areas. It is the stark simplicity of this wide expanse of plain colour, highlighted only by these two elements, which provides some insight into the regional aesthetic.

PLAIN, MULTICOLOURED, STRIPED AND CHECKED/ EXTRA WARP PATTERNED

Bihar's easternmost region, consisting of the districts of Purnia and Katihar, moves from plain colour to a wide variety of stripes and checks (8/19), with limited warp patterning (8/24, pg 170); transforming the colour palette from bright to deep colours that are shared by the adjoining district of Dinajpur in West Bengal.

(8/17) Jhula/*Embroidered blouse.*



An excavation site at Nalanda University.

This colour sensibility in the medium 40s and 60s counts stretches across the Ganga to the south, into the districts of Sahibganj, Godda and Dumka in Jharkhand state. The stripe and check range of eastern Bihar may not be comparable to other states in India in terms of its numerous variations but it is the originality of its colour and texture combinations that make it stand out.

BAAVANBUTI – COTTON SARIS WITH EXTRA WARP AND WEFT

As we travel into south-central Bihar, especially in the district of Nalanda, we find the appearance of ornamentation on the body and *aanchal* (end-piece), as well as in the borders in the form of the *baavanbuti* (52 motifs in body sari; 8/21, pg 165) sari worn on special occasions. The plain-coloured *motia* continued as everyday apparel with plain, contrasting borders. The *baavanbuti* saris were most common gifts of exchange between individuals and families on all occasions through the year, till the 1960s. If one didn't receive a *baavanbuti* on a certain occasion it was said; '*kuchh na bheji kam se kam baavanbuti to bhej deti*' (these people haven't sent anything, not even a *baavanbuti*).

SILK – TUSSAR SARIS

To the south, appears the rich tussar silk-weaving area in the districts of Bhagalpur, Gaya and Nawada, with a range of plain, undyed tussars and brightly-coloured, striped and checked tussars; plain and textured with extra weft ornamentation in the end-piece and simple, heald-lifted patterns in the borders. The prime examples of these are the *maldehi* and *laldehi* saris (8/26, 8/27; pg 171).

With its limited design directory of fishes, birds, conch shells, temples, mosques and peacocks; mostly used in the end piece, it was well known and appreciated in central Bihar for its weighty texture, colour combinations and gaiety.

The weavers described a great number of self textured saris with stripes and checks of varying density, by name and colour combinations. When the question of possibly weaving them again came up, they seemed to be caught in the vice like grip of agents and producers, who controlled and determined what they were weaving. It was only after the design directory of the tussar saris was given to the Berozgaar Mahila Sansthan near Bhagalpur that some sari development was initiated in the area.

Of the four regional types, described above, at least two; the embroideries and tussar saris have seen some revival in recent years on the eastern edge of Bihar, while the northern, western and central regions have seen a general decline. Significantly, these regions of neglect had the greatest access to the River Ganga trade route, and it is there that the traditional sari lost out to its mill counterpart in the first half of the twentieth century. This is plausible, for the *zamindars* had access not only to the elite products of India, such as the Banaras brocades or the Bengal *baluchar* brocades, but also to fabrics imported by the East India Company. The *zamindars* also became the conduit for the supply of Lancashire yarn, and in time, of mill cloths, which hit the unornamented sari and the handloom weaver the most. It is significant that today, the largest of the three neglected belts with the barest semblance of production, belongs to the plain *motia* sari.

It is in this belt that Mahatma Gandhi saw the relevance of khadi, which was in fact *motia* reborn under

the aegis of the freedom movement, and which benefited by the creation of an all-India market for handspun/hand-woven saris and fabrics. Although khadi survives in large tracts, especially in north Bihar, it has lost its economic rationale due to the artificial support provided by government subsidy (which can do no more than ensure a survival wage) on the one hand, and on the other, by the upgrading of its spinning technology. The uniformity of yarn being churned out today by the semi-mechanized *ambar charkha* and its ongoing development has made khadi a stepbrother of handlooms, for in quality and price it is now virtually competing with mill-yarn hand-wovens (commonly referred to as handloom fabrics), instead of holding on to its distinctive handspun/hand-woven quality and price-line in the open market.

This is not the only anachronism we came across in Bihar. There were many instances of strange developments that were as provocative as the 'no development' circumstance, which we often encountered. In fact, one of the abiding concerns throughout our sojourn in Bihar was the near-total absence of attempts either to recognize the raw and fertile genius of this vast belt as expressed in its saris, or to find or invent modern markets for them.

Instead, in a prime example in Nepura village (Nalanda district), in the heart of the tussar weaving belt, we find weavers have all but forgotten their sari range. While they are willing to make samples from memory, they are unable to invest even in a single sari without the intervention of the middleman/silk supplier/trader all-in-one, who fulfils not only the positive aspects of these roles, but is also the cause of their perpetual penury. It is his business to keep the weavers at his mercy, which he cannot do if their economic or social conditions were to improve. While we sit in the hut of a small-time weaver realizing the full import of what is being said, and what is not; a member of the team is whisked away on some pretext of urgent enquiry, to the *kothi*, a cement-and-concrete palace of someone who is referred to as '*maharaja*' (king) in hushed tones. A few minutes after her disappearance, we go out in search of her and are likewise led into the audience chamber of the *kothi*, where all the minions are seated on the floor along the three walls and our colleague has been graciously granted a chair. One of us, who commits the unforgivable faux pas of sitting on the cement-sculpted platform seat on the fourth and yet empty side, is hurriedly told that this is the '*Maharaja sahib*'s throne'.

The *Maharaja sahib* soon appears from the inner sanctum, dressed in starched white; an apparition amidst the dusty countenances of his audience, gracing the public with his presence. He is soon parleying in soft tones about the product we 'must see' if we have come to 'his' area. An air of expectancy and hushed silence descends as a pile of plastic-wrapped saris are brought in. And what do we find in the heart of this tussar-rich belt? An attempt, financed and promoted by the *Maharaja sahib*, to have Bengal *baluchar* look-alikes woven in mulberry silk of questionable quality, masked by an over-starched finish. How does one escape an obvious social cinch without upsetting the applecart altogether?

In order to make them see that the point of our search lies in another direction, that every regional product has its own criteria of design and quality, would take us the good part of the day. It would also require the greatest dexterity so that our personal credentials remain above board, without giving the slightest hint of rival vested interests. If we upset the *Maharaja sahib*, we have no hope of further contact with the village. We spend the next half-hour gently extricating ourselves from the audience chamber back to the weavers, from where our colleague had been called away in the first place.

Although detailed orders were placed with co-operative societies and individual weavers for 47 sari types at various destinations in the journey, only seven were received, and this is where it becomes necessary to understand the reality of Bihar's circumstance. The clue to the social constrictions in economic development in the state lies in this web of relationships that do not permit growth beyond the permitted levels of the state-sponsored or privately owned mafia-like nexus. Most of the samples that came were the work of individual weavers who were able to raise the funds for raw materials themselves, and did not have to depend on another person or agency for capital. Living outside Bihar, one can never realize how few weavers in the state are still able to do this. Nor can one realise the abysmal levels at which people survive both in and out of the weaving profession. In Jamalhatha village (Siwan district), we came across weavers who were being paid Rs 8-17 for the making of an entire mosquito net, while the wholesale rate for it was Rs 22-30. Tailors were paid 25 paise for stitching a complete net, which included the cost of thread as well.

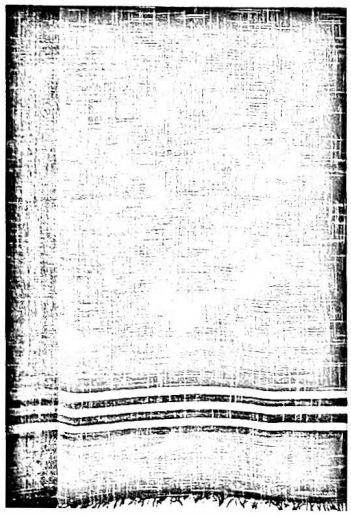
With such ground realities, one would have expected to see much less than what one finally did. Despite vast shifts of population out of the profession, there is still a sizeable number employed in it, and they are capable of much more than what they are presently doing.

If one looks for extraordinary display of skill, one is likely to be disappointed. This is an area of quiet undergrowth, frugality and silent inventiveness within the limitations of economy and circumstance. There is a raw energy here that is as stunningly effective, as coherent and as subtle, as whatever one may choose to compare it with.

The fact that Bihar is a cotton-growing (especially natural-brown cotton) and silk-rearing area cannot be overlooked. Its inherited capabilities for hand-spinning and weaving are its greatest assets, though its consistent neglect, poor production mechanisms and market systems have caused havoc. Yet, the potential is obvious, as can be seen in the instances of the few organizations initiated by individuals who have worked despite difficult circumstances: the Berozgar Mahila Kalyan Sansthan in the Bhagalpur area, to whom a whole design range was given from this project; and 'Aditi' and the Mahila Vikas Sahyog Samiti in Patna and north Bihar region. These are the few NGOs that have provided support to the hand-spinning/weaving and artisanal sector, and shown that it can be a profitable, self-sustaining vocation. Infact, it is basic integrity and honesty that are sorely missed in the Bihar landscape, or else there would have been many more active NGOs in this state so richly endowed by nature, if not by human effort.

हाट हन्डीशय	*O Tanti, dear Tanti, Tanti by name*
उपार कुली तान्ती	*Weave me a sari,*
नामो कुली तान्ती	*no ordinary one*
भालो कापोर निबो तान्ती	*but your best*
डबल दाम दिबो गो	*I will pay double,*
सिमसान्डी बोएला देबो	*if it comes out well!*
बोना देबोगो	– Santhali song

1 COTTON



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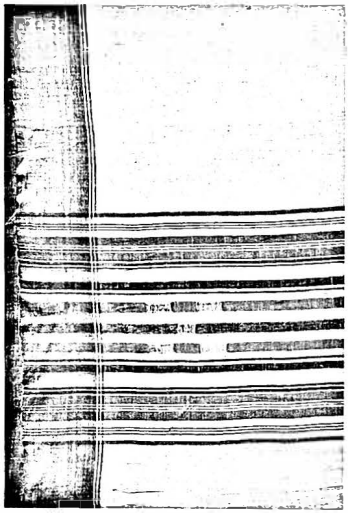

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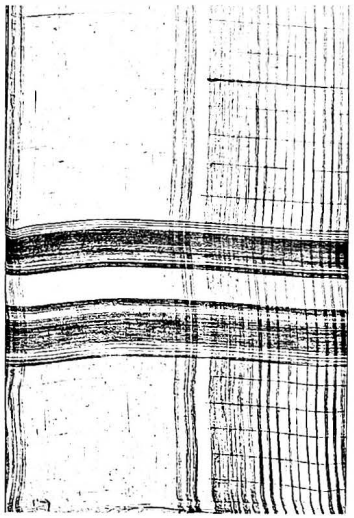

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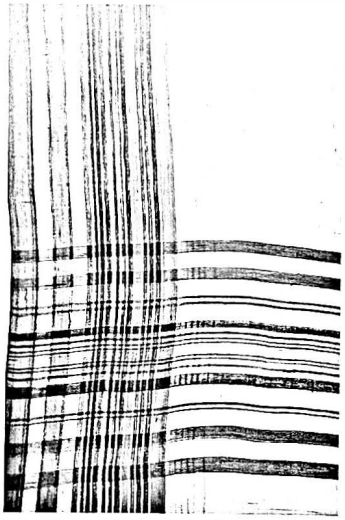

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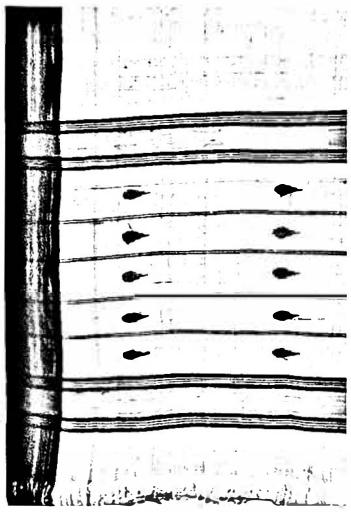

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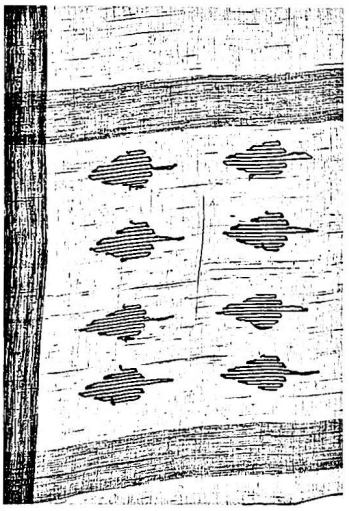
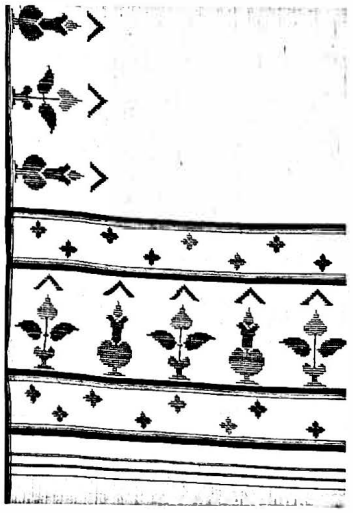


8/4A



8/5

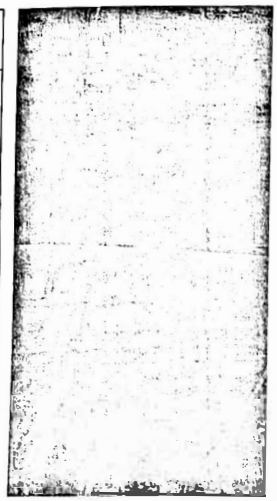
8/1: Name: *Bijli sari*/Lightning-effect sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.60 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Mirzapur, Bhagalpur district
8/2: Name: *Jamui* sari/Sari from Jamui; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Jamui, Jamui district
8/2A: Dharidar kinar sari/Border stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 100s;Length: 5.30m; Width: 1.20m; Weight: 350gm; Courtesy: Late Smt. Vanmala Desai, New Delhi

8/3: Name: *Doriadaar kinar* sari/Multiple-band border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Late Smt. Sharad Machwe, New Deihi
8/4: Name: *Patta kinar* sari/Plain border extra weft patterned endpiece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 350 gm; Courtesy: Late Smt. Sharad Machwe, New Delhi

8/4A: *Patta Kinar sari* Plain border sari; Material: Cotton 80s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Late Smt. Sharad Machwe, New Delhi
8/5: Name: *Phool buta* sari/Flower-motif extra weft patterned sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Late Smt. Sona Devi Gupta, New Delhi

● Dyed, fabric-resist and printed

2 COTTON



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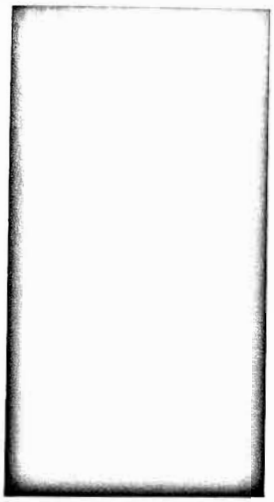

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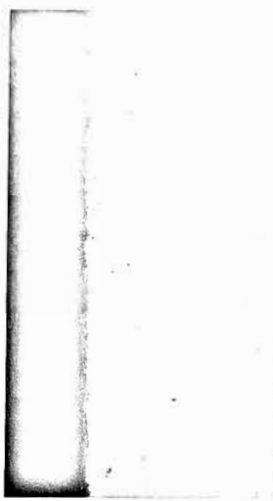

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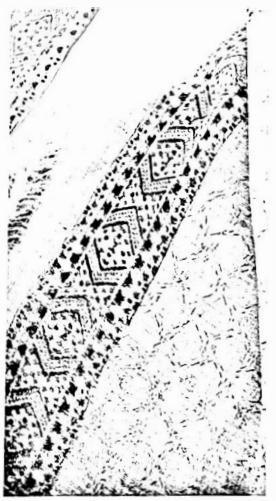
8/9

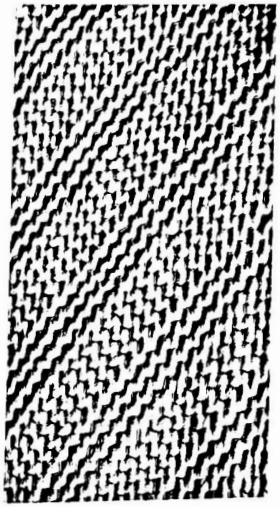


8/10

■ Embroidered accessories

3 COTTON

8/11



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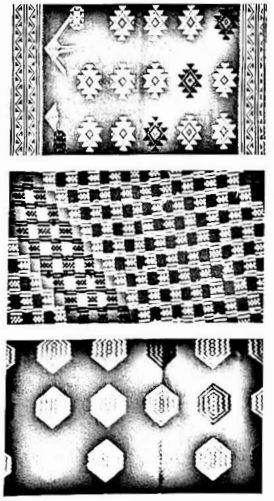


8/13, 8/14, 8/15

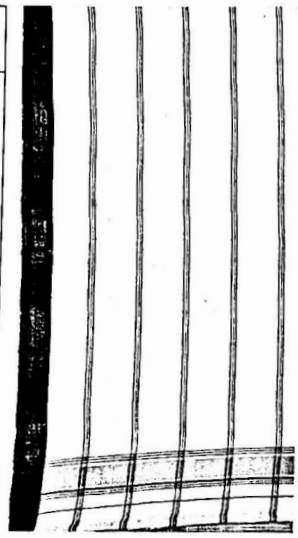
8/16

8/17

8/6; 8/7: Name: *Saadi dhoti*/Plain coloured sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.42 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 175 gm; Origin: Darbhanga, Darbhanga district
8/8: Name: *Do rangia dhoti*/Double-coloured sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.42 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 180 gm; Origin: Darbhanga, Darbhanga district
8/9: Name: *Chunari*/Fabric-resist veil; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.20 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 225 gm; Origin: Jamalhatha, Siwan district
8/10: Name: *Chhapi dhoti*/Printed handspun sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 375 gm; Courtesy: Late Smt. Sharad Machwe, New Delhi
8/11: *Sujni*/Multi-layered embroidery; Origin: Bhaisdiara, Katihar district
8/12: *Sujni*/Multi-layered embroidery; Origin: Bhaisdiara, Katihar district
8/13, 8/14, 8/15: Hand embroidered accessories; Origin: Bhaisdiara, Katihar district
8/16: *Jhula*/Embroidered blouse; Courtesy: Crafts Museum, New Delhi
8/17: *Jhula*/Embroidered blouse; Courtesy: Crafts Museum, New Delhi

▼ Plain, multicoloured striped and checked/ Extra warp patterned

4 COTTON



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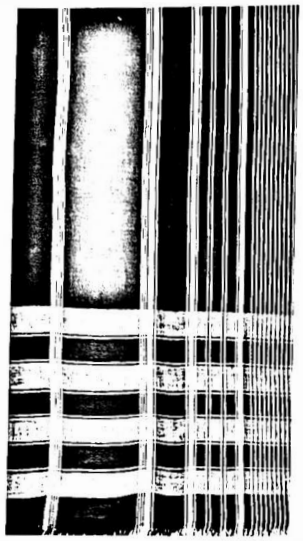

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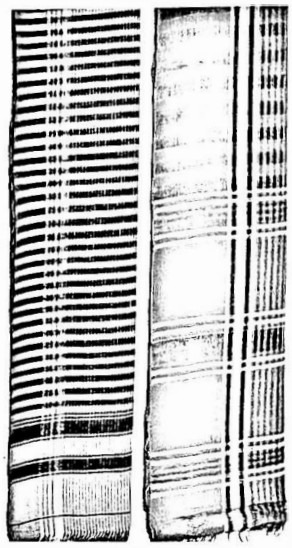

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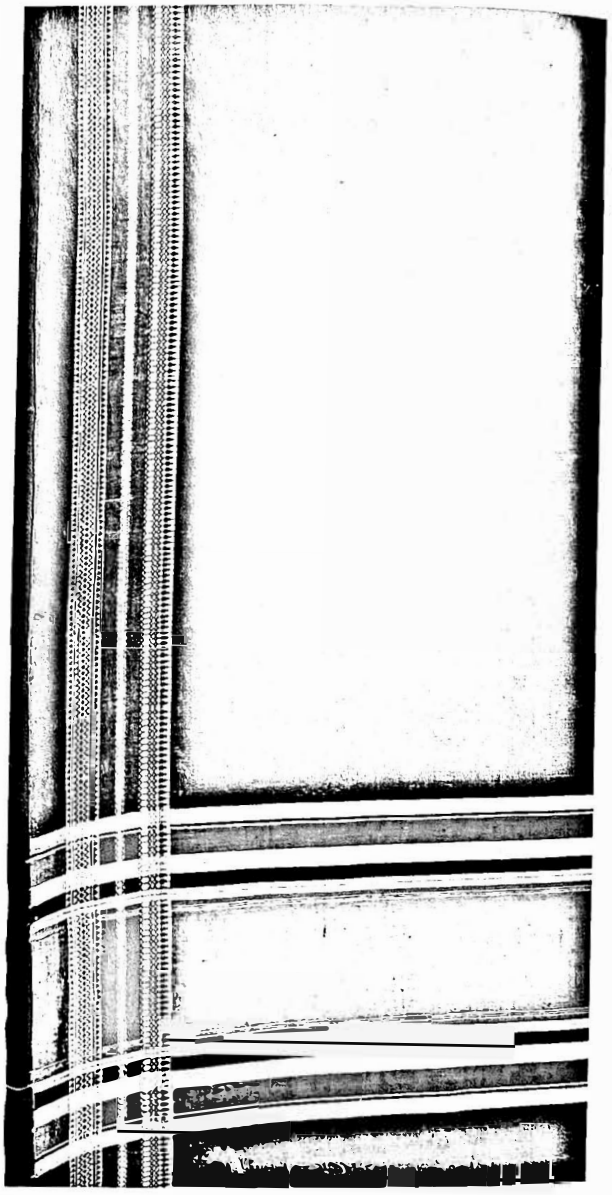
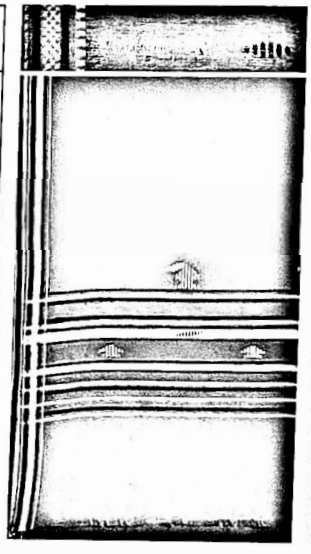


8/25

■ *Baavanbuti* – Saris with extra warp and weft

6 COTTON



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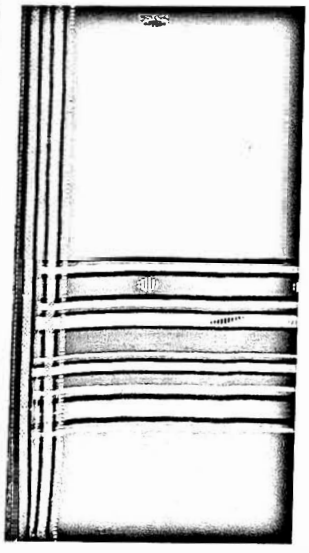

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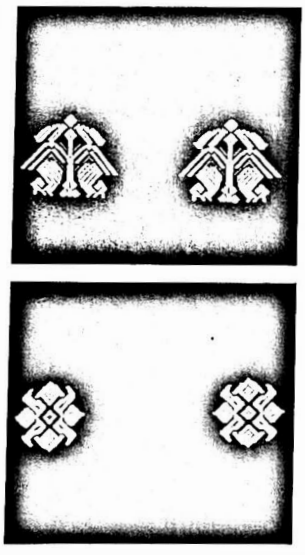


8/23; 8/24

8/18: Name: *Ek kaapa ujala*/White-ground drape; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 1.92 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 250 gm; Origin: Charkhi, Katihar district

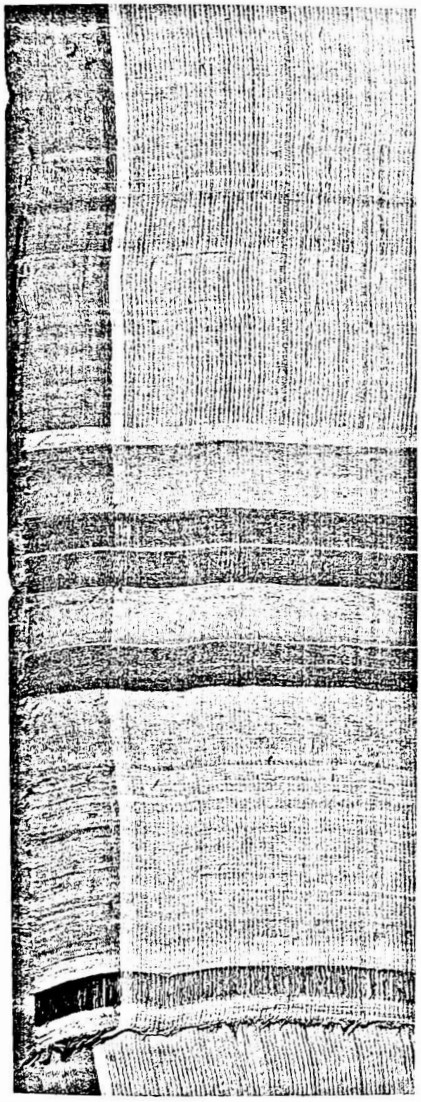
8/19: Name: *Pataani kaapa*/Upper drape; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 1.50 m; Width: 1 m; Weight: 150 gm; Origin: Dalkola, Purnia district

8/20: Name: *Gamchha*/Upper drape; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 1.45-1.70 m; Width: 0.70-0.75 m; Weight: 75-125 gm; Origin: Dalkola, Purnia district

8/21: Name: *Baavanbuti chain kinari*/Fifty-two motif chain patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.70 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Basavan Bigha, Nalanda district

8/22; 8/23; 8/24: Name: *Baavanbuti sada kinari*/Fifty two motif plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.68 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Basavan Bigha, Nalanda district

8/25: Name: *Ek nakshi paar neela* sari/Extra-warp patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.55 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Charkhi, Katihar district



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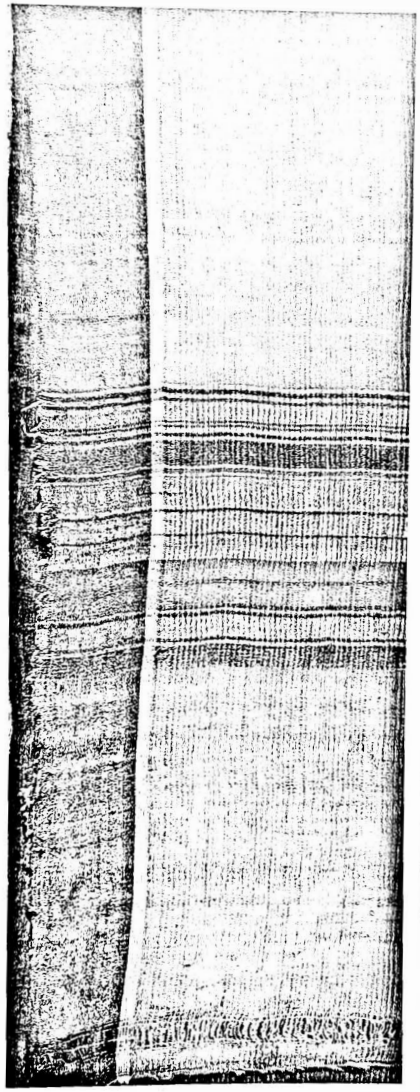

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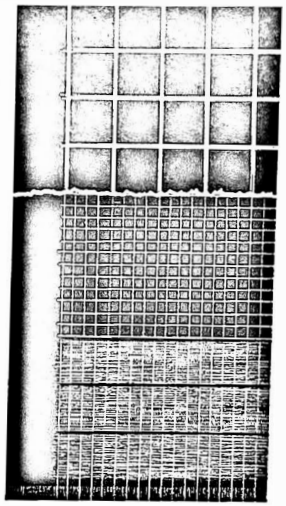
8/28



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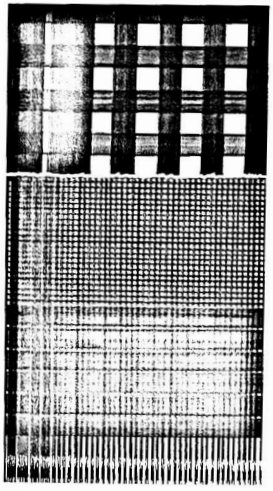

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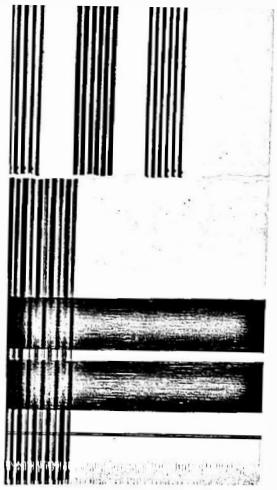


8/31

8/26: Name: *Maldehi* sari/Tussar gold body sari; Material: Tussar, 10 cocoon; Length: 5.64 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Manpur, Gaya district
8/27: Name: *Laldehi* sari/Red body sari; Material: Tussar, 10 cocoon; Length: 4.54 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Manpur, Gaya district

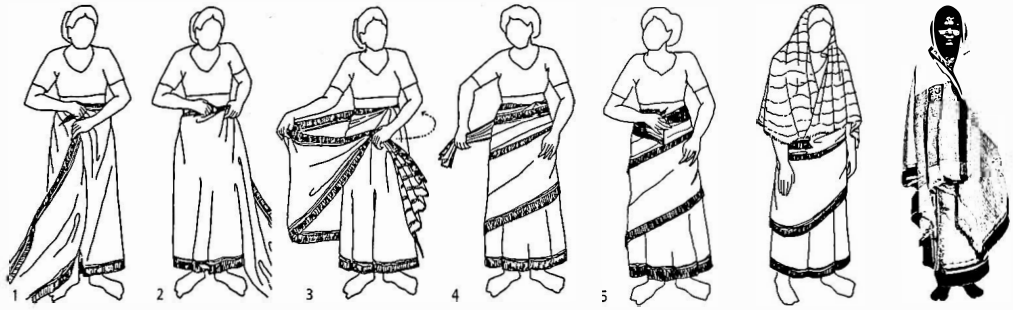
8/28: Name: *Patta kinar tussar* sari/Plain border tussar sari; Material: Tussar, 8 cocoon; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 320 gm; Origin: Purain, Bhagalpur district
8/29: Name: *Tabija*/Big-check body sari

8/30: Name: *Mataria*/Fine-check body sari
8/31: Name: *Paarwala*/Stripe border, plain body sari

WEARING STYLES – BIHAR

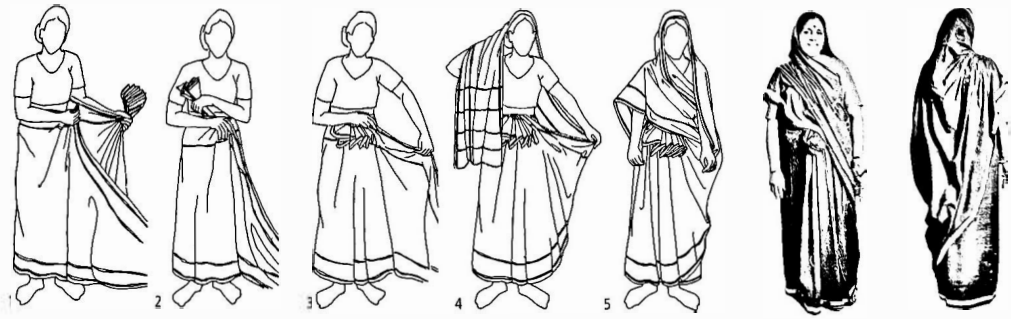
STYLE 1: MUNGER/Central Bihar style

STYLE 2: EAST CHAMPARAN/West Bihar style



STYLE 3: PURNIA/Northeast Bihar style

STYLE 4: MADHUBANI/North Bihar style



STYLE 1: MUNGER/Central Bihar style
LENGTH: 5.2 yd/ 4.70 m
WORN BY: Rural and urban communities
AREA: Central Bihar

1. Bring inner end-piece around waist clockwise and hold in with right hand.
2. Bring outer end-piece over head over right shoulder, back to front, anticlockwise.
3. Make pleats of remaining loose portion of sari.
4. Tie knot with gathered pleats and inner end-piece at centre front waist.
5. Adjust outer end-piece over head. (Bring left corner of outer end-piece over left shoulder.)

STYLE 2: EAST CHAMPARAN/West Bihar style
LENGTH: 5.2 yd/ 4.70 m
WORN BY: Rural community
AREA: West Bihar

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Tuck in free end-piece at left waist.

3-5. Wrap free end-piece completely around waist anticlockwise. Tuck in at left waist.

NOTE: A separate drape is taken to cover the upper half.

STYLE 3: PURNIA/Northeast Bihar style
LENGTH: 5 yd/ 4.55 m
WORN BY: Rural community
AREA: Northeast Bihar

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist anticlockwise and tie knot/tuck in at left waist.
2. Bring free end-piece to right waist and tuck in.
3. Bring outer end-piece under left arm, over head, and across right shoulder back to front.
4. Bring outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise.
5. Tuck in outer end-piece at front left waist.

STYLE 4: MADHUBANI/North Bihar style
LENGTH: 5.2 yd/ 4.70 m
WORN BY: Rural community
AREA: North Bihar

1. Make four to five pleats of inner end-piece.

2-3. Wrap free end-piece over gathered pleats, tuck in left waist. Show gathers falling outwards.

4-5. Bring end-piece over head and right shoulder. Tuck left corner of outer end-piece in left waist.

युग बदली तन् *It is the age of change*
आदिवासी बदिलीन मे, *Change, O Adivasi*
बदली युग रे *In this age of change*
आदिवासी केटे एन में *Hold your own, Adivasi.*

Gundra Munda, twentieth century poet

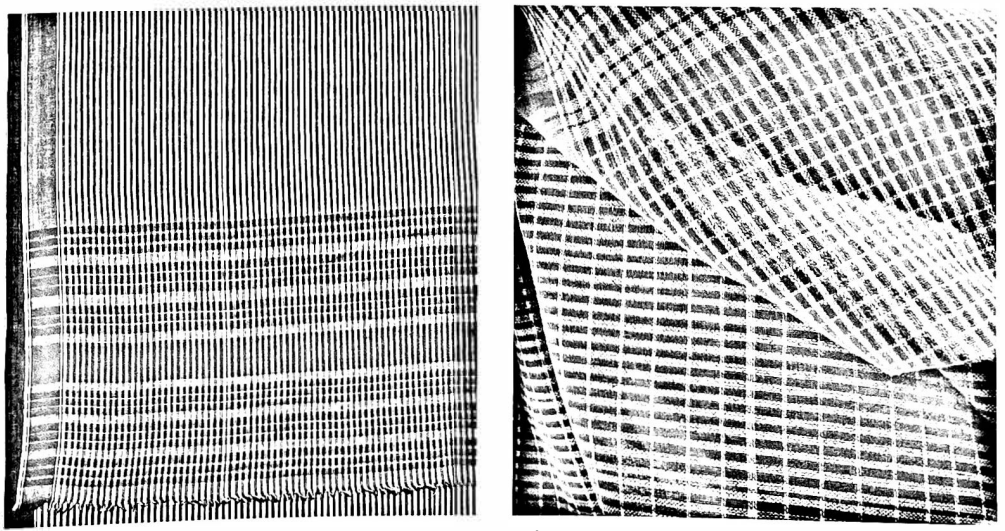
Jharkhand

Jharkhand was formed to integrate the tribal districts south of the River Ganga, of what was originally Bihar; an attempt to make the area more manageable and focused on tribal development. It is an area rich in minerals and mines, and has seen some significant development mainly due to the Bokaro Steel Plant at its eastern end. Dhanbad is the centre of a coal belt, though it has not benefited adequately from its own mining industry. The central region is rich in forest resources as well as weaving capabilities. Unfortunately, its traditional textiles, inextricably linked to their tribal origins, have suffered disdainful neglect. The only institutions that have shown some interest in the weaves are run by missionaries such as the Xavier Institute, which has reproduced elements from the sari patterns into home furnishing products and fabrics.

Jharkhand shares its tribal legacy of geometric patterns with other tribal regions in India and possibly with Southeast Asia as well. Though its traditional weaves consist mainly of coarse and medium count cottons, the southernmost districts have provided fertile ground for the rearing of tussar silk as well. Tussar silk has largely not been woven locally and there has been a limited attempt to initiate this in the eastern district of Godda, through the efforts made by Pradan, one of the few successful NGO's in the region. Apart from the weaving of running fabrics marketed in India and abroad, it has taken an interest in developing a sari range akin to the saris developed by the Berozgaar Mahila Sansthan, Bhagalpur (Bihar), which has seen market success in the last eight years. The region's range of traditional saris may be described in the following categories:

COARSE COUNT

Tribal saris – Striped and checked: In the west and southwest, there are saris worn by other communities residing in the continuing tribal belt of Hazaribag, Ranchi and Palamu. This is essentially a range of red-and-white checks and stripes in coarse count, of which the *dwal* (8/4) and *mungia* (8/6) saris are prime examples. They were once worn by every community in the region and had a widespread market base. In fact, the elder Momin, Ansari and Tanti weavers recall a time when cotton was widely cultivated and weavers moved to a set number of villages, carrying their looms with them on their shoulders. They then installed them in the open to weave for their clientele.



TRIBAL SARIS - STRIPES AND CHECKS: **(8/4)** Dwal sari/*Stripe sari*; **(8/6)** Mungia sari/*Check sari.*

TRIBAL SARIS WITH THREE-SHUTTLE AND EXTRA WEFT: **(8/9)** Brampuri sari/*Sari for bride's mother;* PLAIN MULTICOLOURED STRIPED AND CHECKED WITH EXTRA WEFT: **(8/18)** Gyara haath sari/*Eleven cubit sari.*

Tribal saris with three-shuttle and extra weft: The tribal belt continues into the south-central region of Chhotanagpur comprising the districts of Ranchi, Palamu, Singhbhum, Hazaribag, Dhanbad, Gumla and Lohardaga which is home to most of the twenty nine tribes of Jharkhand. Amongst them, the Munda, Oraon, Kharia Sauria, Paharia and Santhal are the major groups. Saris woven by them, as well as the Swansis, Mehers and Chikbaraiks are the most elaborate low count cottons in the tribal belt with their three-shuttle, predominantly red/yellow borders and extra weft patterned end-pieces (see 8/9). This range puts Bihar directly in touch not only with the adjoining tribal belts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, but also with the tribal belt in the rest of India. The nature of its geometrical patterning is in direct communion with India's vast tribal area, which forms a kind of cross from north to south and east to west on the subcontinent.

Plain multicoloured striped and checked with extra weft: In the eastern districts of Dumka, Godda and Sahibganj, and Singhbhum in the south, there is a range of drapes that share the legacy of Katihar and Purnia (north of the Ganga), in the stripe and check range.

Towards the southeast, we find the tussar-rearing tribal belt of Singhbhum, which supplies raw material to the tussar weaving segment but essentially weaves medium and coarse count cotton saris with unusual combinations of colours in the body and borders (8/18).

There has been a visible decline in weaving in Jharkhand, and it certainly appears to be more interested in its industrial development than in its traditional skills. However, considering its general backwardness and the level from which it has made a start, handloom weaving and spinning could well provide a firm base for its future. The limited investment and resources required to sustain handlooms could be its greatest advantage.

लिजः बलोः होड़ों जेतन सुगड़ा बानोअः
राजा दुवर कयः सेने दड़िजः।

Is there beauty for the unclothed
who may never enter the palace?

– Sagu Munda, tribal revolutionary poet,
twentieth century

THE LEGEND OF HOW THE BARAIKS BECAME WEAVERS[1]

In Maharaja (king) Bairisal's kingdom, a poor Oraon who had gone fishing with his *kumni* (bamboo fishtrap), was compelled to go down the Koel river bed as the landowners refused to let him set his trap upstream. He came upon a *garha*, a pool that was considerably deeper than the rest of the river. Instead of fish there were only a number of stones there that day, of which he threw out all except one that was particularly big and bright, which he exchanged for some tobacco from a cunning trader who recognized the stone to be a real diamond. The trader offered it for sale to the Maharaja and was, in turn, asked how he had got the gem. He remained quiet, until the Maharaja ordered a pit to be dug and the trader to be buried alive therein. The truth was soon out and the Maharaja sent for the Oraon who narrated his entire story, ending with how he had thrown away the rest of the 'stones'. The Maharaja directed that every inch of the area be searched, and went with his retinue to supervise the work personally.

They searched and searched until one day the god Chintamon appeared in the Maharaja's dream and advised him to go down into the *garha* himself. Accordingly, the Maharaja went in while his men waited expectantly. He did not emerge for a long time till his men gave him up for lost. His kingdom was subsequently divided by the Baraiks and Konkopats (*mundas*) between themselves.

Seven days later, the Maharaja resurfaced with a *hira* or diamond, in one hand and a *hiri*[2] in the other. The Maharaja sent for the Baraiks and Konkopats. The Konkopats came, but the Baraiks would not believe that the Maharaja had re-appeared and thus refused to stir. The Maharaja got extremely annoyed with the Baraiks and issued orders for their elimination. Most were killed, but some saved themselves by taking shelter with weavers and adopting their profession so that their identity might not be discovered.

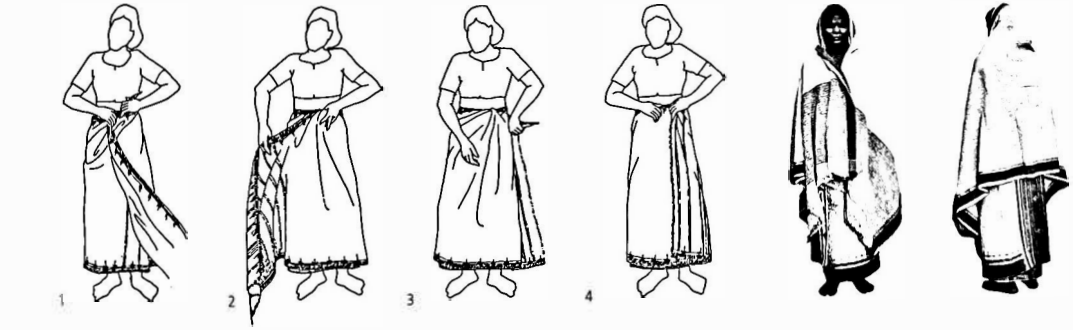
1. The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919, Vol-5, Part II to IV.

2. Tradition in Chhotanagpur ascribes gender to diamonds and draws a distinction between *hiras* as male diamonds and *hiris* as female diamonds.

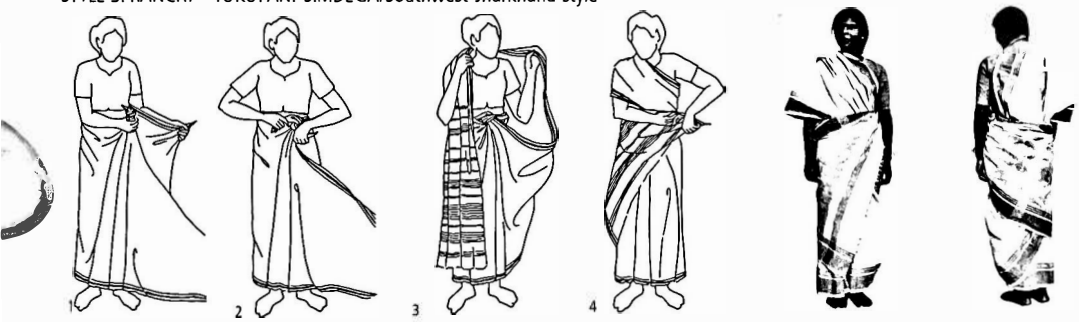
WEARING STYLES – JHARKHAND

STYLE: 1 SANTHAL PARGANA/Northeast Jharkhand style

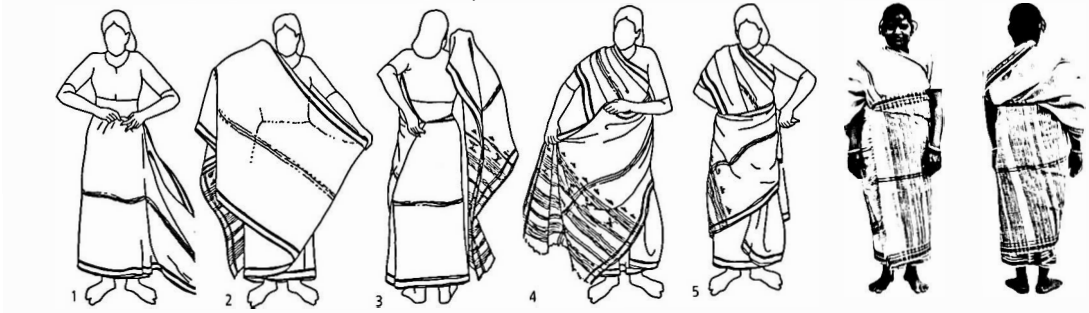
STYLE 2: RANCHI/Central Jharkhand style



STYLE 3: RANCHI – TUKUPANI SIMDEGA/Southwest Jharkhand style



STYLE 4: PALAMU MAHUADANR/West Jharkhand style



STYLE 1: SANTHAL PARGANA/Northeast Jharkhand style
LENGTH: 5 yd/ 4.6 m
WORN BY: Majhi, Kurmi and other tribes
AREA: Northeast Jharkhand

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise.
2. Tie knot at right waist and bring free end to left and tuck in.
3. Bring outer end-piece over right shoulder from back to front anticlockwise.
4. Bring both edges of outer end-piece to centre back waist from either side and tuck in.

STYLE 2: RANCHI/Central Jharkhand style
LENGTH: 5.3 yd/ 4.8 m
WORN BY: Bedia, Santar and other tribes
AREA: Central Jharkhand

1. Bring inner end-piece around waist anticlockwise and tie knot in front.
2. Tuck in free end-piece over knot at centre front waist.
3. Bring free end-piece around waist clockwise and tuck in at right waist.
4. Take outer end-piece back to left waist from back and tuck in at front waist.

STYLE 3: RANCHI – TUKUPANI SIMDEGA/ Southwest Jharkhand style
LENGTH: 5.3 yd/ 4.8 m
WORN BY: Santar, Bedia and other tribes
AREA: Southwest Jharkhand

1. Bring inner end-piece around waist clockwise and make three to four pleats with free end-piece.
2. Tie knot with gathered pleats and inner end-piece at centre front waist.
3. Gather outer end-piece and bring over right shoulder back to front anticlockwise.
4. Bring outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise and tuck left corner into left waist.

STYLE 4: PALAMU MAHUADANR/ West Jharkhand style
LENGTH: 5.5 yd/ 5 m
WORN BY: Majhi, Munda and other tribes
AREA: West Jharkhand

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist. Bring free end-piece to left and tuck in.

2. Hold upper border of free end with left hand and bring remaining sari over right shoulder front to back.
3. Bring held portion in left hand to centre back waist and tuck in.
4. Bring outer end-piece back to front clockwise.
5. Wrap outer end-piece completely around waist and tuck in at left waist.

STYLE 5: HAZARIBAG/North Jharkhand style
LENGTH: 5.5 yd/ 5 m
WORN BY: Munda, Ganju and other tribes
AREA: North Jharkhand

1. Bring inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at centre front waist.
2. Make four to five pleats in front with free end-piece.
3. Tuck in gathers at centre front waist.
4. Bring outer end-piece under left arm, overhead to right shoulder.
5. Hold both the corners of outer end-piece.

6-7. Bring to centre back and tie knot.

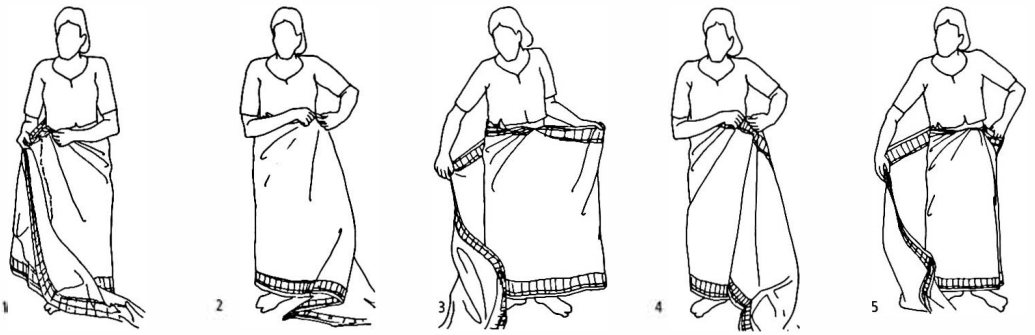
STYLE 6: RANCHI SAIKO/Central Jharkhand style
LENGTH: 5.5 yd/ 5 m
WORN BY: Santar, Bedia and other tribes
AREA: Central Jharkhand

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Bring free end-piece to left waist and gather diagonally.
3. Bring free end-piece to right waist anticlockwise and tuck in.
4. Make two to three diagonal pleats of free end-piece in front.
5. Tuck gathers at left waist and bring free end-piece to right waist anticlockwise.
6. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder.
7. Bring upper corner of outer end-piece to right shoulder from back to front.

STYLE 5: HAZARIBAG/North Jharkhand style

STYLE 6: RANCHI SAIKO/Central Jharkhand style

STYLE 6: VARIATION 1: RANCHI SAIKO/Central Jharkhand style



VARIATION 2:

VARIATION 1:

Stages 1-5 are common with Style 6

6. Drape outer end-piece over right shoulder back to front.
7. Bring free end-piece over left shoulder.

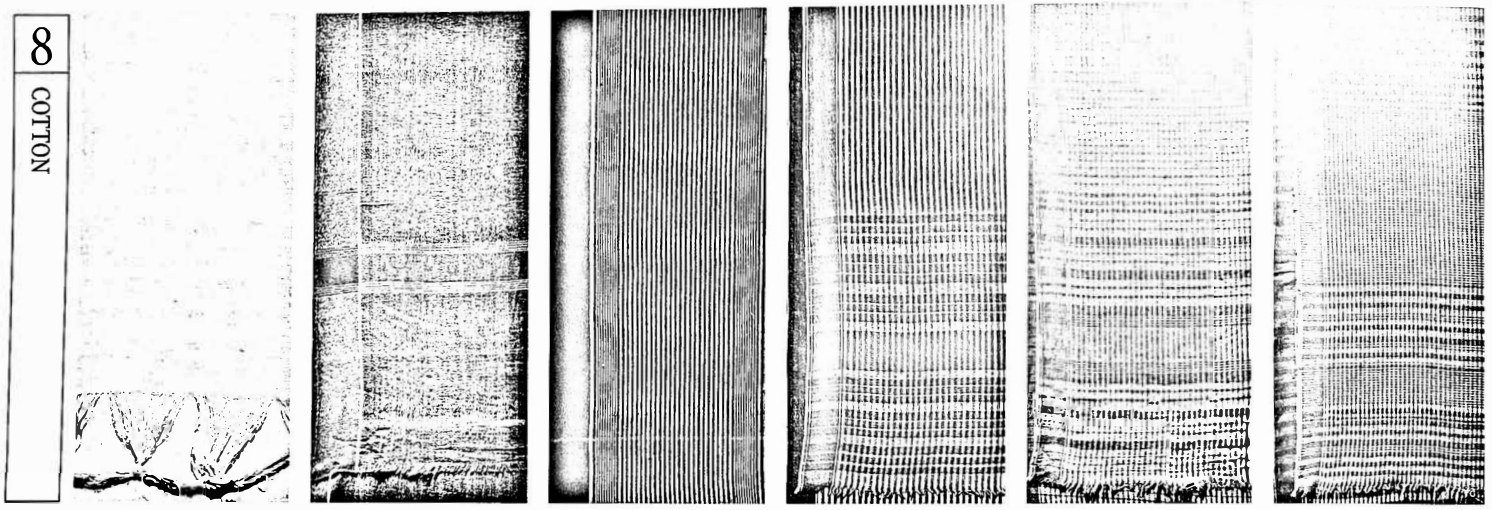
VARIATION 2:

Stages 1-5 are common with Style 6

6. Double-fold outer end-piece widthwise and wrap around waist.
7. Tuck end-piece into front left waist.

8 COTTON

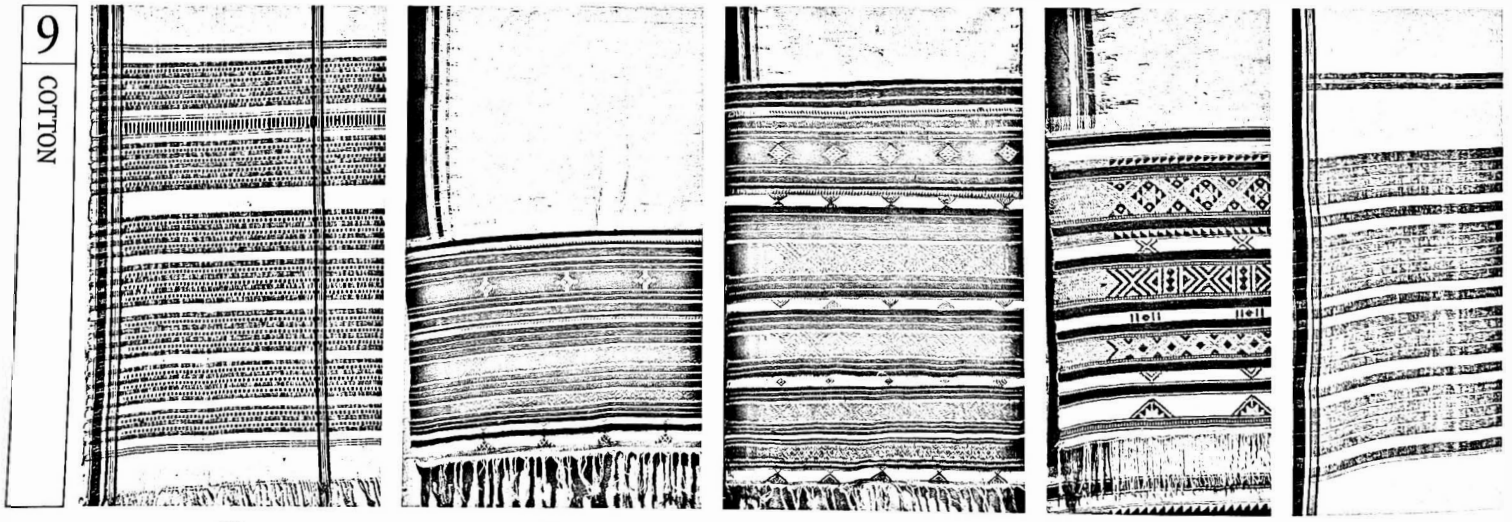
✣ Tribal saris – Striped and checked



8/1 8/2 8/3 8/4 8/5 8/6

9 COTTON

✣ Tribal saris with three-shuttle and extra weft



8/7 8/8 8/9 8/10 8/11

8/1: Name: *Sindoori* sari/Auspicious sari; Material: Cotton, 24s; Length: 3.75 m; Width: 1 m; Weight: 600 gm; Origin: Kerukocha, Purbi Singhbhum district

8/2: Name: *Theti* sari/Coloured body sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 0.92 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Sikri, Gumla district

8/3: Name: *Jhingri* sari/Stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 5.84 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 1,325 gm; Origin: Maganpur, Hazaribag district

8/4: Name: *Dwal* sari/Stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.06 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 850 gm; Origin: Hazaribag, Hazaribag district

8/5; 8/6: Name: *Mungia* sari/Check sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 4.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 850 gm; Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 900 gm; Origin: Daltenganj, Palamu district

8/7: Name: *Kanya* sari/*Kichari* / Bride's sari; Material: Cotton, 10s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 1,570 gm; Origin: Saiko, Ranchi district

8/8: Name: *Sangol langal*/*Sangol* flower in end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 2.24 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 800 gm; Origin: Saiko, Ranchi district

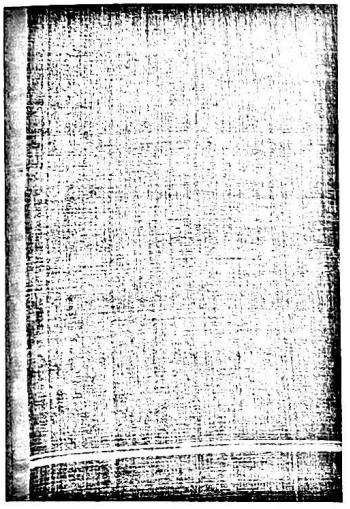
8/9: Name: *Brahmpuri* sari/Sari for bride's mother; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 0.94 m; Weight: 1,675 gm; Origin: Saiko, Ranchi district

8/10: Name: *Gamchha*/Men's shoulder cloth; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 2.26 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 825 gm; Courtesy: Xavier Institute of Social Service, Ranchi district

8/11: Name: *Borki lugga*/Bride's sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 0.97 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Tukopani, Gumla district

▼ Plain multicoloured striped and checked

4 COTTON



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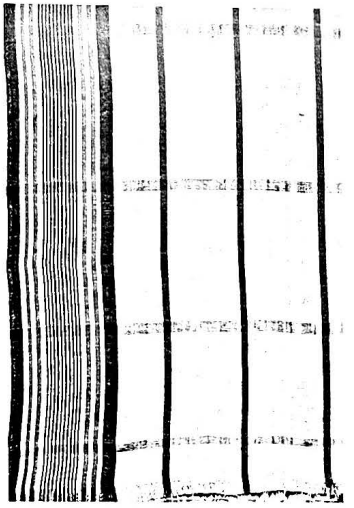

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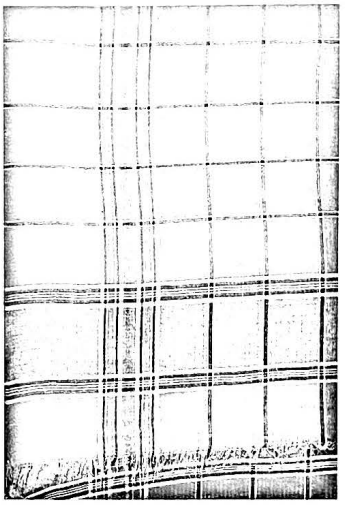

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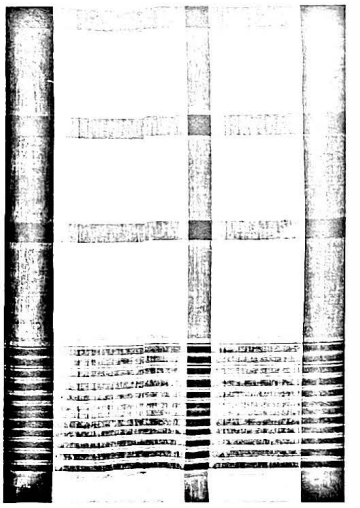
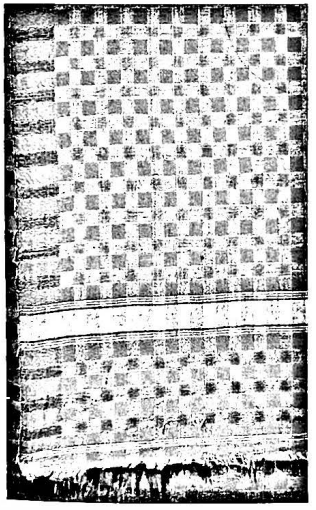


8/15

♣ Plain multicoloured striped and checked with extra weft

5 COTTON



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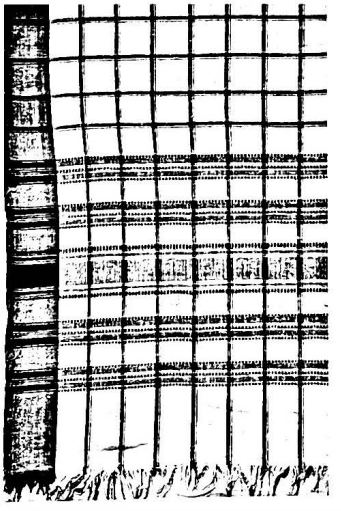

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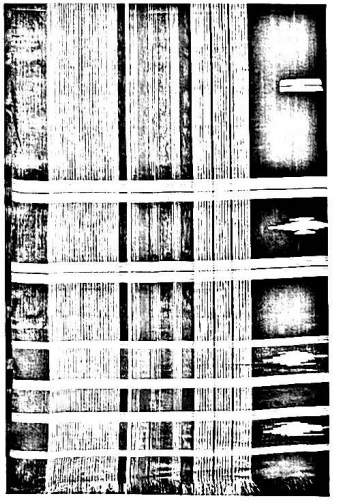

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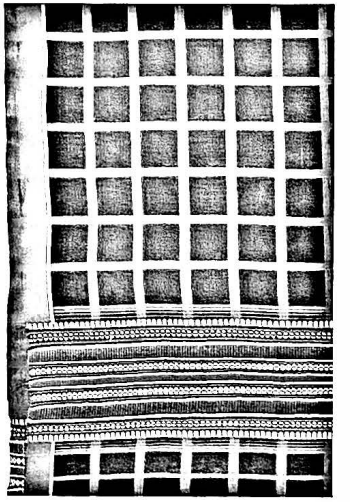


8/19

8/12: Name: *Vidhwa* sari/Widow's sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.62 m; Width: 0.65 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Khandamoda, Purbi Singhbhum district
8/13: Name: *Langal*/Sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 1.22 m; Width: 0.99 m; Weight: 200 gm; Origin: Moda, Purbi Singhbhum district
8/14: Name: *Gamchha*/Men's upper drape; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 1.71 m; Width: 0.62 m; Weight: 100 gm; Origin: Moda, Purbi Singhbhum district
8/15: Name: *Chowkada* sari/Check sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.061 m; Width: 0.99 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Kerukocha, Purbi Singhbhum district
8/16: Name: *Theti* sari/Check sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 4.84 m; Width: 0.95 m; Weight: 525 gm; Origin: Sikri, Gumla district
8/17: Name: *Sikri phuta* sarI/Check sari with extra weft pattern in endpiece; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.04 m; Width: 0.96 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Kerukocha, Purbl Singhbhum district
8/18: Name: *Gyara haath* sari/Eleven cubit sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 640 gm; Origin: Kerukocha, Purbi Singhbhum district
8/19: Name: *Do phuta dhoti*/Extra-weft patterned; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 2.08 m; Width: 0.98 m; Weight: 250 gm; Origin: Kerukocha, Purbi Singhbhum district

You have covered me with the beauty of this world
I see your name in the veins
of every leaf, flower and fruit and the bird's wings.
Etched in my eyes is your name
I see it everywhere, everyday of my life
it burns before me like a bright star.
The dazzling sunlit day and the bejewelled dark sky
the moon aglow, speak of your magnificence.
The hills, mountains, valleys, your grandeur manifest
awating the moment of your revelation.
I long to see you but alas I can only feel you in my heart
in the love that rises therein.
Your creation this world is bound by your all-pervading love,
To you this offering...

- Devotional verse on *dhoti* borders (facing page); Smt. Ruby Palchoudhary

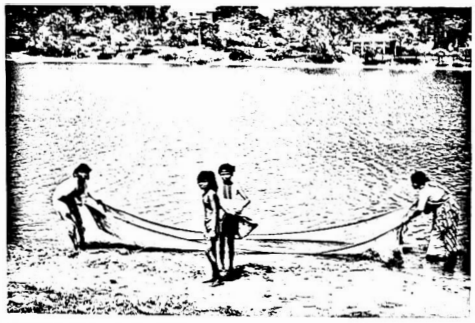
West Bengal

Four-and-a-half yards of poetic offering follow the line of this *dhoti*'s drape in silent prayer. Fine translucent white cotton, edged in black calligraphy and woven with a delicacy that's disconcerting within the structured discipline of the weave. It epitomizes the quality of freedom that has always been a prerogative of able weavers.

Transparency in cotton was the privilege of the sophisticated. It went with a certain order of well-being that transcended the value of longevity and it related most intimately to a lifestyle so leisured and so free from physical strain, that it became a statement of status in itself.

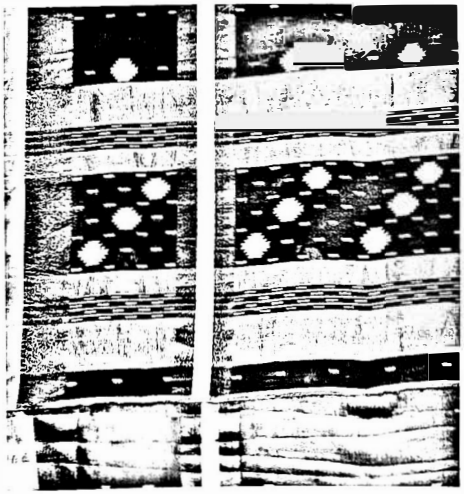
The great sweep of social and economic change in India since Independence and the greater upward social mobility that came as a consequence, reveal likewise a shift away from coarse-count cotton towards the fine. In fact, one of the surprises during our almost three months of travel in West Bengal was the widespread production of coarse-count saris in pre-Independence Bengal.

Delving further into this mystery in several southern districts of West Bengal, we became aware of shifts of population between East and West Bengal during the first

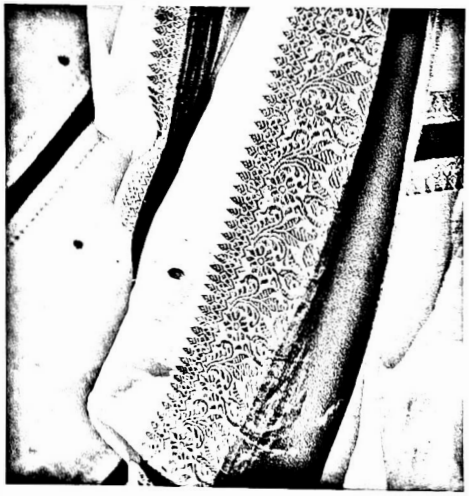


Local women use a sari as a fish-net.

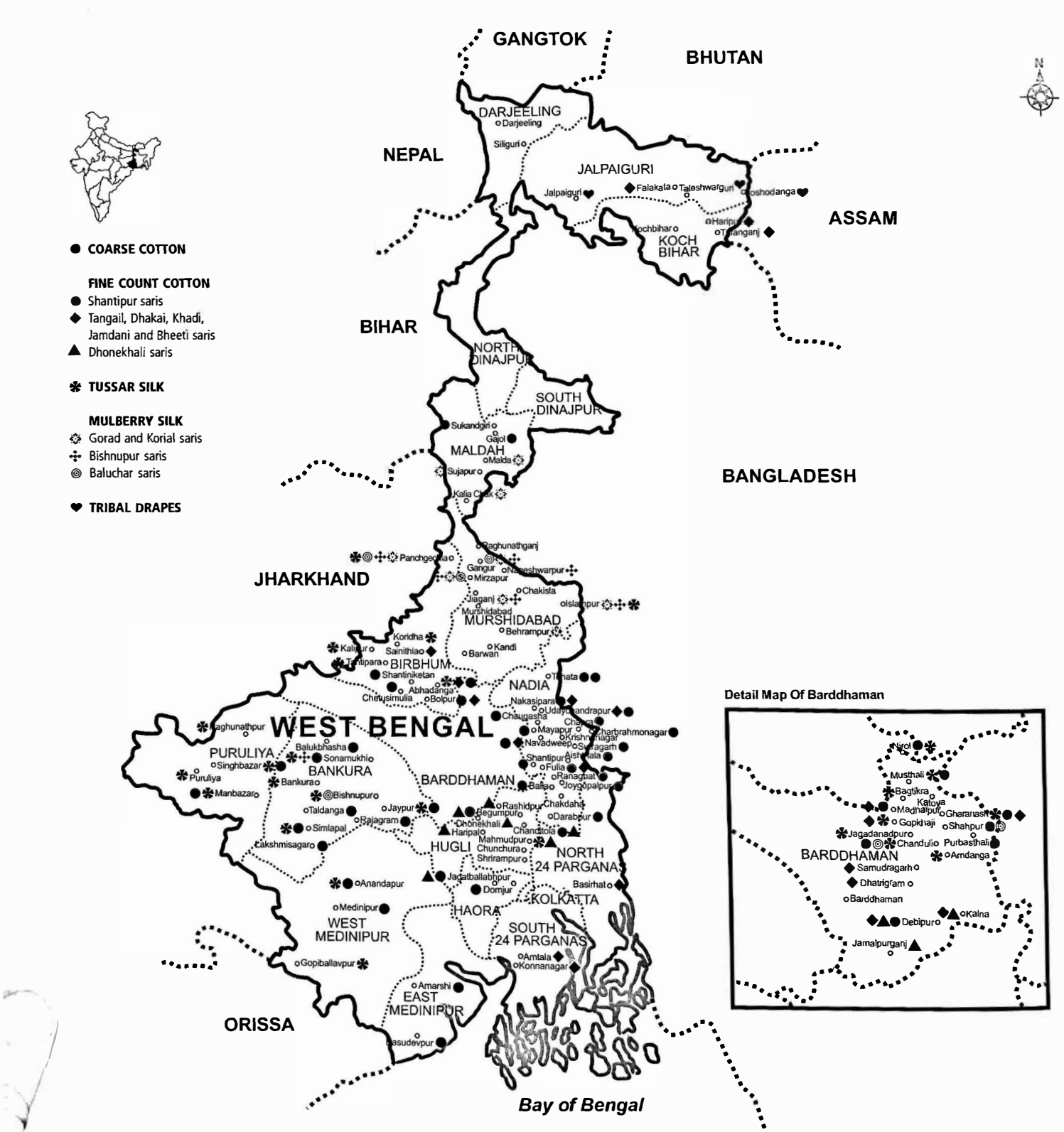
A Dhaka jamdani.

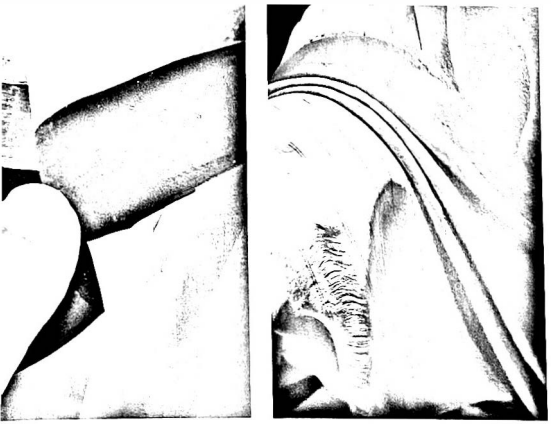


(9/30) Chaar pere/*Four border tangail sari with jamdani motifs.*



A traditional tangail.


GANGTOK
BHUTAN
N
DARJEELING
Darjeeling
Siliguri
NEPAL
JALPAIGURI
Jalpaiguri
Falakata
Taleshwargun
Goshodanga
Haripur
Tufanganj
Cochbihar
KOCH BIHAR
ASSAM
BIHAR
NORTH DINAJPUR
SOUTH DINAJPUR
Sukandgir
Gajol
MALDAH
Malda
Sujapur
Kalia Chak
BANGLADESH
Raghunathganj
Panchgechia
Gangur
Nasheshwarpur
Mirzapur
JHARKHAND
Jiaganj
Chakisla
Islampur
Murshidabad
MURSHIDABAD
Behrampur
Koridha
Kalipur
Sainthiao
Kandi
Barwan
Tantipara
BIRBHUM
Shantiniketan
Tehata
Abhadanga
Chetusimulla
Bolpur
NADIA
Nakasipara
Udaychandrapur
Chaugasha
Mayapur
Krishnanagar
Navadweep
Santragarh
Chakdaha
Kaliganj
Shantipur
Fulia
Ranaghat
Joygopalpur
Baligo
Rashidpur
Begumpur
Dhonekhali
Haripal
Chandtola
Mahmudpur
Chunchura
Shrirampur
Jadatballabhpur
Domjur
Darabpur
Basirhat
HUGLI
NORTH 24 PARGANAS
HAORA
KOLKATTA
SOUTH 24 PARGANAS
Amtala
Konnanagar
Raghunathpur
WEST BENGAL
PURULIYA
Balukbhasha
Singhbazar
Sonamukhio
Puruliya
BANKURA
Bankura
Manbazar
Bishnupur
Taldanga
Jaypur
Rajagram
Simlapal
Lakshmisagaro
BARDDHAMAN
Anandapur
Medinipur
WEST MEDINIPUR
Gopiballavpur
Amarshi
EAST MEDINIPUR
Basudevpur
ORISSA
Bay of Bengal
Detail Map Of Barddhaman
Nirol
Musthali
Bagtikra
Katoya
Madhaipur
Ghararasti
Gopkhaji
Shahpur
Jagadanadpuro
Chandulio
Purbasthali
BARDDHAMAN
Amdanga
Samudragarh
Dhatrigram
Barddhaman
Kalna
Debipur
Jamalpurganj
COARSE COTTON
FINE COUNT COTTON
Shantipur saris
Tangail, Dhakai, Khadi, Jamdani and Bheeti saris
Dhonekhali saris
TUSSAR SILK
MULBERRY SILK
Gorad and Korial saris
Bishnupur saris
Baluchar saris
TRIBAL DRAPES



Lal paar/*Plain red border sari in fine count cotton (Left) and tussar silk (Right).*

partition of Bengal in 1905, and in 1947 when East Pakistan and West Bengal were formed, and finally during the transformation of East Pakistan into Bangladesh in 1971. Moreover, there have been vast shifts of population from one part of Bengal to the other, in accordance with shifts in power and trade. Consequently coarse counts have all but disappeared, or moved to becoming finer from 16s and 20s to 40s count. These shifts have transformed the face of handloom production in present-day West Bengal.

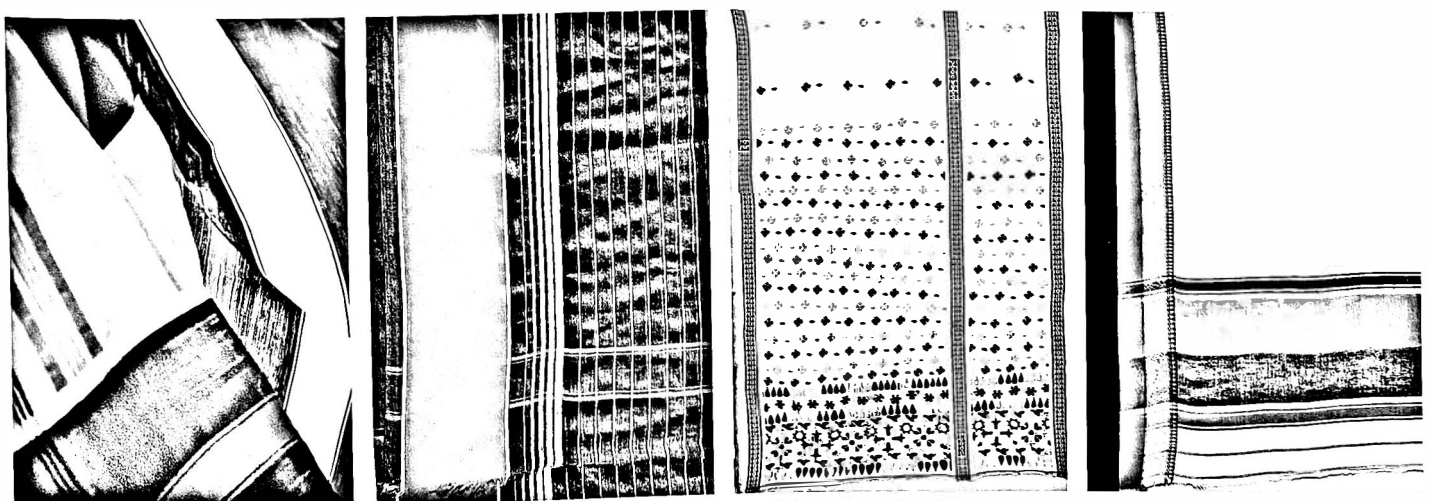
Though we were primarily researching the saris of West Bengal, we could not ignore the presence or influence of saris from the eastern part of Bengal. For instance, we found that the overwhelming influence of the *Dhakai jamdani* has given birth to what is referred to as the *tangail* sari (9/30; pg 181) in West Bengal.

The *tangail* imitates the extra-weft loom embroidery of the *jamdani* on the alternate or the 3rd, 4th or even 5th pick, greatly simplifying the technique as seen in the sari, reducing labour and thereby reaching out to a much larger market. The sari that goes by the name of *tangail* is, however a misnomer, because *tangail* was a prominent weaving centre in East Bengal with extra-warp patterning in the borders, which has been overtaken by the extra-weft elements imitative of the *jamdani*. Yet, it is this anomaly of the *tangail*, that is most visible not only in West Bengal, but also in urban markets all over India. It has won over cotton weavers from the coarse-count weaving areas in Bengal as well as silk weavers, by proving its own viability in terms of turnover, labour and markets.

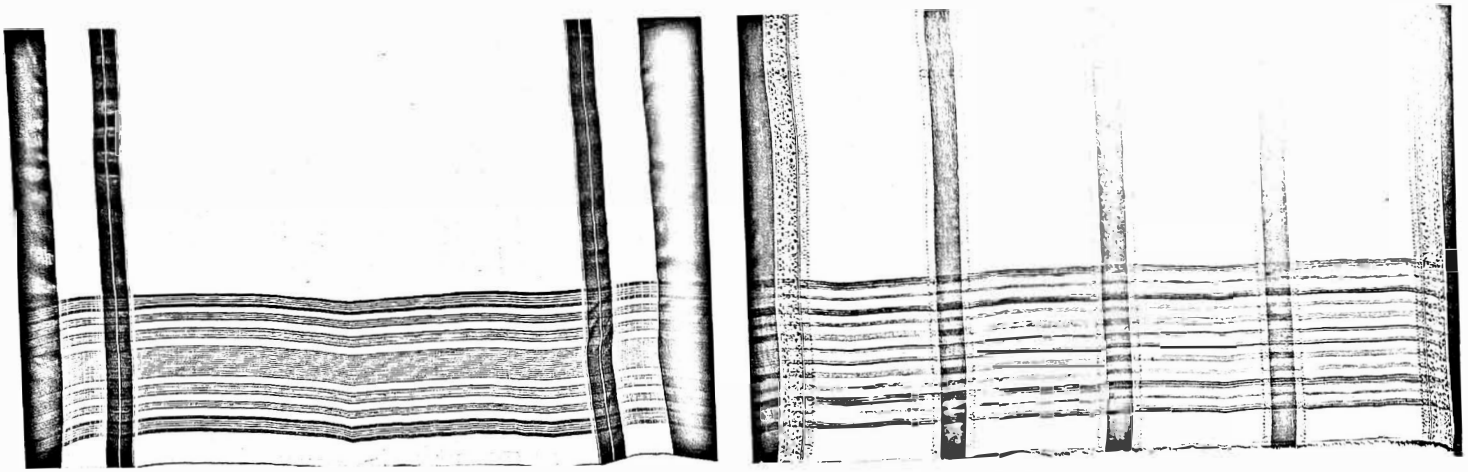
West Bengal has experienced encouraging growth in fine cottons if not in silk, despite a deterioration in fabric structure and subtlety of pattern which always seems to accompany increased production, as seen elsewhere in the country. This growth in fine cottons was largely possible because of the prevalence of existing skills in brush-sizing with the lightest of *khoiyer maar* (puffed rice or *sago*; starch) sizing gruels or the use of the *shorer shana* (grass reeds), which helped maintain the translucent density of fine-count weaves in West Bengal. Despite the changes that have taken place due to shifts of population, upgrading of loom technology, and market trends, a certain aesthetic homogeneity is still decipherable between coarse cottons, fine cottons and silks. They seem to share a common heritage of symbolic layouts and motifs capable of transiting from one category to the other, yet retaining a distinct identity. Though sari categories in West Bengal are essentially material-based, the cottons often use silk to heighten or uplift colour and texture in the borders or the body. The silks in turn, often cut cost by incorporating a weft of cotton. A number of saris therefore, defy categorization. Yet, what is unique about these three broad categories (cotton, tussar and mulberry) is the way they continue to build an almost archaeological layering of sari types, from the coarse counts (9/3) at the base, through the fine counts that enlarge and refine the design directory further, and the silks that maintain a continuity in design language to a point.

A homogenous tradition seems to grow out of the passionate predilection for a *kora* or unbleached expanse in the body of the sari, with a plain coloured band for the border and possibly a variation of bands for the end-piece. There are however, sari types that are exceptions to the overall pattern: the extra-weft body and *palloo* (end-piece), ornamented *korial* (9/47, 9/48; pg 194) in silk, are cases in point. When we come upon the *baluchar* (9/51; pg 195) brocade of Murshidabad, we find a type that seems to have broken free from everything we had encountered till then.

The homogeneity rests on the marked preference for the auspicious red border, with or without ornamentation, in innumerable variations of width and texture. A *laal paar* in cotton; and in tussar is the most enduring type in the entire range of Bengal saris in coarse and fine cotton as well as in silk. The *laal paar* echoes the red of the



COARSE COTTON: (9/3) Sheete sindoor/*Vermilion-in-hair parting, patterned sari;* (9/5) Sheete sindoor jalchuri/*Vermilion-in-hair parting, receding stripe body sari;* (9/7) Pachha phere ruiton paar sari/*Three border club pattern sari;*
FINE COUNT COTTON: SHANTIPUR SARIS: (9/15) Kojosh paar sari/*Water pitcher patterned border sari.*



FINE COUNT COTTON: DHONEKHALI SARIS: **(9/26)** Muga haathi paar dhakka sari/*Broad border in receding stripe of muga silk sari;* TANGAIL: **(9/29)** Paanch pere sari/*Five-border tangail sari.*

sindoor (vermilion streaked in the parting of the young bride's hair). It reflects the lustre of *alta*, the sacred dye that is smeared by women along the edges of their feet on auspicious occasions. It is also the colour of sacrifice and the colour of blood and passion that pervades the festivities of Bengal. In the wake of the *lal paar* come the other coloured bordered saris in the *maatha paar* (plain broad border) category, with the finest being the *sheete sindoor* (9/3) which is akin to the vermilion in the parting of a married woman's hair (symbolized by a band of red between two bands of black).

COARSE COTTON

The *jalchuri* pebble in the water stripes (9/5), is another characteristic series of plain or receding stripes in *munga* silk or cotton, that provide a transition and build up for the borders. This alongwith saris such as the *pachha phere* (9/7), encircling the hips, has great popular appeal because of its highly sensual layout. It is distinguished by its three borders, one at either end and the third 'encircling the hips'. Coarse-count saris are distinguished by the simple use of colour and texture as accents that ingeniously uplift the sari to extraordinary simplicity and beauty, with limited warp patterning.

FINE COUNT COTTON

Shantipur saris: Shantipur is the epitome of the fine cotton range with its subtle play of border patterns and the gradual merging of the border and the body with the use of the *jalchuri* and the *paata baanshano* effect, literally meaning 'making the border laugh' as seen in the *kolash paar* sari (9/15) . The light, airy drape balanced with a well-woven body and finely etched borders is characteristic of the Shantipuri saris.

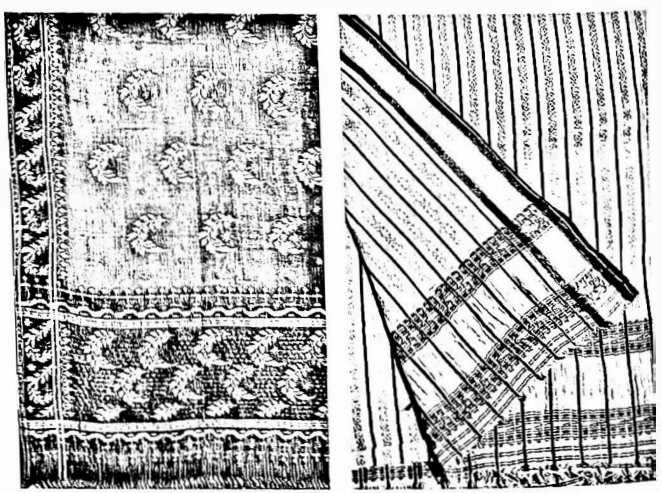
Dhonekhali: At its classic best, the receding stripes became a design feature, as in *muga haathi paar dhakka* (big border with pebble in water ripple sari; 9/26) in cotton and *muga* silk.

We are now at the threshold of the *naksha paar* (extra-warp patterned border sari; 9/50), which shares a common motif range in coarse and fine cotton and often in Bishnupur silks. These categories seem to have cross-fertilized over the last two hundred years. *Dhonekhali* saris were densely woven, more opaque than *Shantipur*, and yet subtle in their appeal.

Khadi, tangail, Dhakai jamdani and bheeti: Khadi needs particular mention as in the vicinity of Navadweep and Fulia, there is a capacity to spin on the Ambar semi mechanized charkha upto 450s count for saris and fabrics, which is the finest in India. How were such fine muslin saris worn without a blouse and petticoat? We learnt that fine cottons were invariably heavily starched, crinkled and worn as a relatively opaque drape till the hot iron came with the French (see details, page 188).

The ultimate fine cottons of Bengal are the *Dhakai jamdani* (9/38) with its loom embroidery in the weft at every pick, capable of a wide range in white on white or colour in ground or pattern and the indigo-ground *neelambari* (9/38). This is the most well-known of the coloured *jamdanis*, with its indigo ground ornamented in gold/silver or madder red that glows out of the darkness of the ground. Known to have been worn for the *devi puja* at the time of *Kartik Amavasya*, the moonless night during Navratri coinciding with Deepavali, the festival of lights, it is a celebration of the goddess in her benign and enigmatic form.

The most capable *jamdani* weavers were able to weave patterns without the aid of any mechanical device though they used the *jala* (pattern harness). Minute changes of scale, direction and layout in the motifs resulted in a sense of subtle spontaneity. Bengal's historical link with Varanasi, in U.P., could well have provided access to the use of the *jala*, a remarkable



FINE COUNT COTTON: DHAKAI JAMDANI: **(9/38)** Haar buti neelambari sari/*Necklace bead patterned indigo sari;* **(9/40)** Dhakai bheeti/*Reversible warp or weft patterned sari.*

network of threads capable of lifting even single warp threads for the finest patterns.

The *Dhakai bheeti* (9/40) is a unique East Bengal creation with *jamdani* weft-patterned elements in the end-piece and double-sided warp patterning in cotton, silk and *zari* (metallic yarn) in the body and borders. It is a fine-count, densely woven, cotton-ground sari that often had extra-warp, double-sided and double-coloured stripes in silk in the body in satin weave. Its extra-warp patterned borders merged with delicate geometrical patterns in the extra weft in the end-piece. In the richest samples, the extra warp of the borders ran through the body as well, often in *zari* gold. Apparently, today the sari is no longer woven, even in Bangladesh.

TUSSAR SILK

Tussar saris are best represented by the *lal paar* red bordered (pg 183; top left) and *Gorad* (9/46; pg 194) range. There is a range of tussar plain and narrow, to broad border saris with *jalchuri* (receding stripes) accent stripes worn for auspicious occasions. There is also a limited border and end-piece patterned range that has now increasingly become a rarity (9/43; pg 194). Yet, the Bengal variety is distinguished by their lustrous and heavy 7 to 12 cocoon hand-reeled tussar, which was unique among the tussar varieties of eastern India.

MULBERRY SILK

The mulberry silk of West Bengal is diverse and was the main source of silk to other parts of India until the increased cultivation of mulberry initiated first by Tipu Sultan and later by the British in Karnataka. Maldah was the centre of an indigenous, heavier textured silk akin to tussar (9/47; pg 194) whereas Bishnupur (9/50) had a Kashmir silk-like lustre and softness. Maldah was however, more widely cultivated and woven in Bengal as well as supplied as yarn to Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The use of untwisted silk was a crucial factor that determined both texture and weight in most traditional silks.

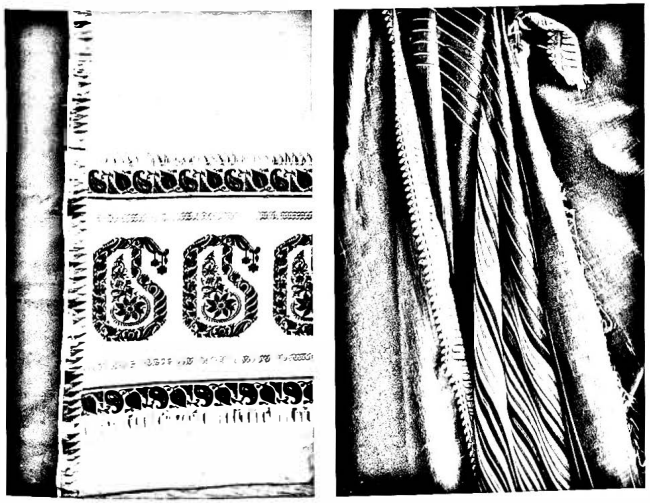
Gorad and Korial: These silks maintain the natural silk colour for the ground and red in the borders and end-piece, with the significant introduction of the extra-weft *kalka buti* (paisley motif) in the body and its enlarged version in the end-piece. In the *gorad* (9/46; pg 194) and *korial* (9/47, 9/48), the most intricate of patterned elements in the end-piece were often worked with the *jala* (pattern harness), while the *buti* (small motifs) in the body had separate *nali* (shuttles) for spot patterning. The influence of Varanasi is visible especially in the heavily worked end-pieces.

The *korial* sari's *khooni lal* (blood-red), four-inch borders were traditionally woven with three shuttles, two for the borders and one for the ground. The process was made simpler with the help of the 'catch cord' system developed in the 1970s, in which a spool holding the red is suspended from above, trailing its cord to the edge of the warp. The shuttle containing the white silk weft for the ground picks its way through to the end of the borders.

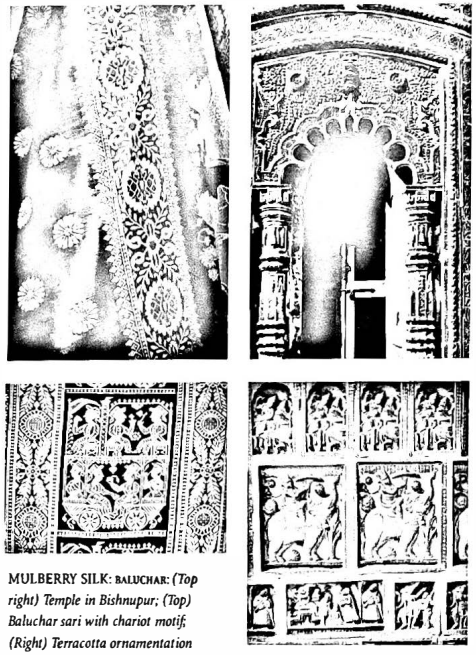
Bishnupur: The *Bishnupuri* fine-patterned border saris, such as *pata paar* (9/50; below), are characterized by the soft drape weighed down by well-knit high relief borders. Bishnupur produced the finest local mulberry silk before the advent of Chinese mulberry silk.

Baluchar: A quantum leap in terms of technique was witnessed during the eighteenth century with the emergence of *Baluchari* saris in the region of Murshidabad, possibly due to the direct patronage of the nawabs who ruled Bengal and Bihar from this town for a period of 56 years. The *Baluchari* (9/51; pg 195) is a unique phenomenon both in concept and technique, applicable to the body, borders and end-piece. In addition to Murshidabad's advantageous position along the Ganges trade route, which provided access to markets and techniques and ensured the ready availability of raw materials within its immediate vicinity, the import of weavers from other parts of India became possible due to *nawabi* patronage. The closest resemblance in terms of technique, points in the direction of the Gujarat brocades, both in the manner in which the figured motifs are bound down and in the way each form is outlined by another colour, almost as if it were drawn onto the fabric. These characteristics distinguish the *Baluchar* technique from Varanasi on the one hand and Dhaka on the other, both of which were accessible, as is evident from the other sari types in West Bengal.

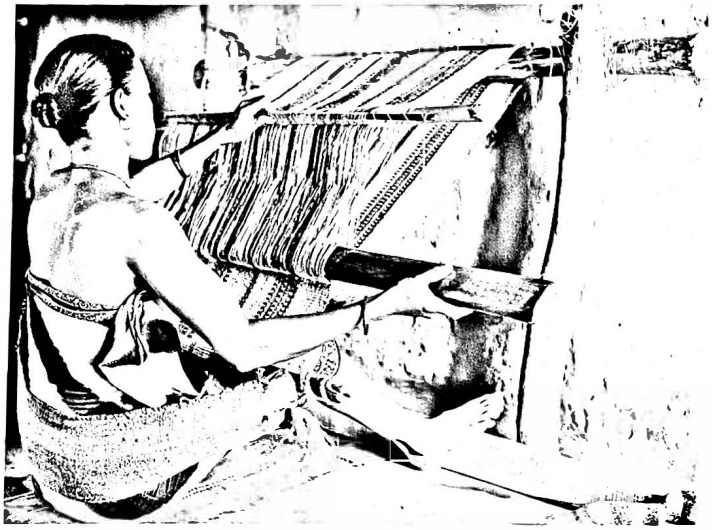
The unique feature of the *Baluchari* is the way in which it uses a number of *jala* (pattern harness) for its various elements to create a homogenous whole. Its elaboration of the floral vine borders interspaced with the pictorial depiction of human and animal motifs in active and animated configuration, aspires to heights of narrative story telling. In the finest examples of the *baluchari*, the figurative motifs face inwards from either of the borders, integrating the layout and building up to the central motif in the end-piece. Often, there is a variation of scale of motif, as and when required by the layout of the end-piece, body or borders. This attempt at spontaneity in silk (without gold) within a most complex grid of pattern harnesses truly distinguishes the *Baluchari* not only from all other saris in Bengal, but also from other brocade traditions in the country.



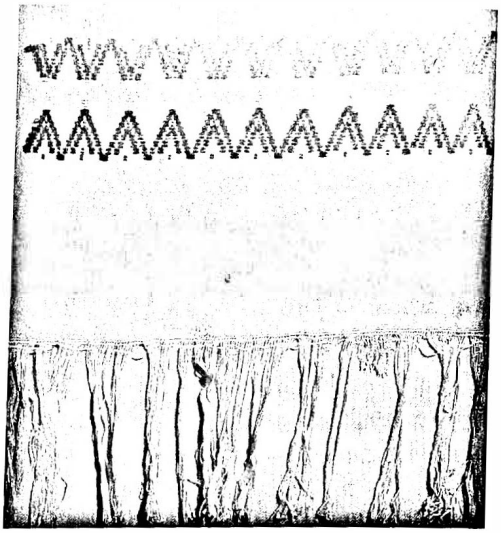
MULBERRY SILK: *Korial sari;* BISHNUPUR: **(9/50)** Patapaar sari/*Leaf patterned border sari.*



MULBERRY SILK: BALUCHAR: *(Top right) Temple in Bishnupur; (Top) Baluchar sari with chariot motif; (Right) Terracotta ornamentation*



A Mechh woman weaving on a back-strap loom.



(9/54) Paanchhi *drape.*

Our journey into West Bengal revealed many of our own misconceptions about the saris of this state. The range of coarse cottons has now been obliterated not simply by genuine fine cottons, but also by a number of hybrids. The silks too have lost their range, variety of texture, weight and ornamentation in the post-Independence period.

TRIBAL DRAPES

In the northernmost end of West Bengal, there is a small amount of coarse-count cotton spinning and weaving of the two-piece drapes *dhokna-paanchhi* for the Mechh community and the *paanchhi* (9/54; pg 195) for the Santhals. These drapes are akin to the sari in their layout. What is significant about the Mechh drapes is they are mostly woven on back-strap looms by the women who wear them and sell the excess pieces produced. The drapes therefore, acquire a unique and personalised texture and pattern quality.

At one level, it is laudable that the state government has shown some interest in the production and marketing of handloom products by creating and backing cooperatives. Yet, the product itself has lost its moorings in the process of mass production and is thus, inherently handicapped in seeking its future development.

One of the main lessons we learnt from this documentation and design development programme was the way in which variety was sustained and nurtured in the context of tradition, both at the level of weavers and the markets. Though it is true that numbers of weavers in a single rural or urban concentration were always dependent on the weaving of a set number of items throughout the year, we found that there were a few who enjoyed the market's support to innovate, develop and enhance the inherent strength of their local range. They were the ones whom the community looked up to, or measured themselves against, and hence, were compelled to compete with in terms of quality and redefining excellence. This is the spirit that has kept alive and enriched both continuity and change in the weaving practices of West Bengal. It has ensured a future for the handloom tradition. It is also this aspect that has been pushed out of view in the race towards enhanced turnovers and assured employment.

In the exploration of present-day production possibilities in Shantipur, we found Monimoy Kashto, a weaver who was not only knowledgeable but also willing to 'go back' to the weaving of original shantipur saris. However, this was possible only because he was convinced that he was not going back, but ahead in his search for excellence. He believed that he was wasting his time, earning a fixed wage for an inferior product and that he could earn far more, when he took up weaving for this project. Many handloom products are now available off-the-shelf at Dastkar and elsewhere, which have been produced on a higher handskill input on a viable economic basis in terms of wages and raw materials.

An ongoing dialogue and several design development efforts continue in Fulia, Bishnupur, Navadweep and other weaving centres. The cooperatives have yet to make a breakthrough in silks and coarse-count cottons. West Bengal has provided some crucial lessons and revealed the pitfalls in the race for technological enhancement with the single-minded target of enhanced production. The targets must be broadened to ensure better wages, now possible with improved quality.

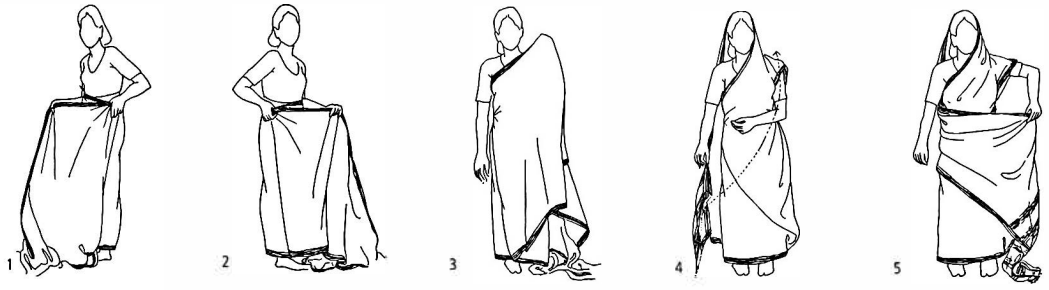
It is the nurturing of its raw materials in cotton as well as mulberry, tussar and *eri* silk, that needs greater support and the most immediate attention. The range and variety of hand-spinning and weaving skills in West Bengal is also shrinking due to a lack of appreciative patronage. This is the most crucial area of design intervention and marketing support that needs both state and private initiative.

চলে নীল শাড়ী নিঙাড়ি নিঙাড়ি পরাণ সহিত মোর *As she goes by wringing her wet blue sari, my life goes with her...*

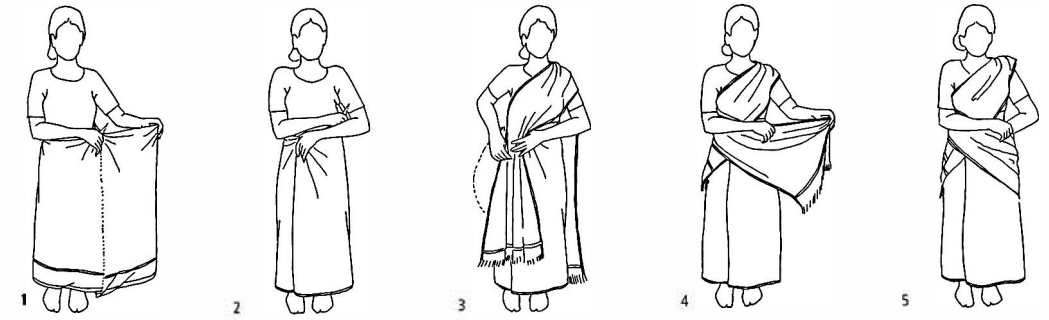
– Chandidas, Vaishnav poet, sixteenth century

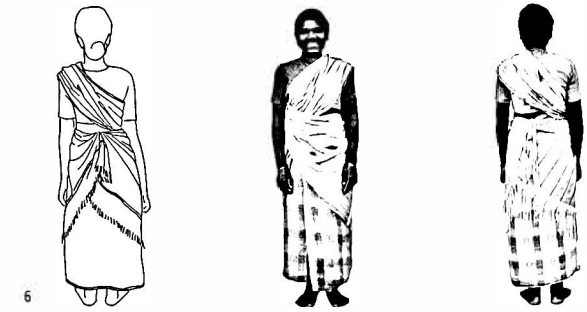
WEARING STYLES – WEST BENGAL

STYLE 1: KALNA/Central Bengal style



STYLE 2: SANTHAL/Western region two-piece style





STYLE 1: KALNA/Central Bengal style
LENGTH: 5.5 yd/ 5 m
WORN BY: Lower middle class
AREA: Central Bengal

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist. Bring free end-piece to left waist and tuck in.
2. Take free end-piece to right waist and tuck in at right back waist.
3. Throw free end-piece over left shoulder.
4. Take free end-piece overhead to front under right arm.

5-6. Wrap free end-piece completely around waist.

7. Tuck outer end-piece into left waist.

STYLE 2: SANTHAL/Western region two-piece style
LENGTH OF UPPER DRAPE: 2.7 m x 0.8 m
LOWER DRAPE: 2.1 m x 1.2 m
WORN BY: Santhal community
AREA: West Bengal

1. Take lower end-piece around waist anticlockwise.
2. Bring free end portion over it and tuck in at front waist.
3. Drape upper piece over left shoulder.
4. Bring front drape portion to centre back under right arm and tuck upper border into centre back waist.
5. Take other free end to front under right arm.
6. Bring to back waist and tuck in upper border into centre back waist.

STYLE 3: DHOKNA JALPAIGURI/Northern region style
LENGTH: 4.5 yd/ 4.1 m
WORN BY: Mechh community
AREA: Northern Bengal

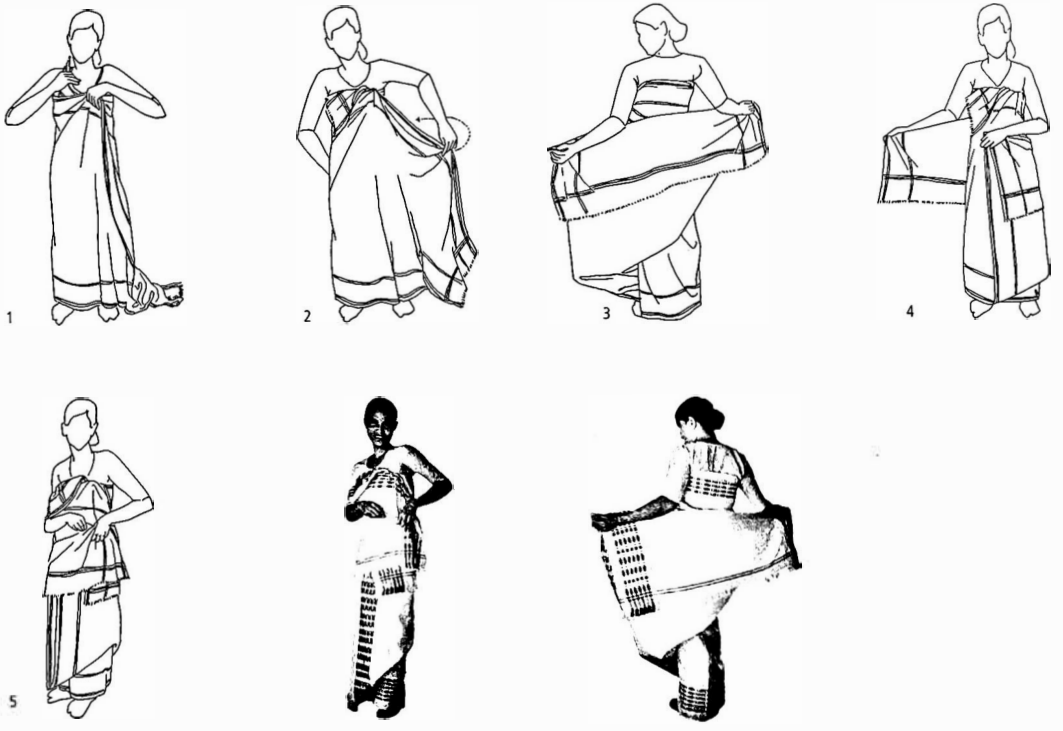
1. Hold inner end-piece at chest and bring free end-piece around it anticlockwise.
2. Tuck in at left breast and bring outer end-piece to back anticlockwise.
3. Fold outer end-piece widthwise outward at least 20 inches. Hold it at the back.
4. Bring both ends to front from either side.
5. Take right-end portion over left portion and tuck in at waist.

STYLE 4: NADIA/Central region style before the advent of hot iron
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Upper class
AREA: Central region

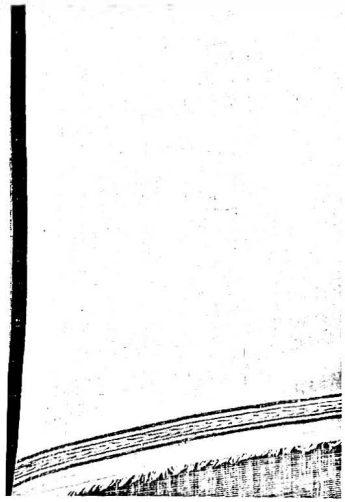
1. Bring inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Bring free end-piece to left waist and tuck in.
3. Bring free end-piece to right waist and tuck in.
4. Throw free end of sari over left shoulder.
5. Adjust free end-piece over head and bring to front waist under right arm.
6. Throw over left shoulder again.

NOTE: Before the advent of the hot iron, non-transparency was achieved in fine-count saris by starching, fine pleating and twisting into a figure of eight knotted position (as shown bottom right). Saris were stored like this in cupboards. With the growing popularity of the hot iron, the flat transparent cotton sari necessitated the wearing of a petticoat.

STYLE 3: DHOKNA JALPAIGURI/Northern region style



STYLE 4: NADIA/Central region style before the advent of hot iron



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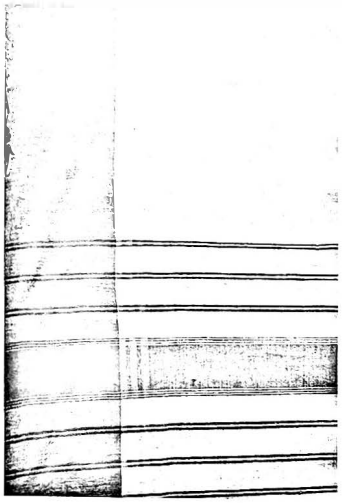

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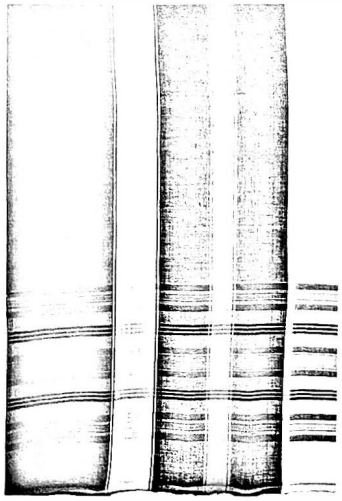

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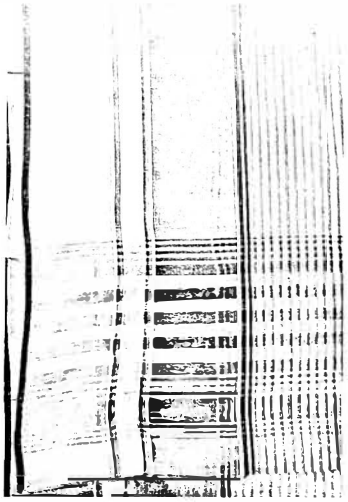

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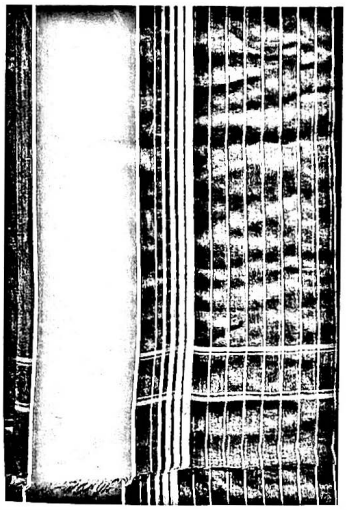

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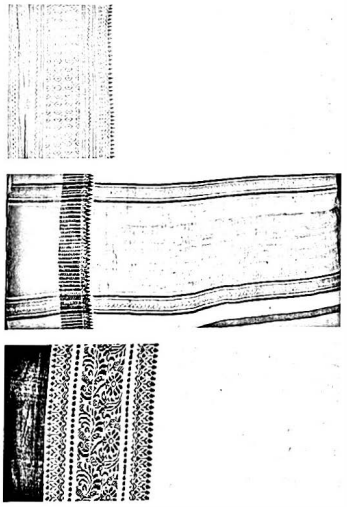

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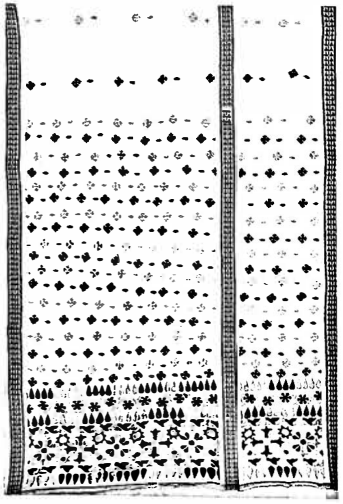

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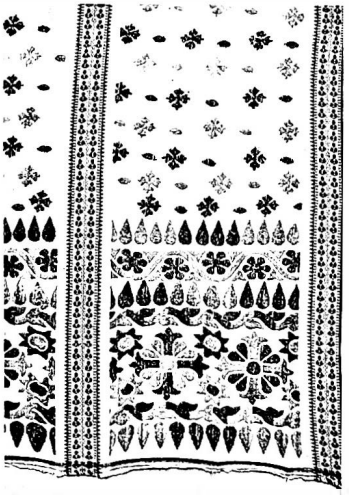


9/8

9/1; 9/2: Name: *Pheeta paar*/Ribbon *paar dhoti*/Fine border men's lower drape; *Matha paar* sari/Plain broad border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 3.80-5.45 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 400-500 gm; Courtesy: Bengal Sari House, New Delhi

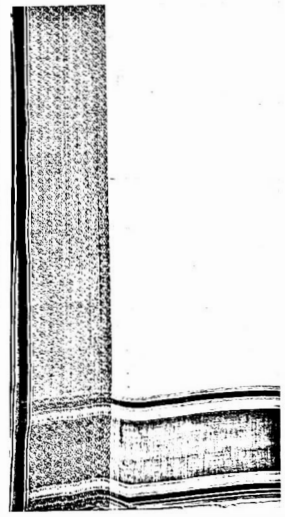
9/3: Name: *Sheete sindoor*/Vermilion-in-hair parting pattern sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.85 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 300 gm; Courtesy: Sujata Nag, New Delhi

9/4: Name: *Rongeen pota dure* sari/Coloured body stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Malavika Khanna, New Delhi

9/5: Name: *Sheete sindoor jalchuri*/Vermilion-in-hair parting patterned border, receding stripe in body sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Anjana Somany, New Delhi

9/6: Name: *Bhomra/Phool paar*/Beehive/Floral pattern border; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.70 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Late. Susheela Mehta, Bombay

9/7; 9/8: Name: *Paachha phere ruiton paar* sari/Encircling-the-hips, three-border, club-pattern sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Mirza Ehsan Beg, New Delhi



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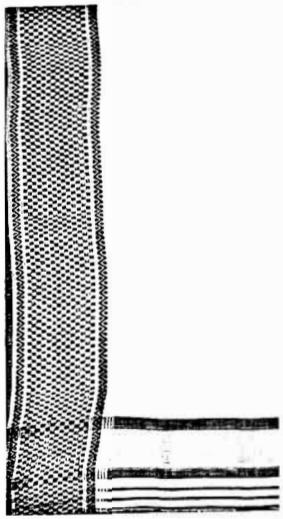

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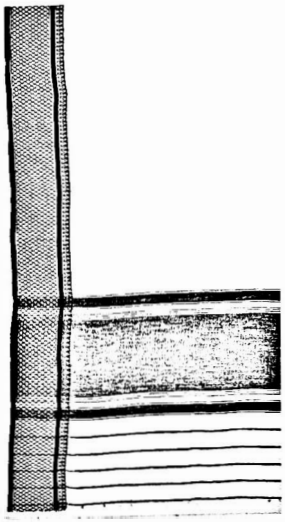

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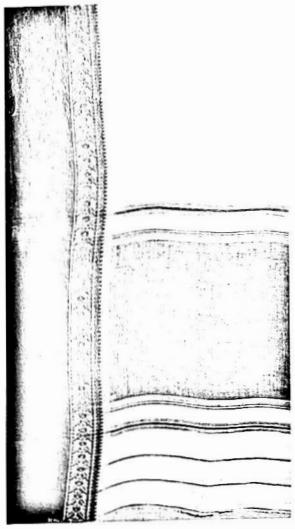

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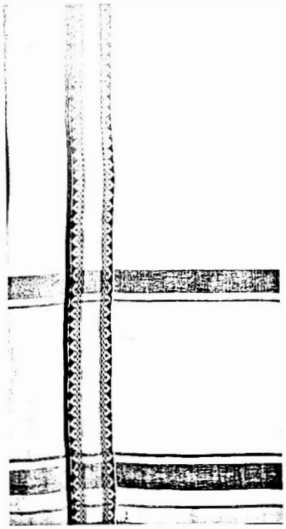

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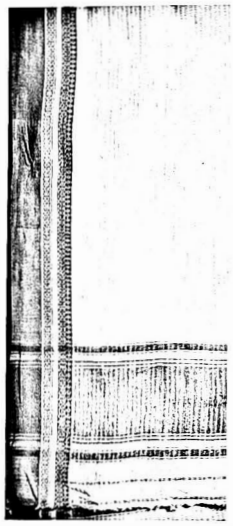

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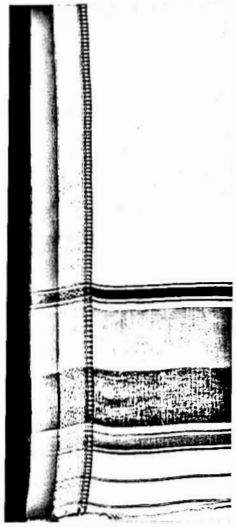

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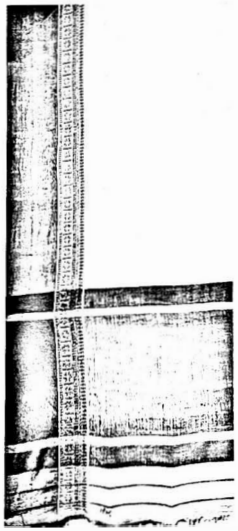

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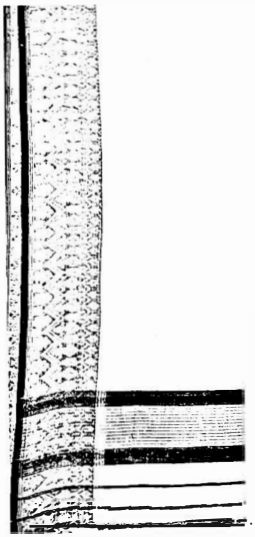

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9/9;: Name: *Bhomra paar* sari/Beehive pattern sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Snehalata Sanyal, New Delhi

9/10: Name: *Chatai paar shantipuri* sari/Mat-pattern border *shantipuri* sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Nilima Mitra, Kolkata

9/11: Name: *Doroha aansh paar shantipuri* sari/Double-sided, fish-scale border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Ruby Palchoudhary, Kolkata

9/12: Name: *Ruiton paar*/Club-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.90 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Snehalata Sanyal, New Delhi

9/13: Name: *Ruiton paar* sari/Club-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Nilima Mitra, Kolkata

9/14: Name: *Keshi lal paar holdoy dure* sari/Yellow body, turmeric stripe, red-bordered sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Kaberi Mitra, Kolkata

9/15: Name: *Kolosh paar* sari/Water-pitcher patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Raka Chakravarty, New Delhi

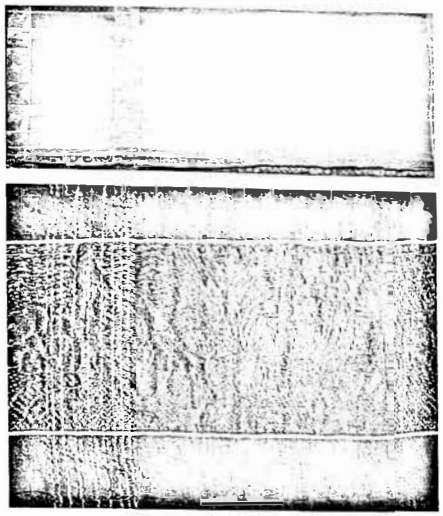
9/16: Name: *Phool paar* sari/Flower-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Anita Sen, New Delhi

9/17: Name: *Kolosh paar* sari/Water-pitcher patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, *zari*/gold, 80s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Snehalata Sanyal, New Delhi

9/18: Name: *Phool paar* sari/Flower motif border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Raka Chakravarty, New Delhi

9/19: Name: *Phool jori paar* sari/Flower motif *zari* border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Nilima Mitra, Kolkata

9/20



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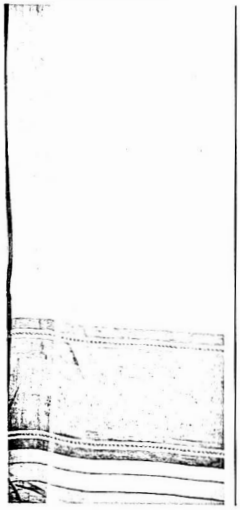

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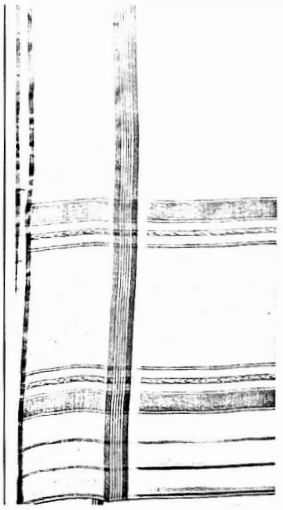

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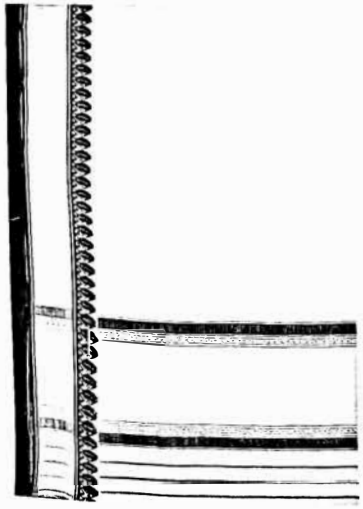

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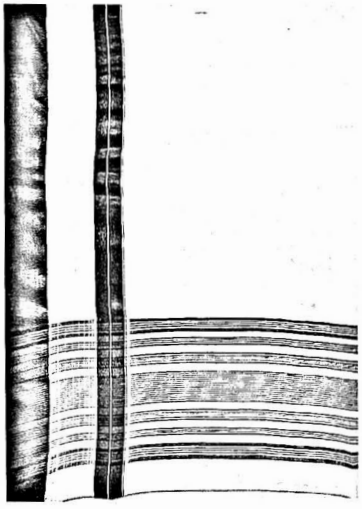

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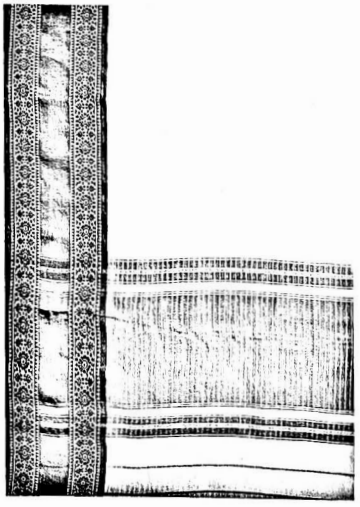

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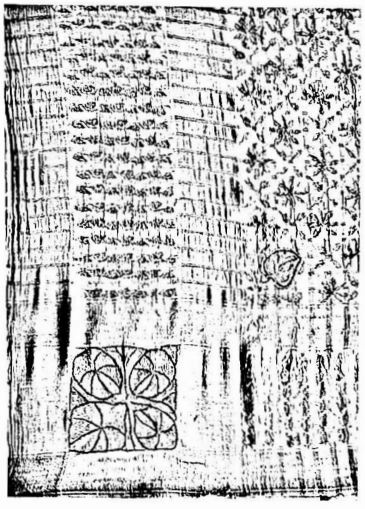


9/28

9/20: Name: *Neelambari aananosh paar* sari/Indigo, pineapple vine-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.05 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Paromita Vishvanathan, Kolkata

9/21: Name: *Podda bel paachha pere* sari/Lotus vine in three borders sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 495 gm; Courtesy: Ira De, New Delhi

9/22: Name: *Muga paar khejurchheri* sari/*Muga* silk border, palm leaf in end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s, 8 cocoon *muga*; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Ruby Palchoudhary, Kolkata

9/23: Name: *Muga paar* sari/*Muga* silk border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s, 10 cocoon *muga*; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Malavika Khanna, New Delhi

9/24: Name: *Muga paar* sari/*Muga* silk border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s, 12 cocoon *muga*; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Suman Benegal, New Delhi

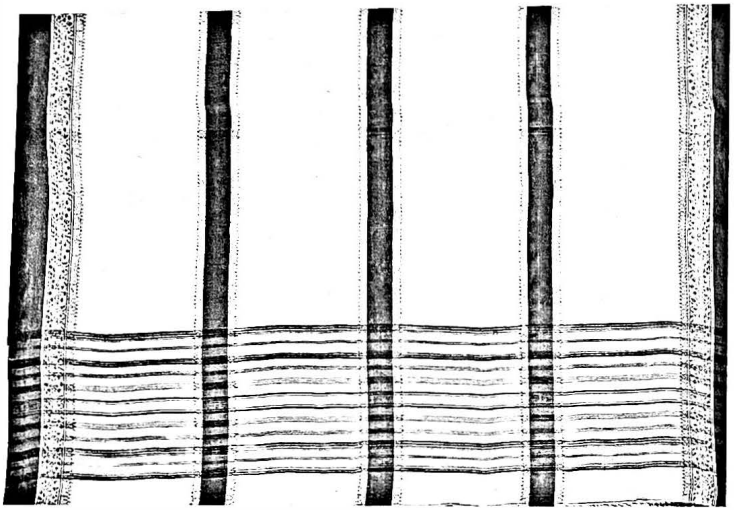
9/25: Name: *Muga kalka paar* sari/*Muga* with paisley border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s, 10 cocoon *muga*; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Ruby Palchoudhary, Kolkata

9/26: Name: *Muga haathi paar dhakka* sari/Enlarged border in receding stripes of *muga* silk sari; Material: Cotton, 100s, 8 cocoon *muga*; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Anjana Somany, New Delhi

9/27: Name: *Ganga joli* sari/Ganga water sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Paromita Vishvanathan, Kolkata

9/28: Name: *Muga kantha* sari/Embroidered with *muga* floss silk; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.60 m; Width: 1.30 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Private Collection, New Delhi

◆ *Tangail* saris



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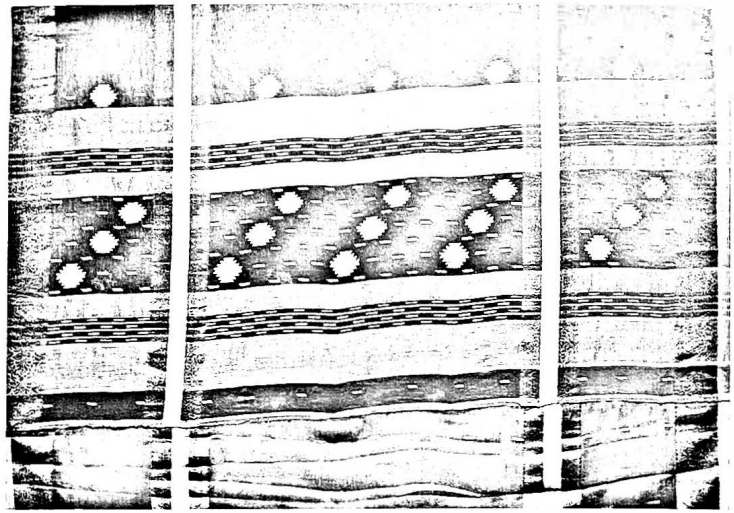

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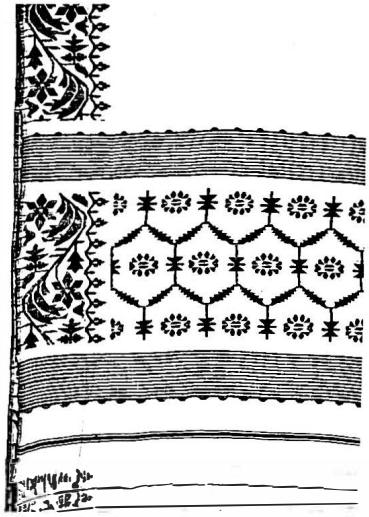
◆ *Dhakai jamdani* saris



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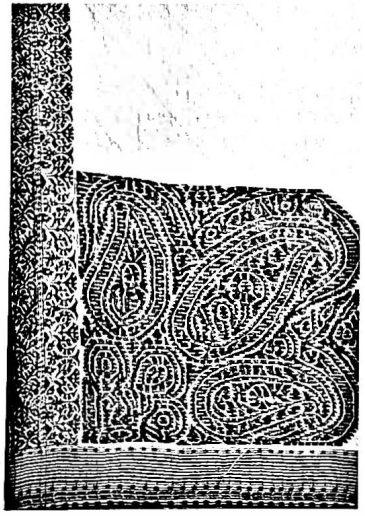

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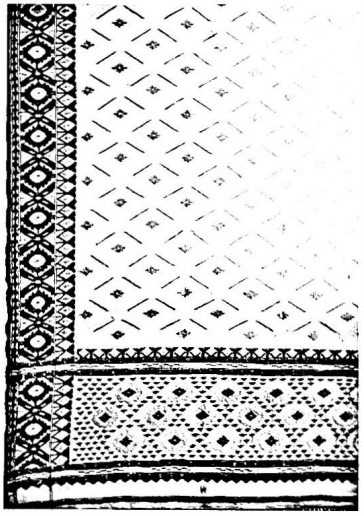

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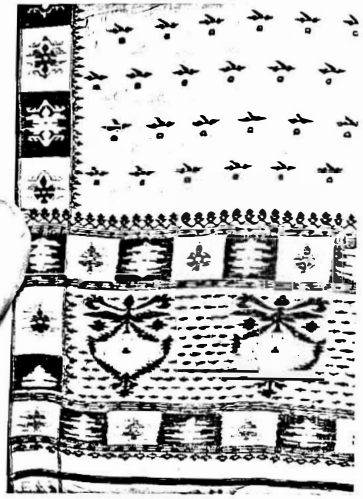
9/29: Name: *Paanch pere* sari/Five-border *tangail* sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Sujata Nag, New Delhi
9/30: Name: *Chaar pere* sari/Four-border *tangail* sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.90 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Sujata Nag, New Delhi
9/31: Name: *Phool paar* sari/Floral border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.95 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Anita Sen, New Delhi
9/32: Name: *Phool bel kalka konia* sari/Floral border and palsley corner motif end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.90 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Dhriti Kanta Lahiri and Sheila Choudhary, Kolkata
9/33: Name: *Padma jaal dhakai* sari/Lotus mesh sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.90 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 265 gm; Courtesy: Paromita Vishvanathan, Kolkata
9/34: Name: *Phool bel* sari/Floral vine border sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 270 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi



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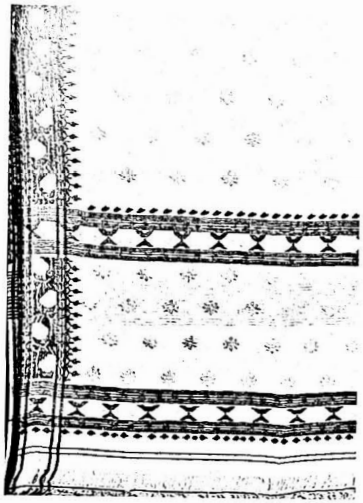

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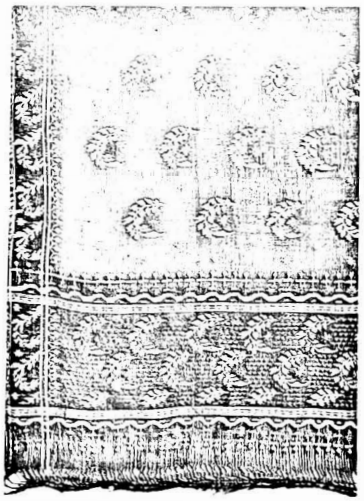

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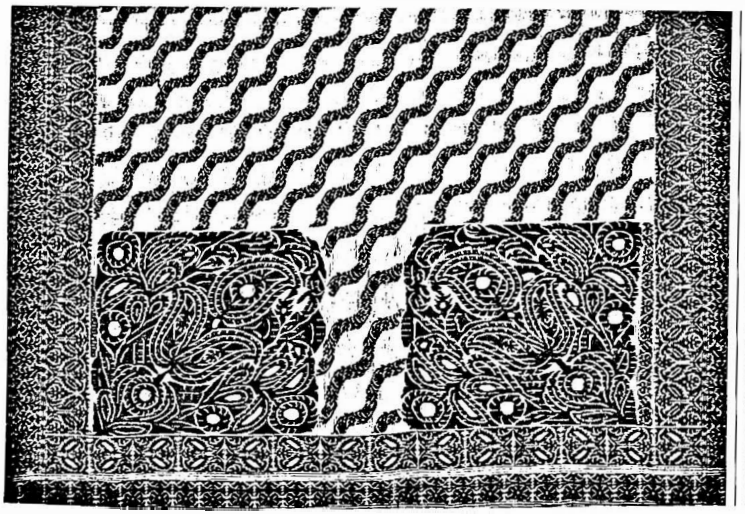
◆ *Dhakai bheeti* saris



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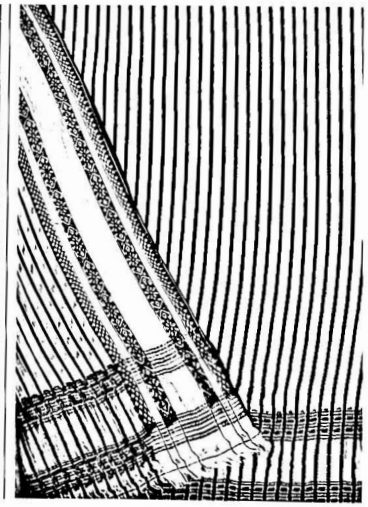

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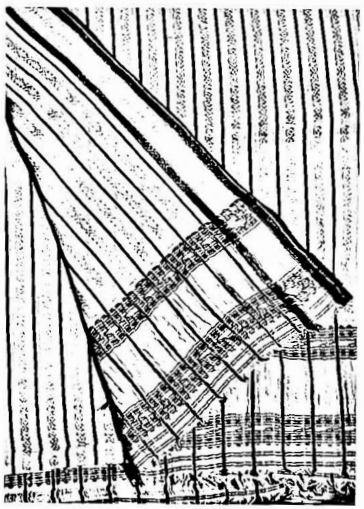


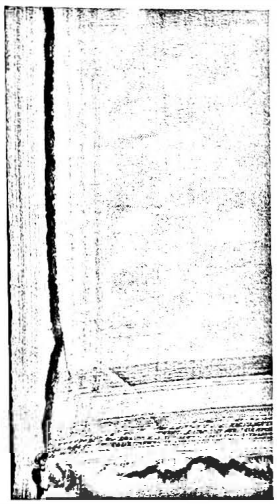
9/41

9/35: Name: *Ananosh aachol* sari/Pineapple end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 270 gm; Courtesy: Aloka Mitra, Kolkata
9/36: Name: *Phool jaal* sari/Floral mesh sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 4.90 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 300 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi
9/37: Name: *Paakhi kor* sari/Bird's-wing patterned sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 250 gm; Courtesy: Aloka Mitra, Kolkata

9/38: Name: *Haar buti neelambari* sari/Necklace-bead patterned indigo sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 4.90 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 260 gm; Courtesy: Dhriti Kanta Lahiri and Sheila Choudhary, Kolkata
9/39: Name: *Phool terchhi kalka konia* sari/Diagonal, floral corner pattern end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.95 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Sujata Bose, Kolkata

9/40: Name: *Dhakai bheeti* sari; Material: Cotton, silk, 80s; Length: 4.90 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Sunanda Bose, Kolkata
9/41: Name: *Dhakai bheeti* sari; Material: Cotton, silk, 80s; Length: 4.85 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Ruby Palchoudhary, Kolkata

3 TUSSAR SILK



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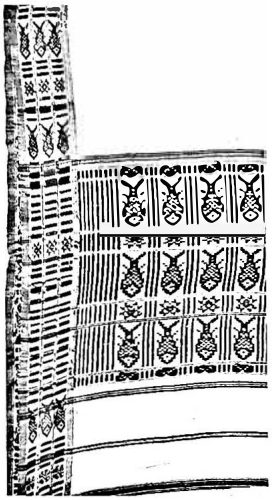

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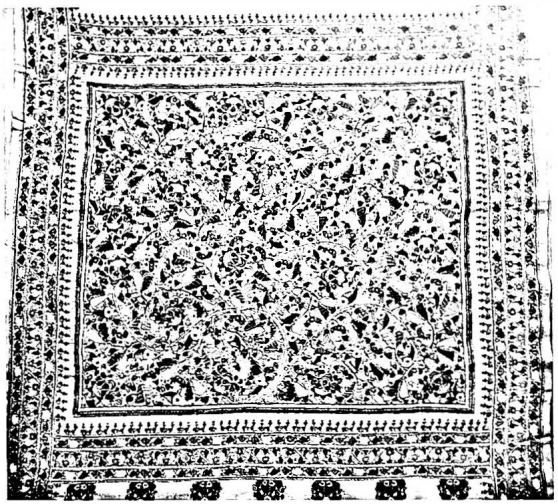

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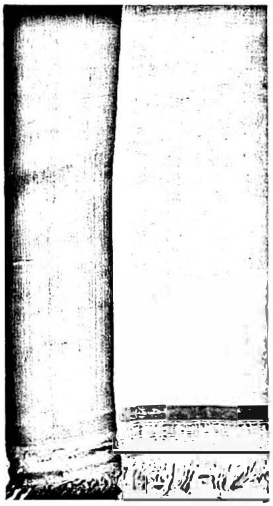
❁ *Gorad* and *korial* saris

4 MULBERRY SILK



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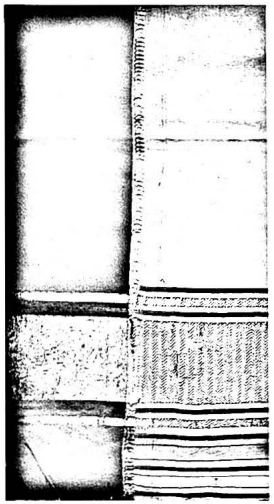

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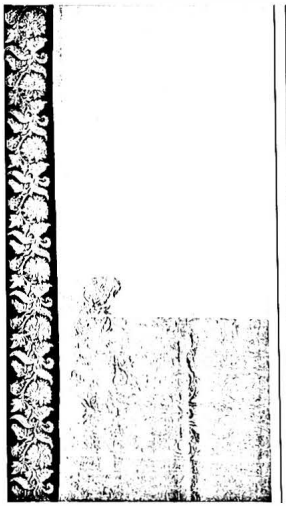
✣ Bishnupur



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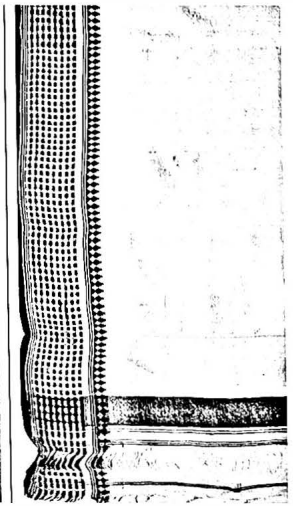

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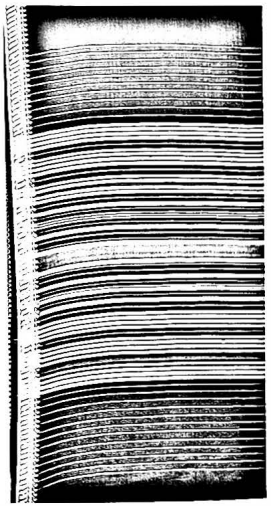

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9/42: Name: *Lal paar* sari/Red border sari; Material: Tussar, 15 cocoon; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 280 gm; Courtesy: Suman Benegal, New Delhi

9/43: Name: *Maachh paar* sari/Fish motif border sari; Material: Tussar, 12 cocoon; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 280 gm; Courtesy: Raka Chakravarty, New Delhi

9/44: Name: *Kantha* sari/Embroidered tussar sari; Material: Tussar silk; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 320 gm; Courtesy: Sunanda Bose, Kolkata

9/45: Name: *Chandmala paar sari*/String of moon border sari; Material: Tussar warp *muga* weft silk, 10-12 cocoon; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 320 gm; Courtesy: Suman Benegal, New Delhi

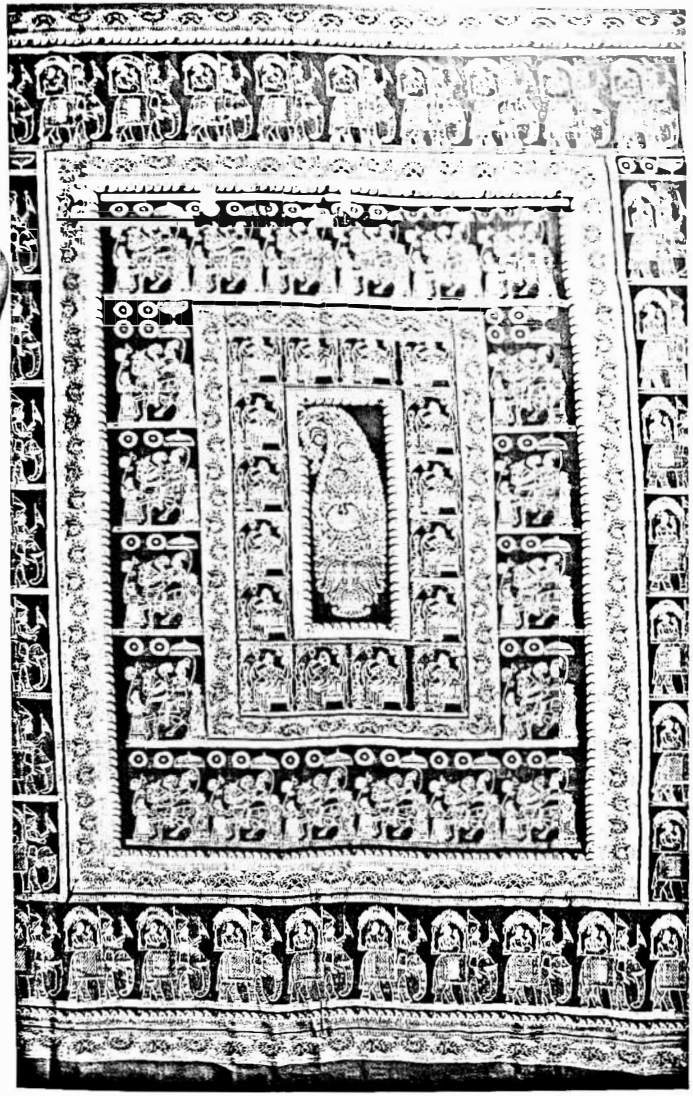
9/46: Name: *Gorad lal paar* sari/Red border sari; Material: Tussar warp silk weft, 12 cocoon; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 280 gm; Courtesy: Chitra Palchoudhary, Kolkata

9/47: Name: *Benki terchhi korial* sari/Wave pattern *korial* sari; Material: Silk, 20 dn; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 320 gm; Courtesy: Ela Dutta, Kolkata

9/48: Name: *Lota paar korial* sari/Floral vine-patterned *korial* sari; Material: Silk, 20 dn; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 310 gm; Courtesy: Bari Mitra, Kolkata

9/49: Name: *Chatai paar dhoti*/Mat-pattern border men's lower drape; Material: Silk, 22 dn; Length: 3.85 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 250 gm; Courtesy: Dhriti Kanta Lahiri and Sheila Choudhary, Kolkata

9/50: Name: *Pata paar* sari/Leaf-patterned border sari; Material: Silk, 22 dn; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 290 gm; Courtesy: Sreela Debi, New Delhi



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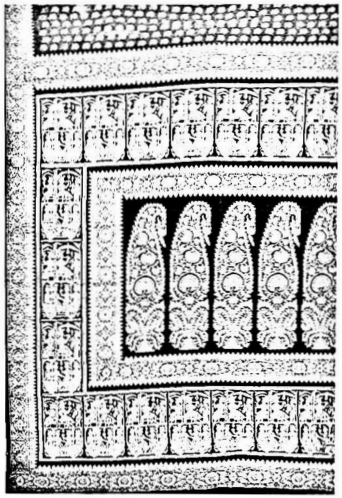

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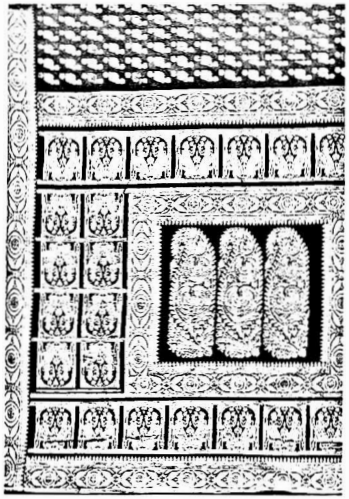

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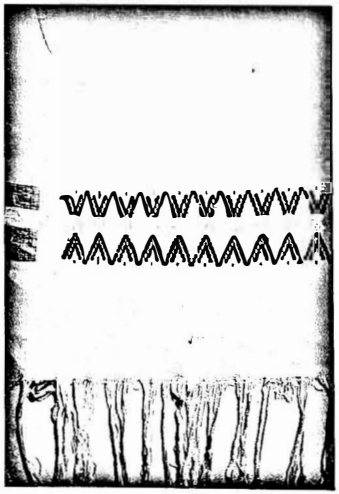

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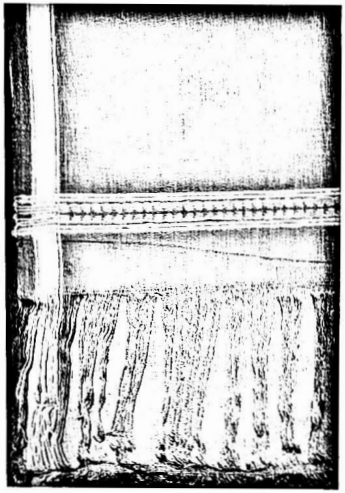


9/55

9/51: Name: *Baluchar* sari; Material: Silk, 22 dn; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Suchandra Ray
9/52: Name: *Baluchar* sari; Material: Silk, 20 / 22 dn; Length: 4.65 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 530 gm; Courtesy: C.L. Bharany, New Delhi
9/53: Name: *Baluchar* sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 550 gm; Courtesy: Ira De, New Delhi
9/54; 9/55: Name: *Paanchhi*/Drape; Material: Cotton, 30 s; Length: 2.40 m; Width: 0.80 m; Weight: 230 gm; Origin: Jalpaiguri, Jalpaiguri district

ବସନ୍ତ ବସନେ ଗଣ୍ଠିକି ଦେଇ କଣ୍ଢେ ପକାଇ
ବସନ୍ତ ବସନ ମୋହିବି ବହି ଘୁମାନ ବହି

Tying a knot at the end of her yellow sari
She flung it across her shoulders
Confident that she would charm the yellow-robed one.

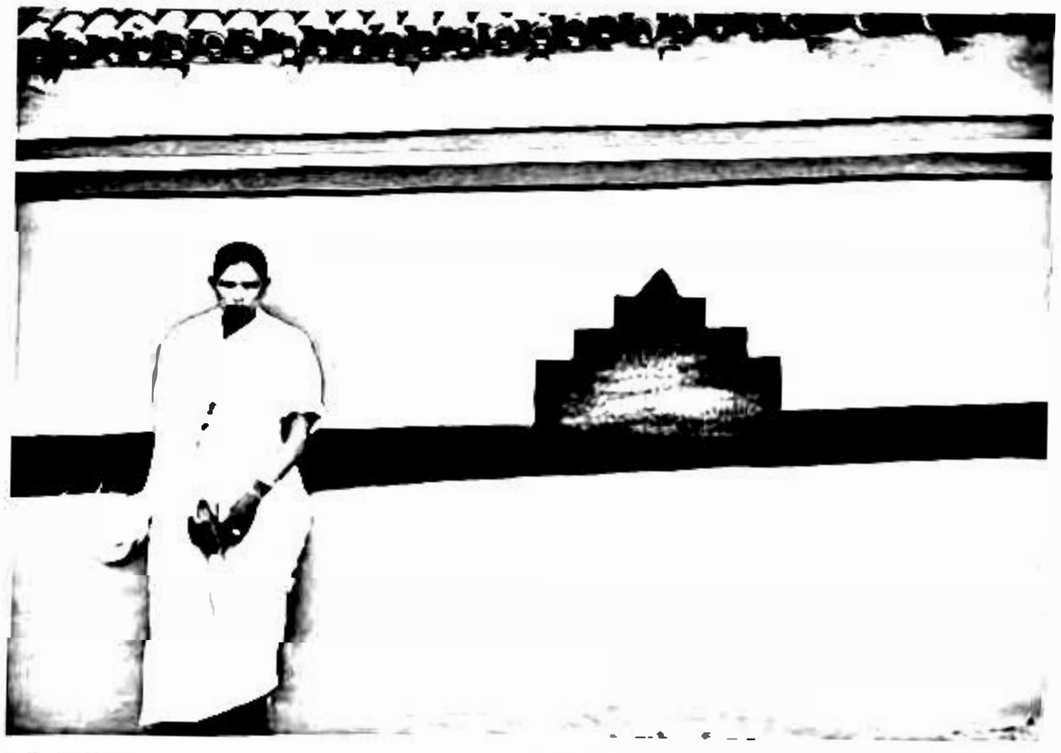
- Upendra Bhanja, eighteenth century

Orissa

The complex and chequered history of Orissa is clearly reflected in its textiles. The state was known for its renowned maritime culture and a flourishing production of textiles. It traded in fine and coarse cottons, silks and mixed fabrics, with Sri Lanka, Indonesia (Aceh), Malaysia (Kedah) and Myanmar (Pegu, Arakan and Tennasserim). Orissa also had a prosperous coastal trade within the country, through the ports of the Coromandel coast, Calcutta (Kolkata), Dhaka, Malabar and Gujarat.

Under the Mughals, political and economic uncertainty began to grow as the local Afghan chiefs, in their attempt to break free from Mughal dominance, often clashed with each other. They declared themselves as independent rulers of Bengal and Orissa, and often gained the support of local *zamindars* (landlords). In this already murky situation, the East India Company gained entry into Orissa by establishing a settlement in Balasore (now Baleshwar) in 1633. Earlier in the same year, they had set up a factory further inland in Cuttack, which they found to be unsafe and far from where their ships docked at Balasore. Fear stalked the lives of the weavers, who were caught in the crossfire between the merchants they wove for and the local warlords. Marauding soldiers often showed their might by razing whole weaving villages to the ground, 'spearing' weavers who had received 'good English silver' as an advance for the production of fabrics. In these circumstances, the East India Company created a captive weaver population by providing protection to factories it had set up in Balasore, Bhadrak and Balaramagadi, which were fortified encampments. It was said, 'in the last century, peaceful industry in Orissa was possible only within the range of English cannon.' (*Indian Textile History* Vol. VI) In the intervening period between 1751 and 1803, the Marathas made inroads into Orissa, initiating the drain of its natural resources, including rice and salt levied a heavy custom duty on the import of cotton into Orissa from Maharashtra through Raipur to Sambalpur. This was because Orissa did not produce enough cotton for its widespread, cotton-weaving belt. The textile industry began to languish as cotton prices rose until 1803, when the British took over the governance of Orissa once again.

For a short period till 1833 the export of fine cotton fabrics grew steadily, until the Charter Act was passed and Orissa was opened to the import of British goods. These



FINE COTTON: **(10/8)** Haldia danti moh saarhi/*Turmeric body, tooth-patterned end-piece sari; The exterior of a Santhal village hut.*

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ବସନ୍ତ ବସନ ମୋଡ଼ିରି ଏହି ଘୁମାନ ବହି

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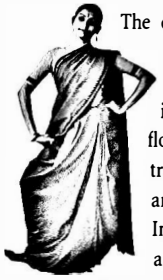
Orissa



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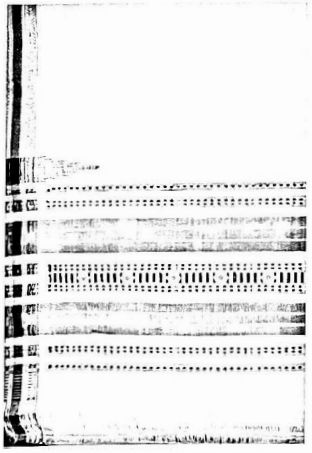

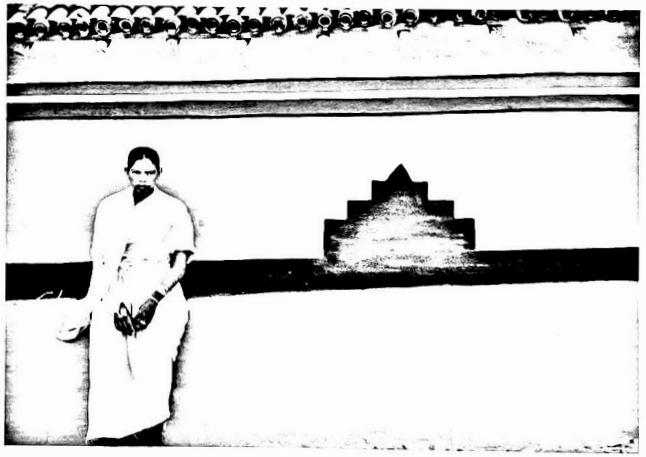

FINE COTTON: **(10/8)** Haldia danti moh saarhi/*Turmeric body, tooth-patterned end-piece sari; The exterior of a Santhal village hut.*

JHARKHAND
WEST BENGAL
CHHATTISGARH
ANDHRA PRADESH
Bay of Bengal
N
ORISSA
SUNDARGARH
JHARSUGUDA
SAMBALPUR
DEOGARH
BARGARH
SONAPUR
BALANGIR
BAUDA
NUAPARHA
KALAHANDI
NABARANGAPUR
RAYAGADA
KORAPUT
MALKANGIRI
GAJAPATI
PHULABANI
GANJAM
NAYAGARH
CUTTACK
DHENKANAL
ANGUL
KENDUJHARGARH
MAYURBHANJ
BALESHWAR
BHADRAK
JAJPUR
KENDRAPARA
JAGATSINGHPUR
KHORDHA
PURI
Samra
Sundargarh
Bamra
Banki
Jharsuguda
Rengali
Bhatli
Sambalpur
Deogarh
Bheden
Attabirra
Remenda
Barpali
Bijepur
Lamunda
Kardola
Sagarpalli
Binika
Pattabadi
Jhilimunda
Agalpur
Baidyanath
Sonapur
Subalaya
Babjore
Nauparha
Churapali
Luisinga
Solangir
Butupalli
Bauda
Harishankar
Patnagarh
Balangir
Narayanagar
Tikiraparha
Sarmuhan
Kandikhelgaon
Sainitala
Suribahal
Tittagarh
Phuldumur
Baligurha
Tikabali
Phulabani
Phiringia
Boden
Kharian
Ranipur Jharia
Hathibandha
Sinapali
Limsar
Muniguda
Bhawanipatna
Ambadala
Jagadalapur
Lanjigarh
Chichaiguda
Habaspur
Mudalipada
Sunamal
Chandrapur
Chatikona
Bissamcuttack
Sakata
Rayagada
Hatigonthar
Gunupur
Raygarh
Nabarangapur
Tentulikhunti
Kotapad
Boriguma
Jaypur
Koraput
Pottangi
Similiguha
Nandapur
Padwa
Malkangiri
Sorada
Bahagarh
Asika
Gobindpur
Hinjilikatu
Bomkai
Pittal
Pandia
Purushottampur
Taratarini
Berhampur
Ganjam
Gopalpur
Brahmapur
Surangi
Patrapur
Nuvalrevu
Bahalda
Rairangpur
Budhabeda
Bangiriposi
Suliapeda
Deoli
Tamudia
Banpada
Sana khunta
Barasahi
Maliha
Kaptipada
Makidia
Balaramgadi
Kendujhargarh
Thakurmunda
Baleshwar
Dharakholi
Talpada
Kedarpur
Talkoi
Fakirpur
Ghasipura
Anandpur
Jagannathpur
Chhendipada
Simnai
Ramchandarpur
Bhadrak
Basudebpur
Sukinda
Pedana
Jarasinghpur
Talcher
Kamakhyanagar
Dasharathpur
Bhuban
Angul
Nauhata
Podapada
Kabirpur
Shrirampur
Gopalpur
Chandbali
Athmallik
Sarakpatna
Dhenkanal
Chandanpur
Kendrapara
Narsinghpur
Alcher
Dashapalla
Khandaparha
Itamati
Gobindpur
Kantilo
Naupatna
Stukinda
Manyabandh
Tangi
Cuttack
False Point
Khandgiri
Bubaneshwar
Jagatsinghpur
Jaipur
Tirtol
Niali
Regadi
Pipli
Nuagedi
Kakatpur
Nayagarh
Khordha
Kaipadar
Olasingha
Raghurajpur
Puri
Maujbeg
Chhotapather
Bomkai
Pittal
Pandia
Purushottampur
Taratarini
Berhampur
Ganjam
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Tirtol
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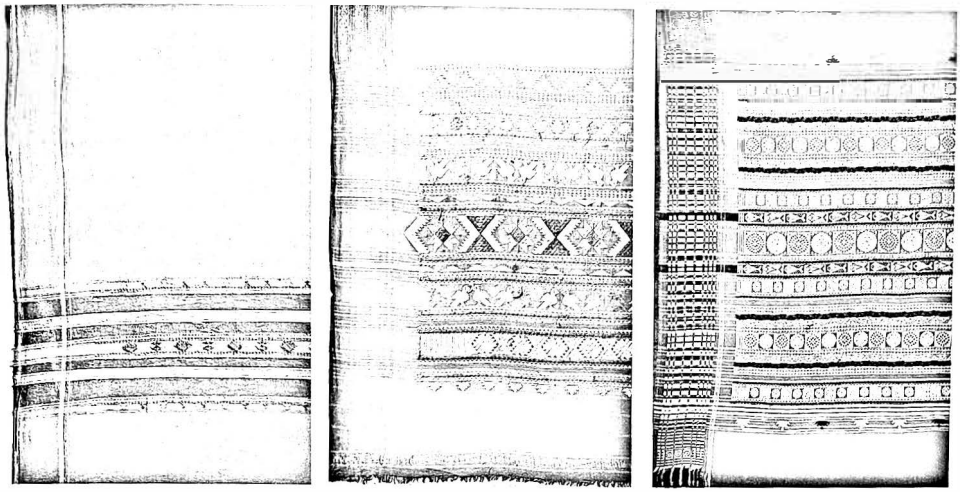
Regadi
Pipli
Nuagedi
Kakatpur
Nayagarh
Khordha
Kaipadar
Olasingha
Raghurajpur
Puri
Maujbeg
Chhotapather
FINE COUNT COTTON
COARSE COTTON
Cuttack
Nayagarh
TRIBAL COTTON
Bomkai
North Orissa Tribal-
Plain, Striped and Checked (Santhal)
Central/South Orissa Tribal-
Kondhs, Gadaba and Bonda
Kotapad
SILK
Tussar
Mulberry
IKAT- YARN-RESIST
Sonapur and Sambalpur
Nuapatna



COARSE COTTON: CUTTACK: **(10/10)** Haldia saarhi/*Turmeric body, plain border sari;* **(10/11)** Raskadam machho phulia saarhi/*Kadam flower, fish border end-piece sari;* **(10/12)** Kumar purnima saarhi/*Vermilion/red/yellow sari for full moon worship.*

were promoted by selling agents from Calcutta to Chandbali, and from Balasore to Cuttack, sounding the death knell for local fine cottons, which had been the chief article of commerce for nearly two centuries. Large numbers of the weaving population were reduced to penury.

The tussle between fine and coarse, plain and patterned cottons has thus, been a long-standing one, especially in the non-tribal coastal regions of the state. The tribal districts of the north, central and south have always largely produced a distinct range of coarse cotton saris for specific communities. Mulberry silks have overtaken tussar silk saris since the 1970s, but there are some select areas specializing in tussar saris with definite potential for further growth. Ikat (yarn-resist) saris and fabrics have seen the greatest proliferation since the 1970s, though at the cost of other patterned areas of production. Therefore, the categories of the traditional map have largely been obliterated not only by the increase of ikats in cotton and silk, but also by the increasing use of mercerised cotton yarns, which do not require brush-sizing. However, it is best to understand the categories as they once existed in order to further explore their potential.

FINE COTTON

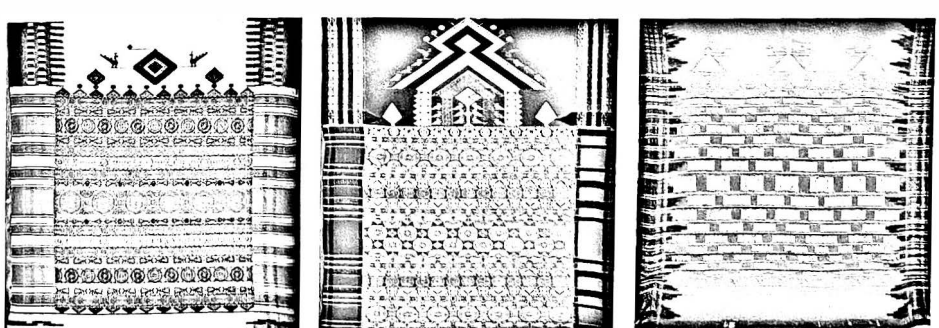
At the turn of the twentieth century there were only small pockets in Bhadrak, Kedarpur in Baleshwar districts, which were weaving fine-count cotton *dhotis* and saris for ceremonial occasions, as a large number of weavers had turned to coarse counts.

The simple *baula pata/baha luga/mandar, haldia danti moh saarhi* (10/8) marriage saris in unbleached white were dipped in *haldi* (turmeric) with red borders, yellow, or orange, with or without a central silk stripe of up to an inch. The end-piece could go up to three cubits in plain bands of the same colours as the borders or, in its more elaborate incarnation, incorporated patterned motifs such as flowers, butterflies, parrots, fish, conch shells and even the common housefly; invoking the young bride to be as humble as the housefly who does not discriminate upon what she alights.

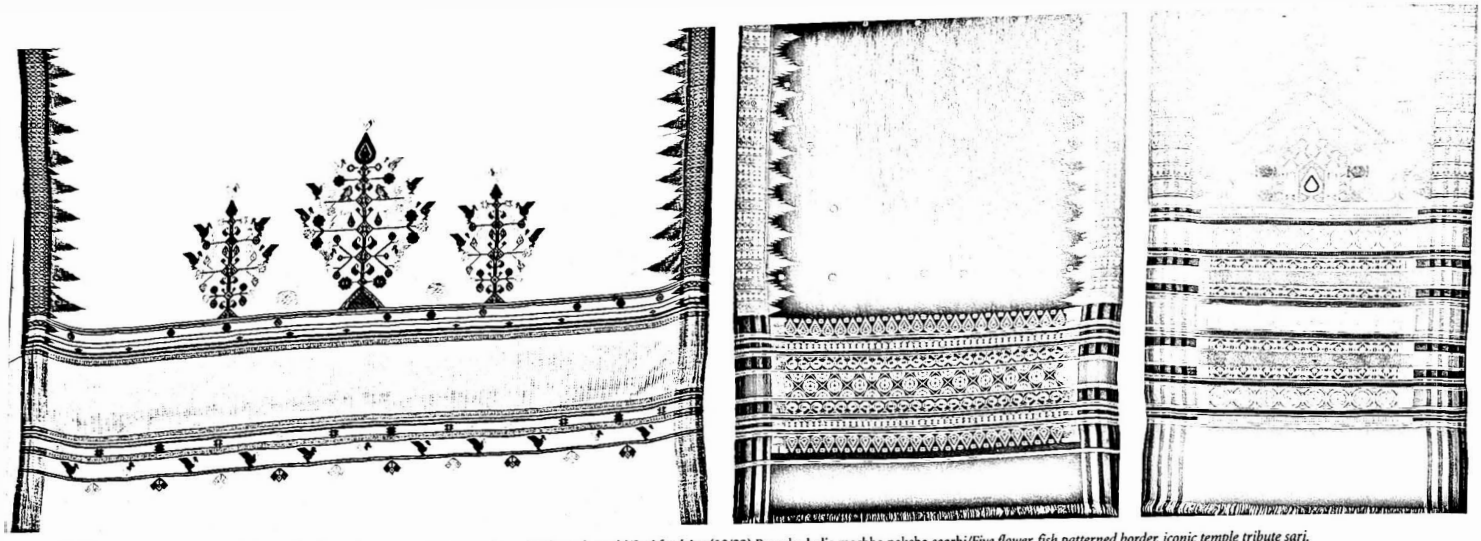
COARSE COTTON

Cuttack district: Parts of the northeastern districts of Jajpur, Baleshwar, Bhadrak, Mayurbhanj, Cuttack and Jagatsinghpur districts, which previously produced fine cotton fabrics and saris, have reverted to coarse count. Though they have some experience of weaving finer counts, these were ordinary examples compared to their coarse pattern range, which was unexpected and unprecedented. The rise and promotion of fly shuttle looms, followed by the cooperatives in the 1940s and 50s, dealt a further blow to the more intricate coarse counts with highly developed *dhadi* (extra warp-patterned borders) and extra weft-patterned *moh* (end-piece). We got to see some wonderful examples of the *haldia* sari (10/10) worn by the new bride at her first *saptamangala* (festival of the seven goddesses), with broad 8-to-12 finger-width *dhadi* borders and sparsely laid-out *moh* with extra weft floral compositions. This opened up a whole range of extra warp/extra weft patterned saris to include various floral forms of the *machho* (fish motif), *kachho* (tortoise) in the *chandrakani* and *rangadalimba* saris, and the *raskadam* (10/11) used sparingly for festivals and celebrations.

There was a clear balance between the patterned elements in heavily plied cotton and highlighted in parts such as the *daanti* (tooth) pattern in natural tussar silk. The *kumar purnima* sari (10/12) was worn by unmarried girls while they worshiped the rising moon in the month of *ashwin* (mid-September to mid-October). The *chaturthi*, given by a father to his daughter on the fourth day of her marriage, was also referred to as *kesara* as it was rubbed down with *kumkum* (vermilion) at the meeting of the body and the end-piece to provide a brighter edge. The entire range of the simple expanse of the *deh* (body) of the sari, against which the borders and end-pieces provided not only an elaborate framing, but also a culmination. In the *kankanbadi* (10/15) and *kusumi* (10/14), which have a similar structure of *chautari* (2 x 2 ply in 40s count), the body too sometimes has motifs depending on the customer's request and his/her capability to pay, with borders up to 4 fingers wide, topped with the *kankanbadi* or *dhenkanali kumbh* (yarn-resist temple spire) form as seen in *dohra kankanbadi saarhi*



COARSE COTTON: CUTTACK: **(10/15)** Dohra kankanbadi saarhi/*Unbleached body, flower, fish motif end-piece;* **(10/14)** Bibana kusumi saarhi/*Overdrape for bride;* **(10/16)** Simnai anchal saarhi/*Red body, flower, fish motif yarn-resist border, patterned end-piece sari.*



COARSE COTTON: NAYAGARH: **(10/21)** Desi bada sara/*Iconic temple tribute marriage sari;* **(10/19)** Kalamegh saarhi/*Sari for deity;* **(10/22)** Paanch phulia machho naksho saarhi/*Five flower, fish patterned border, iconic temple tribute sari.*

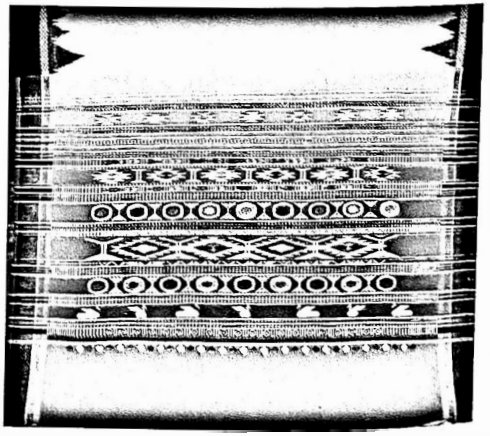
(10/15; pg 199). In this sari, with one-to-two *chakhand* (cubit) end-pieces the *sebati*, *ketaki* and *rudraksh* flower motifs in tussar on cotton, the weavers 'followed (their) desire and worked (their) will'. The end-piece culminates in a row of *mauda* (crown-like forms), followed by the *bichana* (hand fan) at the centre flanked by pairs of peacocks or parrots and at times, a *chaukia punji* (the hand that held the fan). The 12 cubit/5.54 metre long, 2 cubit/0.92 centimetre wide *bibana kusumi* (10/14; pg 199) is a formal drape over the bride, ornamented with the *bibana* (palanquin); commemorating the journey of the bride to her new home, and the *kusumi* (hibiscus flower), the auspicious symbol of the mother goddess. There was even a pattern to the colours in the *saat phulia dhadi*, the seven-flower border, with the first and last rows in white, the second, fourth and sixth in turmeric yellow, and the third and fifth in black, crowned by the four-finger-wide *phoda kumbh* (temple spire) in black.

Further on, in Dhenkanal, one finds the *simnai anchal saarhi* (10/16; pg 199), identified by the weft yarn-resist *kumbh*-like border edges (referred to as *kapu/tapua*) with a flame-like form and the *phete* woven by the *sarak* Buddhist community. The skill of *bandha* (yarn-resist) exists in a very rudimentary form in this range, as can be seen in the *haldia* sari (10/10; pg 209), and is rarely used for figured patterning. Although tussar is used in portions of the extra warp/weft patterning, it is sparingly used to highlight patterned elements and the weavers of the area have seldom used it in the base of the fabric, even though they are within the tussar cultivating areas of Orissa. It is relevant to point out that these saris are not woven today, and though some of them were revived for the '*kalinga vastra*' collection for this book project in 1996, their production has not been sustained thereafter. What is noteworthy is the weavers' skill and ingenuity in coarse counts, with the finest detailing in borders and end-pieces.

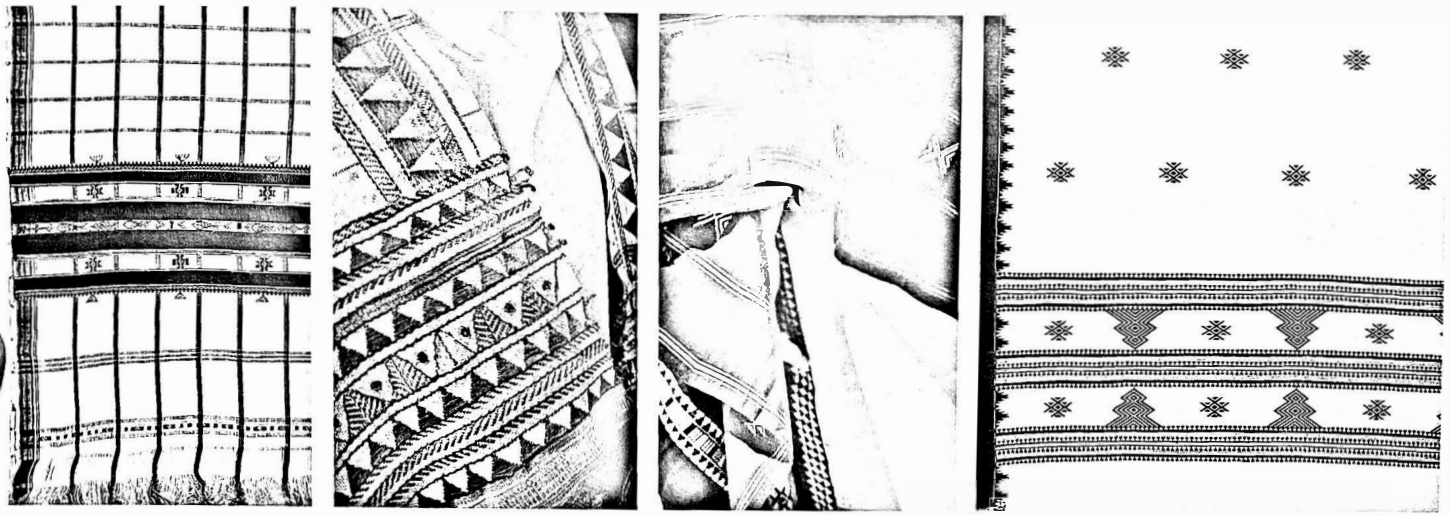
Nayagarh district: The culmination of this coarse count range is reached in the districts of Nayagarh and Ganjam, in which we find not only the *kusumi* and some of the saris seen previously, but also the *naksho* (10/22), *desi bada sara* (10/21) and *kalamegh* (10/19) sari, the first two being marriage-related and the last one used to dress the goddess herself. The structure of the weave, in some cases basket-weave is far superior to those seen previously. These are usually in the range of 40s to 60s count, 2 ply with a reed of an even number. What set these saris apart were not only their elaborate borders, but also the extraordinary culmination of the end-pieces in the weavers' interpretation of the Jagannath Puri Temple and the deities within, along with 3 to 5 smaller iconic motifs of betel trees, or birds in up to 8 ply extra weft (10/22). These were startling abstract renderings of an aesthetic so finely tuned that they could not survive market pressures and production costs, and slowly we found patterned elements reduced to the *pheta* (flag), *kalash* (temple dome) and *rath* (chariot); until all visible signs of the edifice disappear and only the plinth remained in memory of the temple base. The weavers have moved from 20s and 40s to 60s, and now even to 80s, 2/100s and 2/120s mercerised cotton, but largely in *bandha* weft ikat range 'in order to survive, as *bandha* sells like nothing else does.' This is the story of all the saris of Orissa; they have lost their moorings in succumbing to market taste.

TRIBAL COTTON

Bomkai: The example of Bomkai, a single village in Ganjam district, is worth taking note of as it has kept alive a range of coarse cotton saris such as the *muhajorha naksho saarhi* (10/26). These are distinct in their use of only heavily plied cotton, with stylized floral and geometrical patterns in the borders and *muhajorha* (contrast-colour attached end-pieces; as seen below). These were woven by the Patra and Nayak weaving communities for the local Sadhaba (mercantile community), now settled in the area as landlords. The weavers remember saris such as *ramchandra pedi* and *kuthi ramchandra pedi* (10/27; pg 211), one plain and the other with the *kuthi* (check) in the body and various



TRIBAL COTTON: BOMKAI: **(10/26)** Muhajorha naksho saarhi/*Three-shuttle contrast border end-piece sari.*



NORTH ORISSA TRIBAL: STRIPES, CHECKS AND PLAIN SARIS – SANTHAL: **(10/36)** Phuta kaunti chowkda/*Check body, patterned end-piece drape;* CENTRAL/SOUTH ORISSA TRIBAL: KONDH, GADABA, BONDA: **(10/39)** Rekti kapda ganda/*Woven emroidered drape; Kotapad:* **(10/44)** Mae lugda tarap pata/*Bride's mother's sari;* **(10/43)** Kans bandhi lugga/*Three-part end-piece sari.*

forms of stylized *kalera phulia* (flower) in the end-piece. In the sari below (10/26) we can see a fence-like edging and the contrast-coloured attached end-piece with the parrot or peacock motif. The advent of chemical dyes in the 1930s and the setting up of the Kalinga spinning mills at Dhenkanal facilitated the weaving of these saris. However, the production of these saris had petered out by the 1970s, and it was only in the mid-1980s that they were revived for the Visvakarma Exhibition. Bomkai has retained its throw shuttle looms, though the yarns have moved to finer counts. The surrounding areas have also begun to produce Bomkai like saris in 2/120s and 80s, and now even in mulberry silk, but without the originality, flair and flourish of Bomkai. There is a trickle of saris still produced in Bomkai on throw-shuttle looms in cotton, and as the weavers put it, 'What we lack here is infrastructural support.' Working credit, quick reimbursement, especially for saris sold to government agencies, and constant yarn supply are their main concerns.

Bonda women with ringa buying yarn; **(10/38)** Bonda ringa/*Woman's lower drape.*

North Orissa tribal – Plain, striped and checked saris (Santhal): There is a broad tribal belt running through the districts of Mayurbhanj and Kendujhargarh in the northeast, through Sundergarh in the northwest, Phulbani at the centre, moving southwards to Rayagada, Nabarangapura and Koraput, culminating in Malkangiri. The northern districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar are dominated by the simple, unbleached coarse count saris for the Santhals, with limited heavily plied weft-patterning in the end-pieces (10/32 to 10/37; pg 212). The Maa Santhal sari (10/32) with its plain/maroon borders is dipped in *haldi* (turmeric), and so is the *mae* (bride's mother's sari). The kaunti saris have the most elaborate end-pieces of this range (10/36, 10/37); at times with a broad check in the body along with a split border.

Central/South Orissa tribal – Kondh, Gadaba and Bonda: There are many tribal tracts that have not taken to clothing, or it exists in a very rudimentary form. However, there are some outstanding pieces of draped garment such as the *ringa* (10/38; left) of the Bonda tribe, woven with the bark of the *kudhei* and *sisal* tree in the weft, which is noteworthy. The simplicity of the weft, natural dyed patterning and the subtlety of the colour combinations is significant too. As Verrier Elvin (ethnologist) explains in his book *Bonda Highlander*:

> 'The *ringa* is something more than just a bit of cloth. It is the badge of the tribe established in mythology, enforced under penalty of stringent sanctions; to weave it is the supreme action, after child-bearing, of the Bonda woman; all her art goes into this one form of self-expression.'

The two-piece drape of the *dongaria kondh* tribe in Rayagada district is also worthy of consideration as it combines weft stripes in the weave; sparsely laid out in the body, building up to two heavily laid-out end-pieces in which the blank areas are filled in with embroidered fertility symbols. The lower drape is called *kapda ganda*, whereas the upper drape is the *rekti kapda ganda* (10/39), which is 10 cubits long with a width of 80 centimetres. It is either given by the girl to her younger brother, or given at the *meriah* (sacrifice) by unmarried boys to girls whom they would like to choose as their bride. If she likes it, she keeps the drape or else returns it.

Kotapad (Koraput district): The culmination of this tribal belt is the village of Kotapad in Koraput district, which continues to weave a small number of the most sophisticated coarse count three-shuttle, weft-patterned end-piece saris. The *mae lugda tarap pata* (10/44) worn by the bride's mother, especially at weddings, and the *kansa bandhi* (10/43) are prime examples of the single colour *gaal* (madder) dyed saris brought by the Gadaba and Paroja tribes from the forests of Malkangiri district.

The coarse count yarn is brought from Sambalpur and woven on three-shuttle pit looms similar to those in adjoining Bastar district of Chhattisgarh state. Though it is a dwindling trade, coarse cotton received some support during the Visvakarma Exhibition and continues to find a market in other parts of India.

SILK

Tussar: In the northern districts of Kendujhargarh, Baleshwar and Mayurbhanj, is the *matha*/tussar and *eri* silk rearing region of Orissa. There is a limited amount of *dhoti* and sari weaving (10/48 to 10/51; pg 213) in these and neighbouring districts, especially woven for auspicious occasions: the plain body sari with floral/fish/tortoise borders and end-piece separated by stripes (10/45; pg 213). Often, the broken stripes or a composition of stripes formed a chain-like pattern, and these were worked into the end-piece and borders with great flourish. The ultimate, however, was the *saat phulia jala* tussar sari (below) with seven rows of a single flower motif, repeated across the width; be it the *kantaphul*, *genduphul*, *padamphul*, or *kadamphul*, all of which found their place in the end-piece as well. The everyday saris in these areas were mainly in coarse cottons with only their ornamentation in tussar silk. With the presence of the more highly skilled Tanti weavers from Bengal, there was a limited amount of weaving of tussar saris for the Orissa market, as a large part of the raw material and woven fabric went to states in South India and Bengal. Some raw materials were also sold to the ikat-producing areas of Cuttack and Balangir.

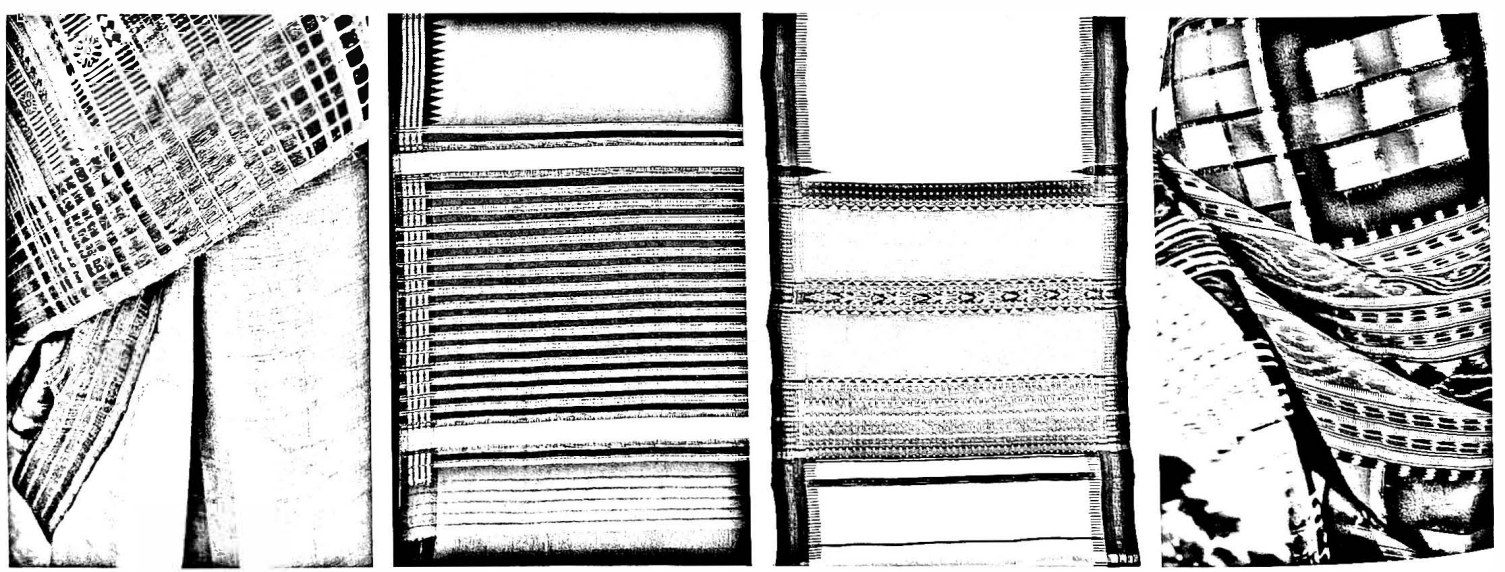
Mulberry: Mulberry silk saris followed the pattern range of the earlier tussar saris, with the increasing availability of mulberry silk from West Bengal and Karnataka. The patterns further refine the flower, fish, tooth and grain-inspired motifs seen in both coarse and fine cotton. Their main contribution is the finesse of scale, colour and vibrancy they bring to the silk sari range, as can be seen in *chaar phulia phoda kumbh paata* (10/55, below).

IKAT – YARN-RESIST

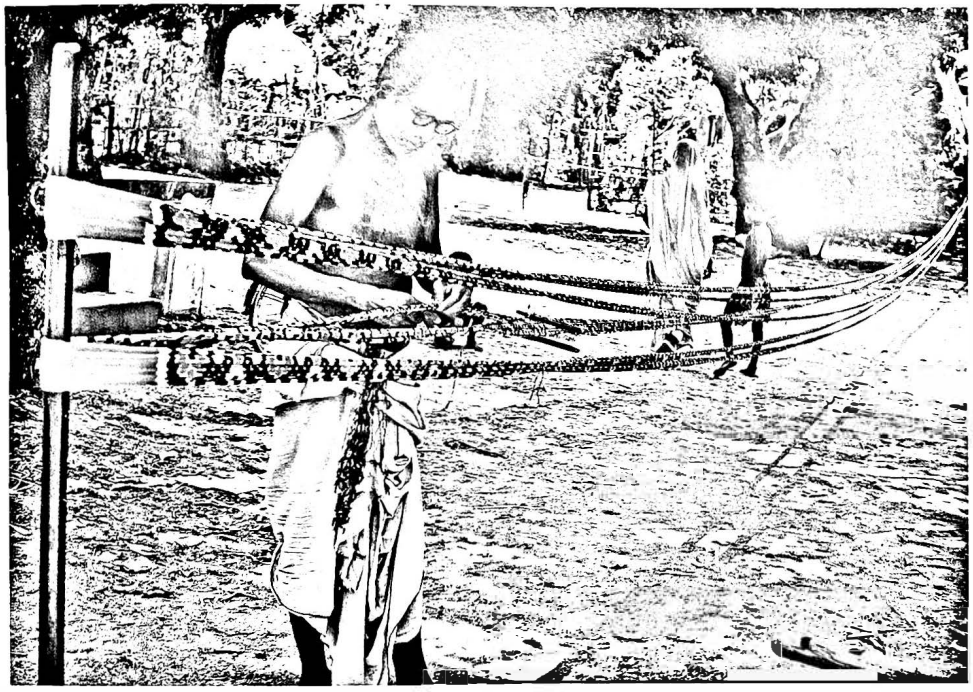
Sonapur and Sambalpur: Today, Orissa's saris are largely identified by the ikat range. These were originally produced in the western districts of Sambalpur, Sonapur, Bargarh, Balangir, Nuaparha and Kalahandi. The growing popularity of weft resist ikat has spread to all parts of the state, especially the eastern region, from the simplest *machho* (fish; 10/58) and *phula* (flower) to the auspicious *singha* (lion), *mayuro* (peacock), *padma* (lotus), *baulmala* (string of flowers), *shankha* (conch) and *harina* (deer), many of these on everyday saris (10/57 to 10/69; pg 214-216). *Bhulia* Meher weavers inhabit this entire ikat belt and though they are not *koshta* Mehers; who it is said, were adept at handling silk, many of them have woven in coarse and fine count cottons as well. Likewise, there are a variety of geometrical and figurative ikats, such as the habaspuri sari (10/59; pg 214) or the *dungurlia kapta* in Habaspur, Kalahandi district.

The villages of Kardola and Jhilimunda in Bargarh are said to be the oldest centres of ikat weaving in the area, where the traditional five well-known cotton saris were woven (10/62 to 10/65; pg 215) - the *saktapar* (10/64), *vichitrapuri* (10/65), *sachipar* (10/63; pg 215), *dantipar* (tooth-pattern in the border) and *chitrapar* (10/62) - in black and red, in which extra warp/weft patterning was picked out in tussar. In most of the old samples, the yarn-resist was very elementary in the early twentieth century, with the *ghagra* and *deoli* (wave and hill), animal and flower motifs coming later. The influence of the square *telia rumals* of Andhra can be seen in the *saktapar* saris with their ikat checkerboard warp/weft yarn-resist and dark, muted colours akin to other parts of South India and Southeast Asia as well. The *saktapar* sari has weft ikat for the *moh* (end-piece), warp ikat for the *dhadi* (borders), and a combination of the two for the body. In addition to the ikat, Sambalpur saris frequently use supplementary warp patterning to provide an elaborate additional border between the two exisiting borders. These woven borders, known as *phulia*, incorporate a number of rows of the flower motif in the border, ranging from one to twelve.

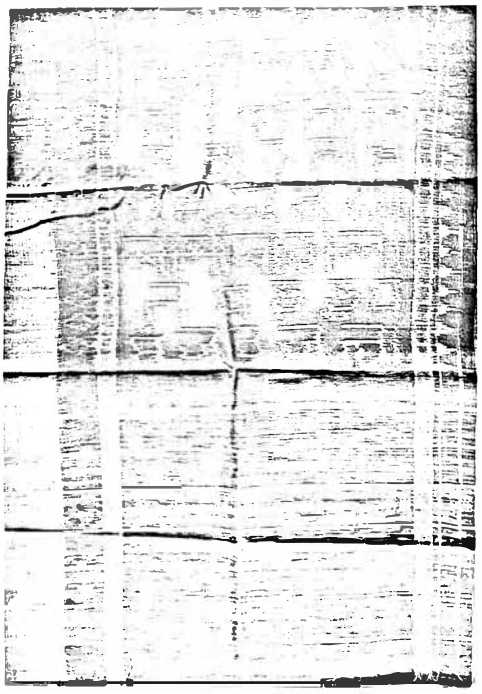
What is most revealing in the primitive ikats is the manner in which it is used with other extra warp/weft elements to create a yarn patterning that receives relief and highlighting by the extra warp/weft elements. The intermingling of the two is highly evolved and effective, as can be seen in the traditional saris of Bargarh and Sambalpur. This also performs a functional role in the highly strengthened end-pieces; one of which goes around the back and is able to take the wear and tear of squatting and walking, while the outer end-piece is often used to carry or cover things brought from the fields or the market.



SILK: TUSSAR: Saat phulia jala tussar sari/*Seven flower patterned border tussar sari;* MULBERRY SILK: **(10/55)** Chaar phulia phoda kumbh paata/*Four-flower, three-shuttle border silk sari;* IKAT: SONAPUR AND SAMBALPUR: **(10/58)** Bandhi dhadi machho moh saarhi/*Yarn-resist border, fish end-piece sari;* **(10/64)** Saktapar saarhi/*Three-border checkerboard pattern, yarn-resist sari.*



Yarn-resist tying process.



(10/71) Jagannath Puri chadar/*Deity's drapes.*

Nuapatna: Nuapatna, in the central district of Cuttack, is the only other area that produces the floral/vine yarn-resist and calligraphic poetic renderings (10/71) in tussar silk, given as offerings at the Jagannath Puri Temple. These are characterized by a more flowing curvilinear weft yarn-resist pattern range that frees itself of the geometrical grip. The calligraphic poetry on the Jagannath Puri *chadar* consists of verses of the poet Jayadev, in praise of the Lord.

This broad range of handloom saris in Orissa has received sporadic support and development initiatives from within the Weavers' Service Centre in Bhubaneshwar, and from the office of the development commissioner, handlooms, at the centre. Besides, there are some exceptional production organisations within Orissa which have received design development support, among them the Sambalpur Bastralaya at Bargarh with whom the Kalingavastra Collection was produced at the end of 1996. Prior to these efforts, there were a number of initiatives taken by the State Textile Corporation to develop and produce a traditional range of saris. Sadly, now there has been a declining interest among all these agencies to support and strengthen the handloom infrastructure and product range. For a state like Orissa, in which the rural poor depend greatly on handlooms, this has been a period of decline and loss of hope. Though this sector need not be looked upon as one of poverty alleviation; as seen in the case of most states, there is a gradation of skills from basic to the highly developed and the growth of both ends is necessary for the progression of the sector as a whole. Weavers are capable of comprehending, translating and developing complex concepts into concrete realities that give substance to aesthetic imagination and technical ingenuity.

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ଦେଶବାସୀ ଚାଲି ଯାଆନ୍ତୁ ପିଠିରେ

Let my body mingle in the soil of my land
So my compratriots may tread upon it.
Gopabandhu Das, nineteenth century

STYLE 1: SANTHAL/Santhal community wearing style
LENGTH: 5.5 yd/ 5 m
WORN BY: Santhal community
AREA: North Orissa

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise.
2. Tie knot at right waist. Bring free end at left waist and tuck in.
3. Make four to five broad pleats with free end of sari at left waist.
4. Tuck in gathered pleats at centre front waist.
5. Throw free end of sari over left shoulder holding loose portion in right hand.
6. Tuck in loose portion at right back waist.
7. Bring free end of sari to front anticlockwise and tuck into left waist.

STYLE 1: VARIATION 1

Stages 1, 2, 3 and 4 are common with Style 1

5. Take free end-piece around breast anticlockwise and hold at back over right shoulder.
6. Tie knot with outer end-piece and upper front border at right shoulder.

STYLE 1: VARIATION 2

Stage 1 is common with Style 1

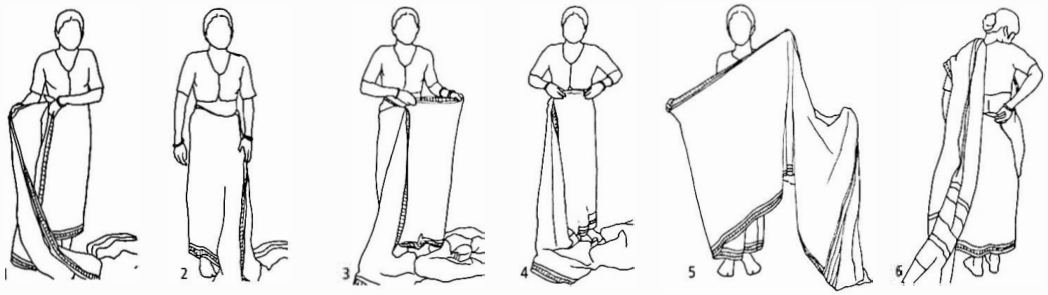
2. Bring free end to left and tuck in.
3. Throw free end-piece over left shoulder and tuck in right hand portion at back waist.
4. Bring outer end-piece to front under right arm.
5. Tuck in free end-piece at left waist.

STYLE 2: KOTAPAD/Tribal rural community style
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.3 m
WORN BY: Tribal rural community
AREA: South Orissa

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and knot at right waist.
2. Hold free end portion with left hand.
3. Throw free end over left shoulder.
4. Bring free end to front under right arm.
5. Take outer end-piece around chest anticlockwise and tie knot with front upper border at right shoulder.

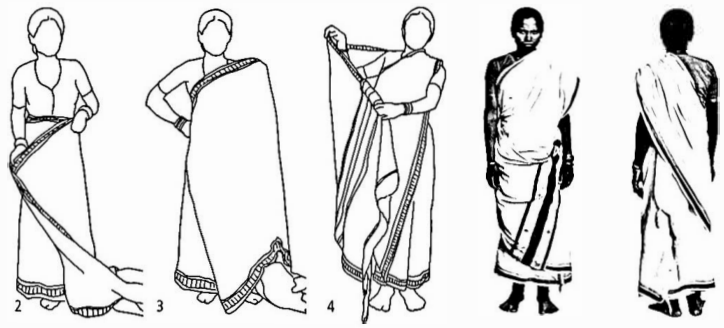
WEARING STYLES – ORISSA

STYLE1: SANTHAL/Santhal community wearing style

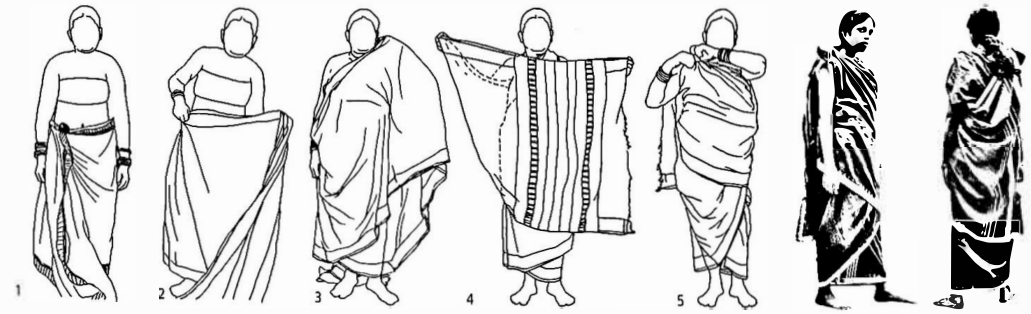


STYLE 1: VARIATION 1

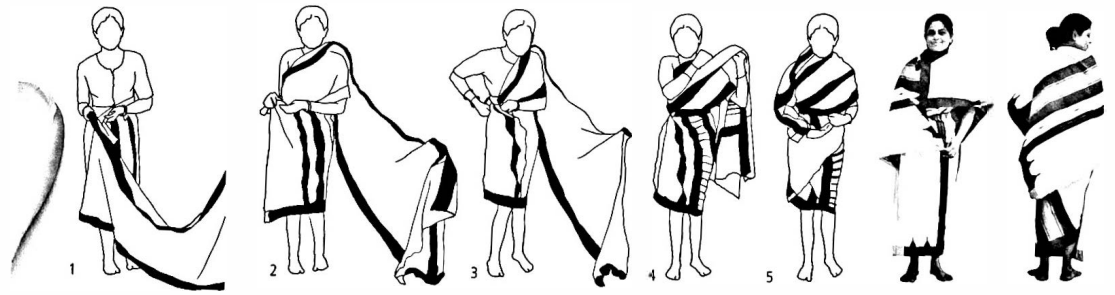
STYLE 1: VARIATION 2



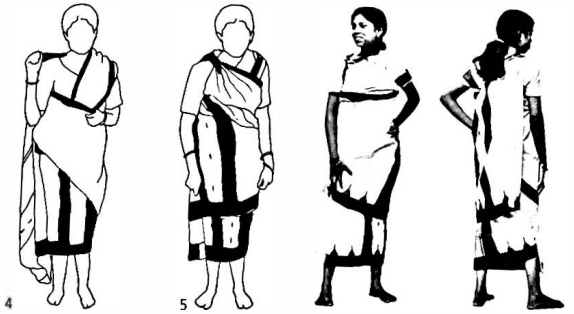
STYLE 2: KOTAPAD/Tribal rural community style



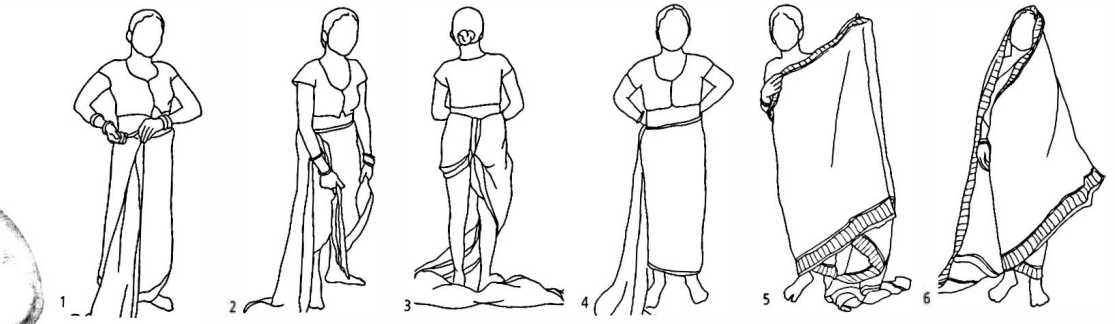
STYLE 3: KOTAPAD/Tribal rural community style



STYLE 3: VARIATION 1



STYLE 4: KUNCHA/Broad-fold wearing style



STYLE 3: KOTAPAD/Tribal rural community
LENGTH: 5.30 yd/ 4.80 m
WORN BY: Tribal rural community
AREA: South Orissa

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise.
2. Throw free end portion over left shoulder.
3. Fix inner end into thrown-over end-piece at right waist.
4. Bring free end-piece to front under right arm and throw over left shoulder again.
5. Outer end-piece may be brought to front under right arm and tucked into left waist.

STYLE 3: VARIATION 1

Stages 1, 2 and 3 are common with Style 3

4. Bring outer end-piece around chest anticlockwise and hold at right back shoulder.
5. Tie knot with outer end upper corner and upper front border at right shoulder.

STYLE 4: KUNCHA/Broad-fold wearing style
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.30 m
WORN BY: Tribal community
AREA: Central Orissa

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Hold inner end-piece in front.
3. Take lower end of inner end-piece between legs and tuck in at centre back waist.
4. Bring free end around waist anticlockwise.
5. Throw free end portion of sari over left shoulder.
6. Take free end portion in front under right arm.
7. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder.

STYLE 5: GHORAPINDHA/Housewear style
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.2 m
WORN BY: Tribal communities
AREA: Central/East Orissa

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist anticlockwise and tie knot at right waist. Bring loose end portion around waist clockwise.
2. Throw free end-piece over right shoulder front to back.
3. Bring free portion to front under left arm.
4. Throw again over right shoulder.

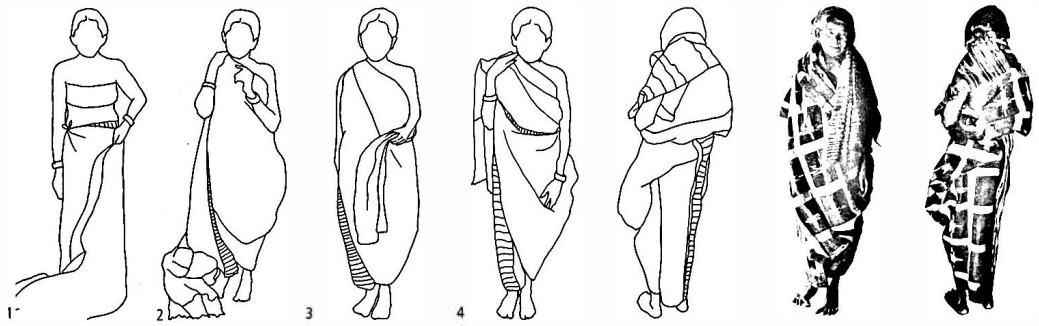
STYLE 6: MEHER/Weaving community style
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.2 m
WORN BY: Weaving community
AREA: West Orissa

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at left waist.
2. Bring free end to right.
3. Throw free end of sari over right shoulder.
4. Bring free portion to front under left arm.
5. Throw free portion once again over right shoulder.
6. Bring outer end-piece to front over left shoulder.

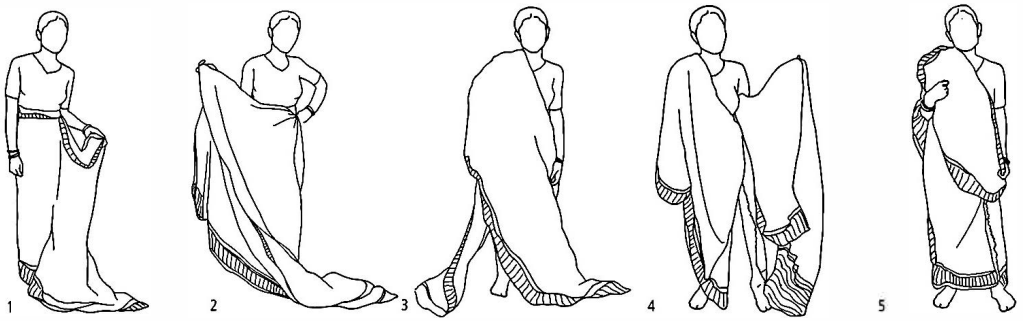
STYLE 6: VARIATION 1
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/ 5.2 m

1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot at centre front waist.
2. Bring free end portion over left shoulder.
3. Tuck in right looped portion at back waist.
4. Bring free portion to front over rightshoulder arm.
5. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder and bring it to right shoulder.
6. Bring it to front over right arm.

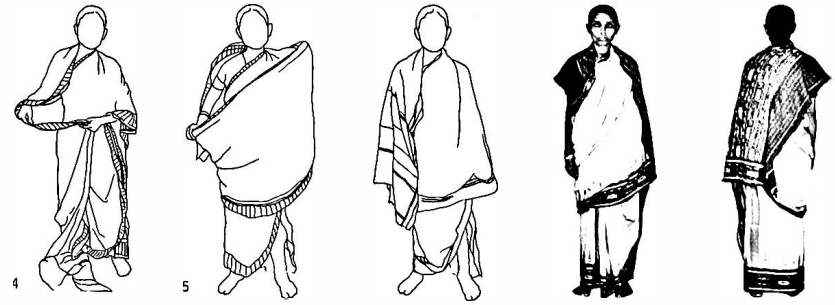
STYLE 5: GHORAPINDHA/Housewear style



STYLE 6: MEHER/Weaving community style



STYLE 6: VARIATION 1



STYLE 7: KACHHA/Between-the-legs Odissi dance style

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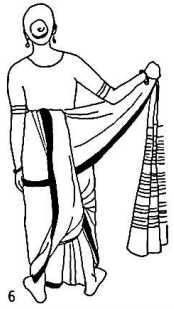
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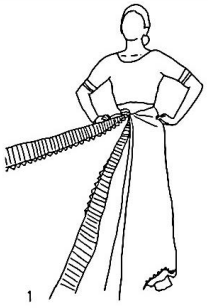
STYLE 7: VARIATION 1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STYLE 7: KACHHA/Between-the-legs Odissi dance style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Dancers
AREA: Central and Eastern Orissa

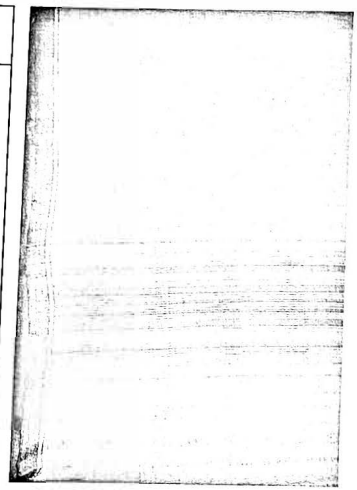
1. Leaving 1.5 m from inner end-piece, wrap around waist and tie knot at centre front waist.
2. Bring left inner end portion to back between the legs.
3. Make pleats of pulled portion at back.
4. Tuck in gathered pleats at centre back waist.
5. Make pleats of front free end-piece lying at right side.
6. Pleat outer end-piece and bring anticlockwise under the tucked and gathered pleats at back to front at right waist.
7. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder.

STYLE 7: VARIATION 1
LENGTH: 5.7 yd/5.3 m

1. Wrap sari around waist from middle leaving end-piece little longer on right side. Knot at centre front waist.
2. Bring left portion to back between legs.
3. Gather pulled portion and tuck in at left back waist at intervals. Pull free end-piece of right side to back between legs.

4-5. Gather some of it and tuck in at right back waist at intervals.

6. Throw outer end-piece over left shouder.



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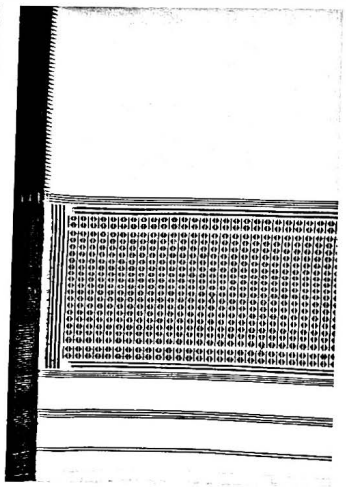

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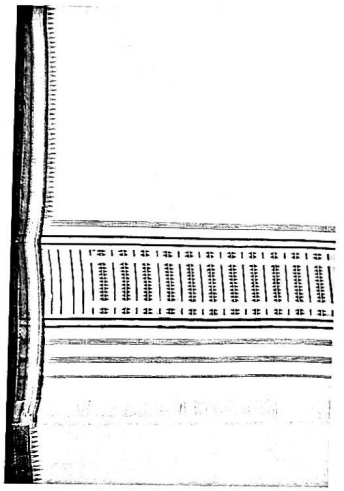

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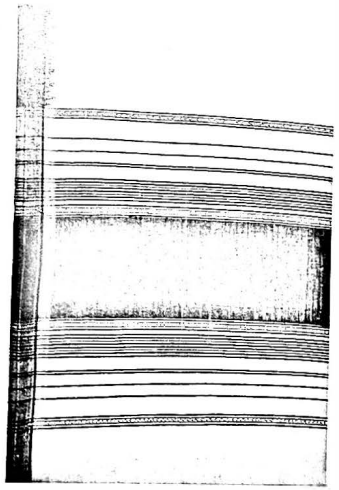

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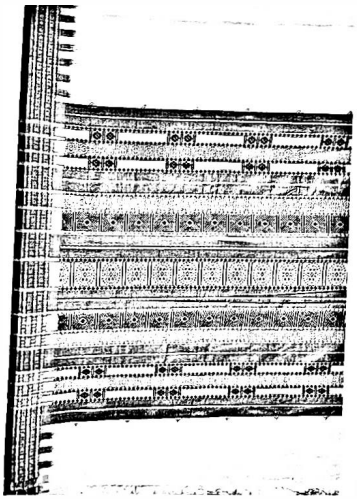

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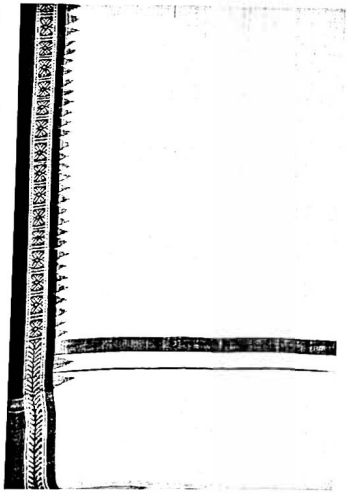

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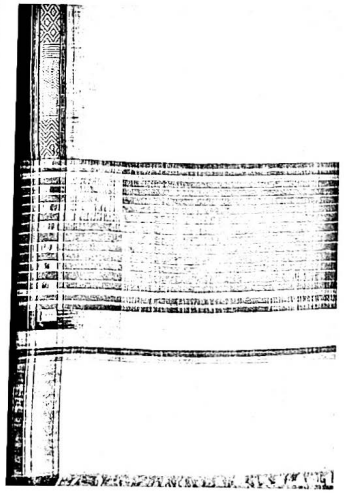

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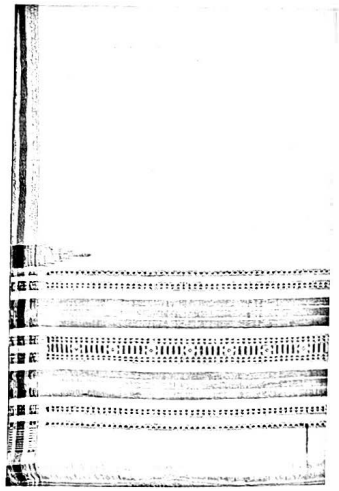


10/8

10/1: Name: *Patta dhadi saarhi*/Plain band border end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.15 m-1.18 m; Weight: 350-380 gm; Origin: Jaipur, Jagatsinghpur district; Courtesy: Shikha Trivedi, New Delhi

10/2; 10/3; 10/4: Name: *Naksho dhadi saarhi*/Patterned border/end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.15 m-1.18 m; Weight: 350-380 gm; Origin: Jaipur, Jagatsinghpur district; Courtesy: Shikha Trivedi, New Delhi

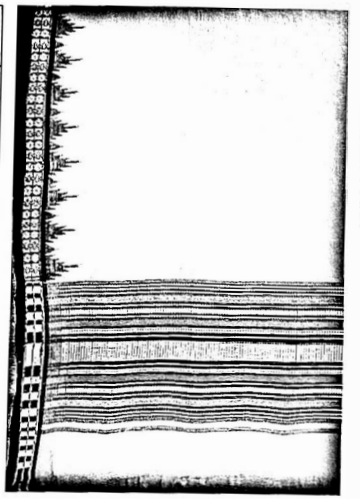
10/5: Name: *Do phulia bandhi kumbh saarhi* / Double-flower, yarn-resist border sari; Material: Cotton, 40 s x 60 s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 430 gm; Origin: Tamudia, Mayurbhanj district

10/6: Name: *Ek phulia phoda kumbh dhadi saarhi*/Single-flower border, three-shuttle border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 280 gm; Origin: Jaipur, Jagatsinghpur district

10/7: Name: *Nagbandi naksho dhadi saarhi*/Multi-patterned, yarn-reslst border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.25; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 350 gm; Courtesy: Government Museum, Patna

10/8: Name: *Haldia danti moh saarhi*/Turmeric body, tooth-patterned end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.15m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Government Museum, Patna

2 COARSE COTTON



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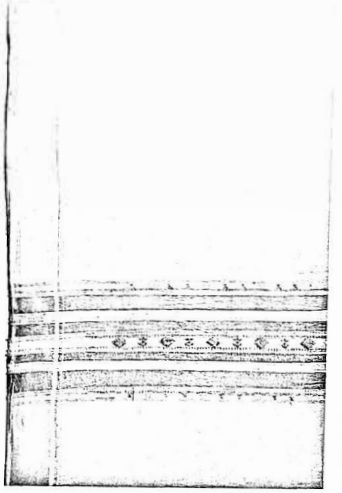

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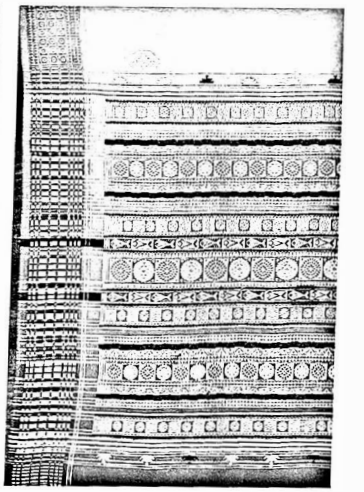

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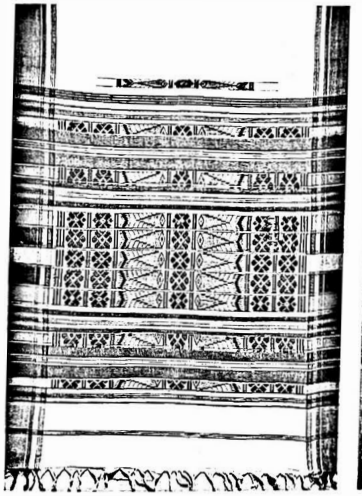

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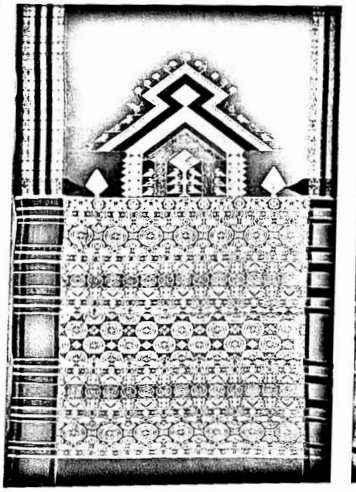

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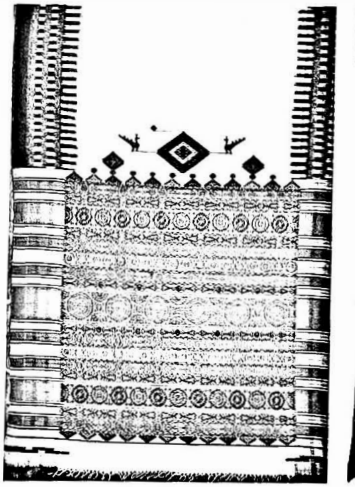

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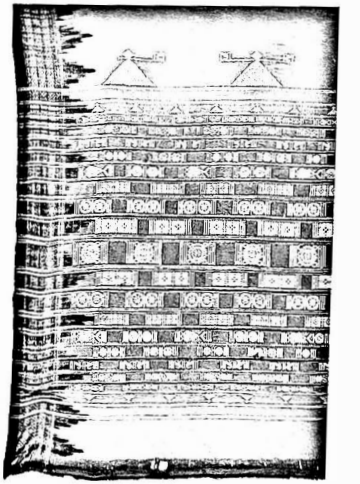

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10/9: Name: *Do phulia kumbh danti saarhi*/Double-flower, three-shuttle, tooth-patterned end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Sukinda, Jajpur district

10/10: Name: *Haldia saarhi*/Turmeric yellow body, plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 580 gm; Origin: Maujbeg, Puri district

10/11 : Name: *Raskadam machho phulia saarhi*/*Kadam* flowerfish border end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s, 2 ply; Length: 6 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 630 gm; Origin: Jaipur, Jagatsinghpur district

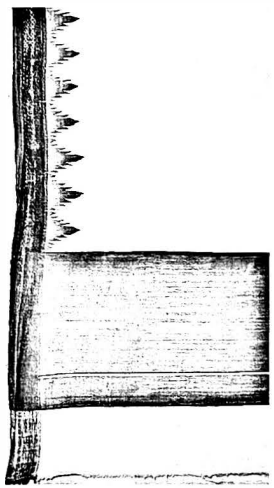
10/12: Name: *Kumar purnima saarhi*/Vermilion/Red/Yellow sari for full-moon worship; Material: Cotton, 40 s; Length: 6 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 630 gm; Origin: Maujbeg, Puri district

10/13: Name: *Mhari saarhi*/Unbleached body, flower-fish motif end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s, 2 ply; Length: 6 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 680 gm; Origin: Simnai, Dhenkanal district

10/14: Name: *Bibana kusumi saarhi*/Overdrape for bride; Material: Cotton, 40s; extra warp/weft *tussar*; Length: 5.54 m; Width: 0.92 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Dholapather, Khordha district

10/15: Name: *Dohra kankanbadi saarhi*/Unbleached body, flower-fish motif end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s, 2 ply; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Alcher, Nayagarh district

10/16: Name: *Simnai anchal saarhi*/Red body, flower-fish motif yarn-resist border, patterned end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.10 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 530 gm; Origin: Simnai, Dhenkanal district



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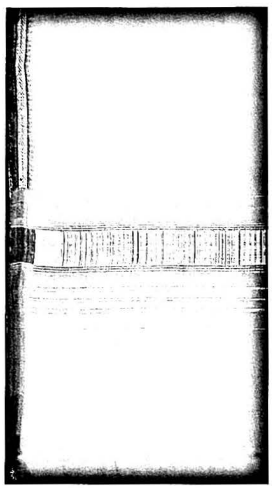

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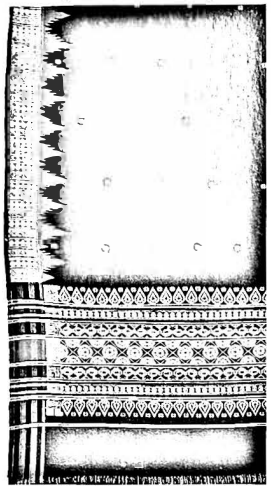

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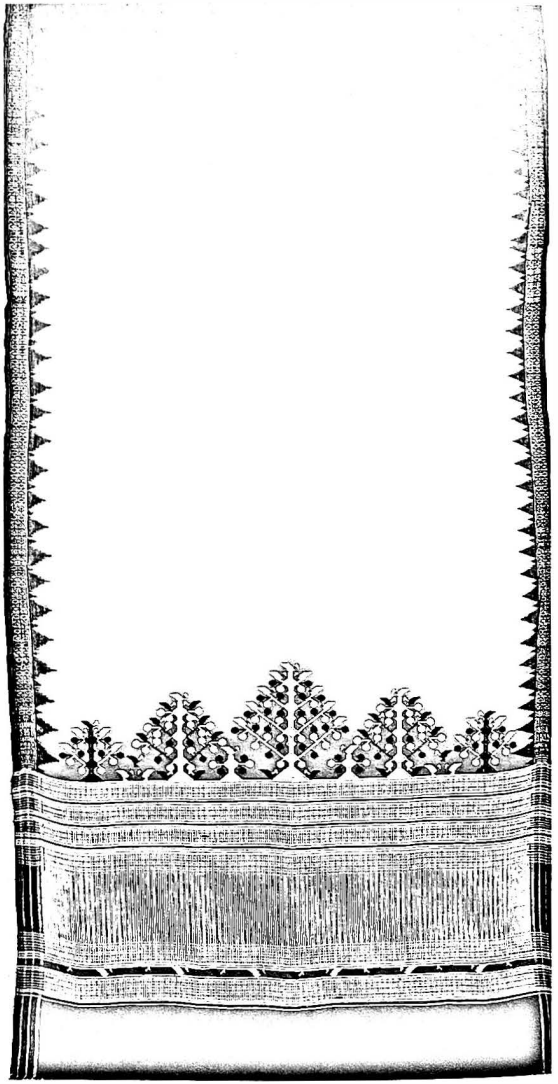

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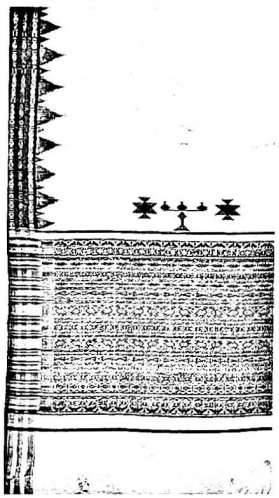

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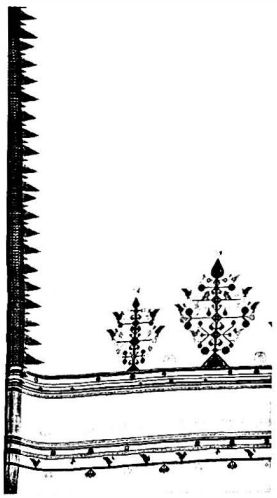

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10/17; 18: Name: *Kumbh naksho daanti saarhil*three-shuttle, tooth-patterned end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; extra warp *tussar*; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 650-750 gm; Origin: Asika, Ganjam district

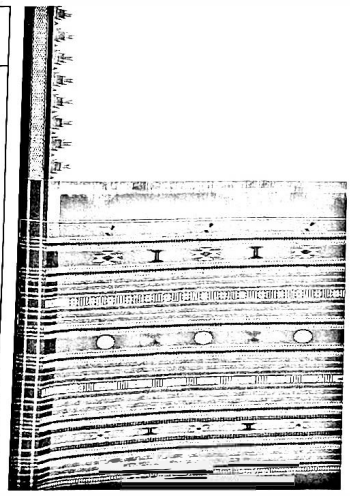
10/19: Name: *Kalamegh saarhil*Sari for deity; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Gobindpur, Nayagarh district

10/20: Name: *Phoda kumbh paanch phulia saarhil*Five-flower border, patterned end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Gobindpur, Nayagarh district

10/21: Name: *Desi bada saral*Iconic temple tribute marriage sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; *tussar*; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Gobindpur, Nayagarh district

10/22: Name: *Paanch phulia machho naksho saarhil*Five-flower, fish border, iconic temple tribute sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; *tussar*; Length: 5.70 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Alcher, Nayagarh district

10/23: Name: *Do phulia kumbh naksho saarhil*Two-flower border, iconic temple tribute marriage sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; *tussar*; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 490 gm; Origin: Gobindpur, Nayagarh district



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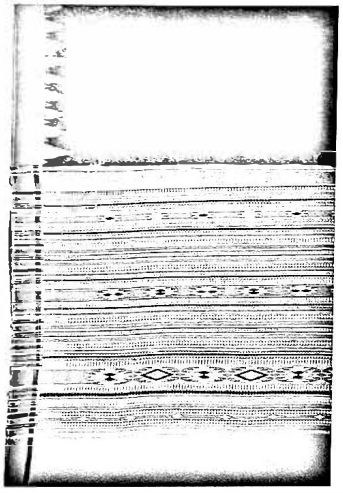

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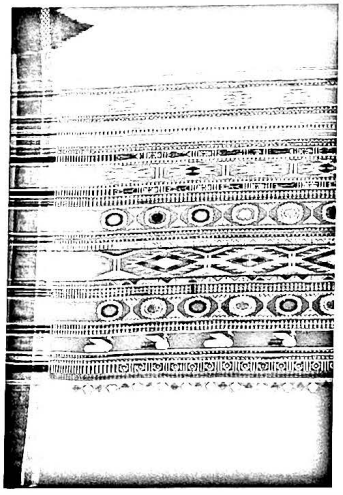

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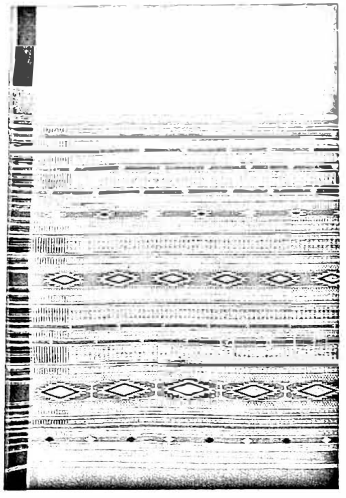

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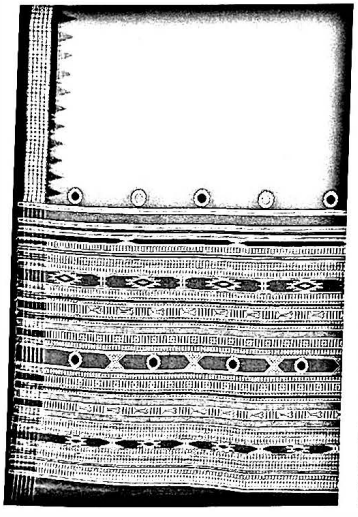

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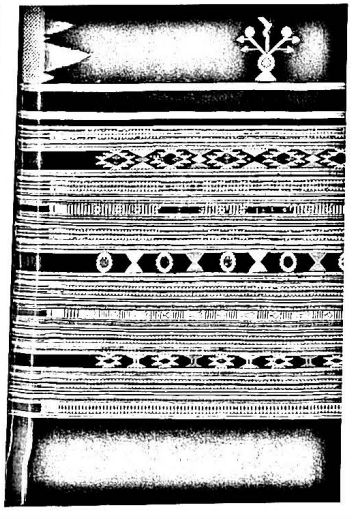

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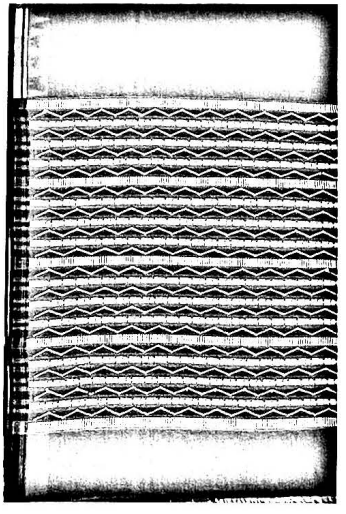

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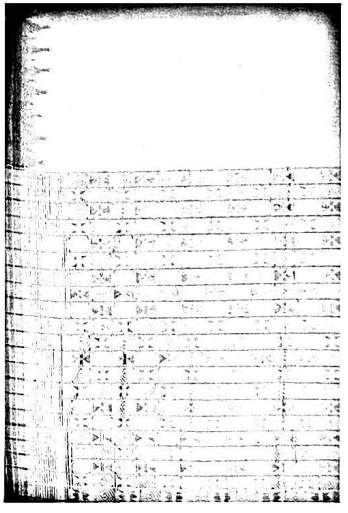


10/31

10/24: Name: *Mukta punji naksho saarhi*/Plain unbleached parrot, fish motif end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.30 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Bomkai, Ganjam district

10/25; 10/26: Name: *Muhajorha naksho saarhi*/three-shuttle contrast border end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Bomkai, Ganjam district

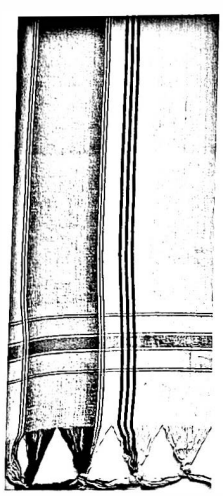
10/27: Name: *Kuthi ramchandra pedi saarhi*/Check body, three-shuttle border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Bomkai, Ganjam district

10/28: Name: *Dalimba saarhi*/Patterned end-piece border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 550 gm; Origin: Bomkai, Ganjam district

10/29: Name: *Gacha bada saarhi bomkai*/Tree-bird motif end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 30 s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 730 gm; Origin: Bomkai, Ganjam district

10/30; 10/31: Name: *Bomkai* New development; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 430 gm; Courtesy: Kalingavastra Collection

3.2 North Orissa tribal – Plain, Striped and Checked (Santhal)



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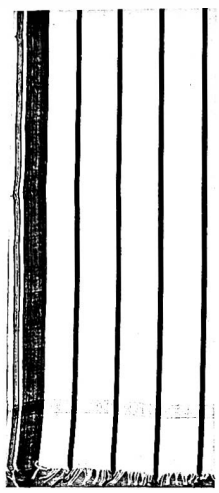

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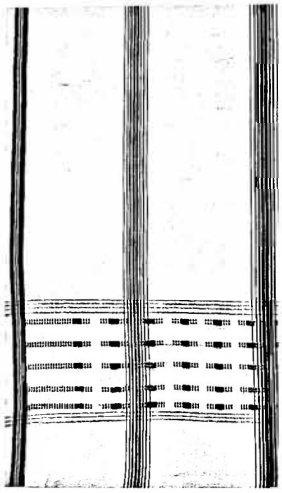

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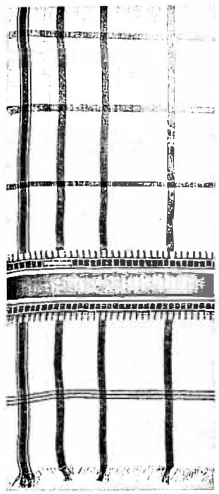

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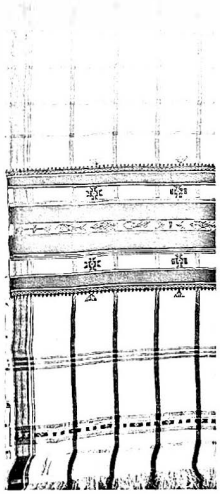

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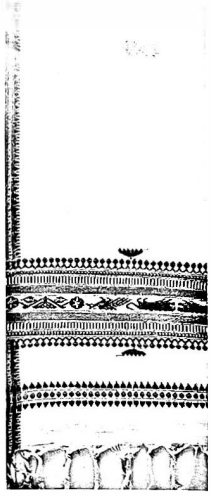

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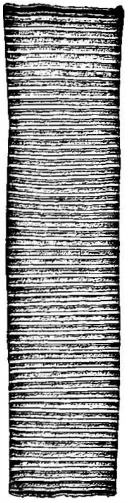
3.3 Central/South Orissa tribal – Kondh, Gadaba, Bonda



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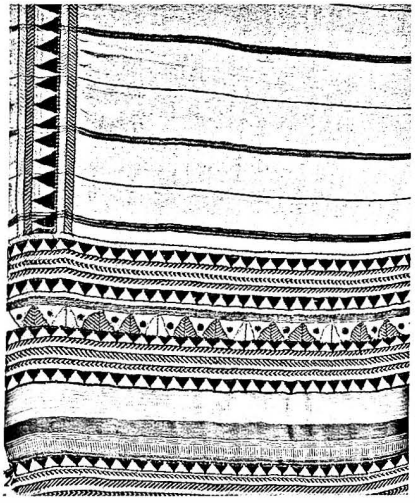

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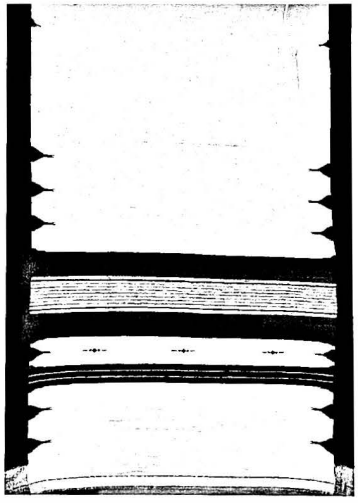
3.4 Kotapad



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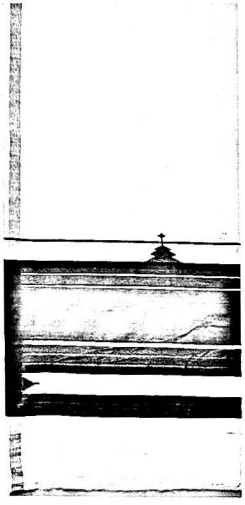

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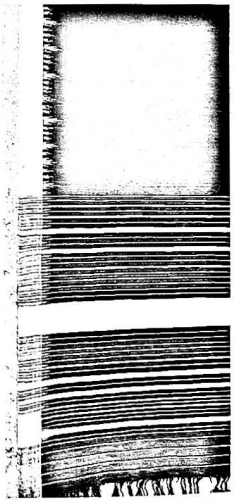


10/42

10/32: Name: *Maa santhal saarhi*/Bride's mother's sari with tassels; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.75 m; Width: 0.85 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Baripada, Mayurbhanj district

10/33: Name: *Sada patta santhal saarhi*/Plain border, stripe body sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.10 m; Width: 0.98 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Tamudia, Mayurbhanj district

10/34: Name: *Dega phuta santhal patal*/Variegated relief end-piece patterned drape

10/35: Name: *Phuta kaunti chowkda*/Red check with extra weft end piece; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 2.60 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 310 gm; Origin: Tamudia, Mayurbhanj district

10/36; 10/37: Name: *Phuta kaunti chowkda saarhi*/*Phuta kaunti saarhi*/Check body patterned end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5 m; Width: 0.95 m; Weight: 820 gm; Origin: Tamudia, Mayurbhanj district

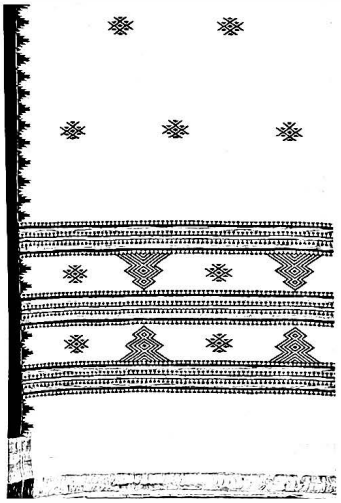
10/38: Name: *Bonda ringal*/Woman's lower drape; Material: Cotton, 30s, *I* bark; Length: 1.05 m; Width: 0.22 m; Weight: 60 gm; Origin: Mudalipada, Nabarangapur district

10/39: Name: *Rekti kapda gandal*/Woven embroidered drape; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 1.70 m; Width: 0.80 m; Weight: 420 gm; Origin: Phuldumur, Kalahandi district

10/40: Name: *Kobari pata I* three-shuttle woven upper drape, double colour end-piece

10/41: *Mae lugda tarap patal*/Bride's mother's sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 7 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 980 gm; Origin: Kotapad, Koraput district

10/42: Name: *Kotapad* New development; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 380 gm; Origin: Kotapad, Koraput district, Kalingavastra Collection



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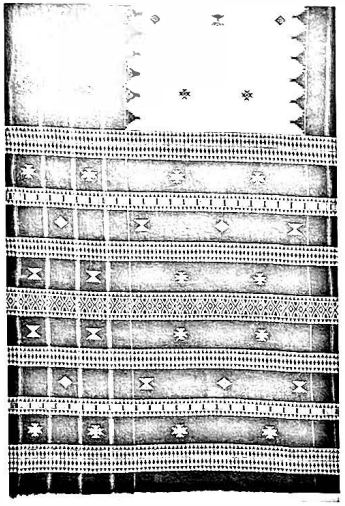

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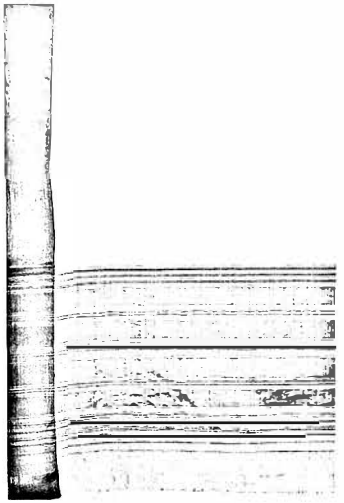

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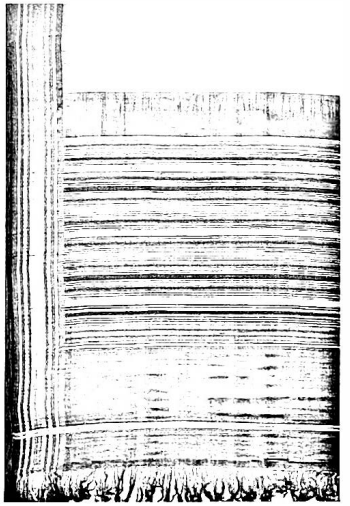

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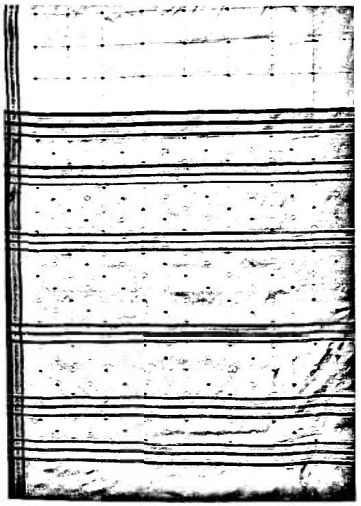

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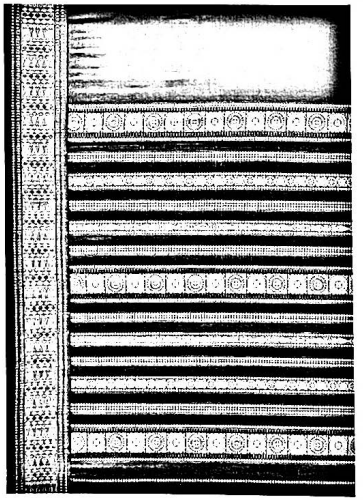

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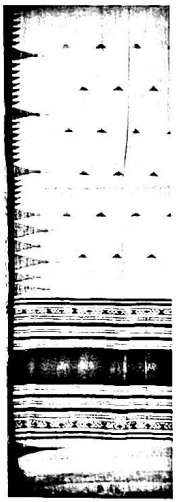

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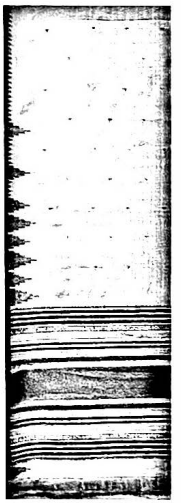


10/51

10/43: Name: *Kans bandhi lugga*/Three-part end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 7 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 980 gm; Origin: Kotapad, Koraput district

10/44: *Mae lugda tarap pata*/Bride's mother's sari; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 7 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 980 gm; Origin: Kotapad, Koraput district

10/45: Name: *Nali dhadi matha saarhi*/Plain red border, double-twisted end-piece tussar sari; Material: 6 cocoon tussar; Length: 5.40-5.18 m; Width: 1.10-1.15 m; Weight: 500-550 gm; Origin: Ramchandarpur, Kendujhargarh district

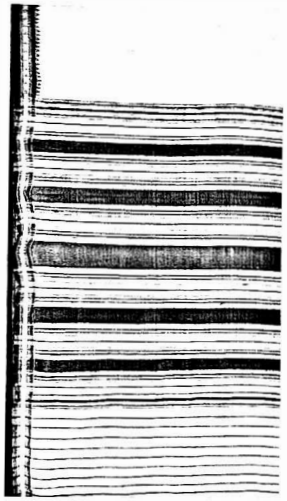
10/46: Name: *Do phulia moh daanti matha saarhi*/Two-flower border, tooth-patterned end-piece sari; Material: 6 cocoon tussar; Length: 5.40-5.18 m; Width: 1.10-1.15 m; Weight: 500-550 gm; Origin: Ramchandarpur, Kendujhargarh district

10/47; 10/48: Name: *Berhampuri matha saarhi*/Four-flower, fish-patterned border end-piece sari; Material: 5 cocoon tussar; Length: 4.82 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 300 gm; Courtesy: Aloka Nandi, New Delhi

10/49: Name: *Paanch phulia machho matha saarhi*/Five-flower, fish-patterned border end-piece tussar sari; Material: 6 cocoon *tussar*; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 570 gm; Origin: Gopalpur, Ganjam district

10/50; 10/51: Name: *Gopalpur matha saarhi*/Tussar sari of Gopalpur; Material: 8 cocoon tussar; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 580 gm; Origin: Gopalpur, Ganjam district, Kalingavastra Collection

♣ 4.2: Mulberry



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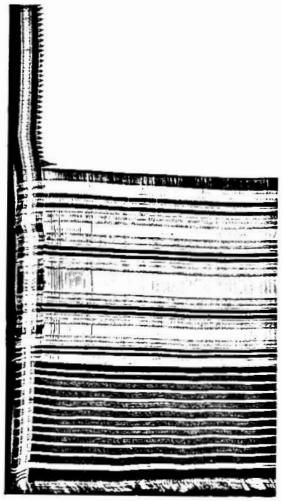

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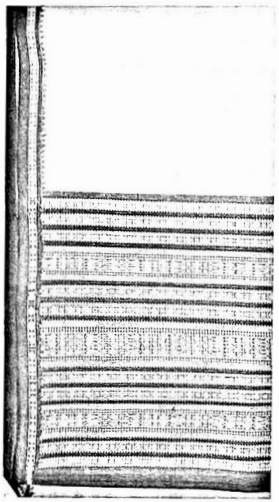

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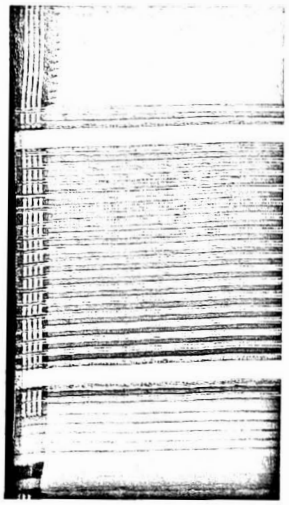

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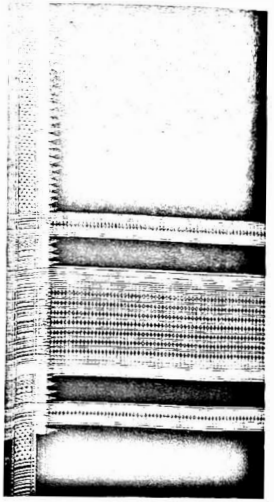

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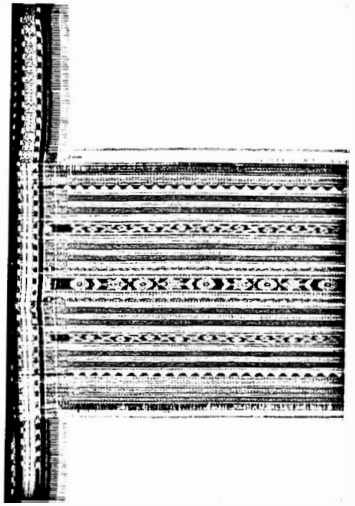
● 5.1: Sonapur and Sambalpur

5 IKAT — YARN-RESIST



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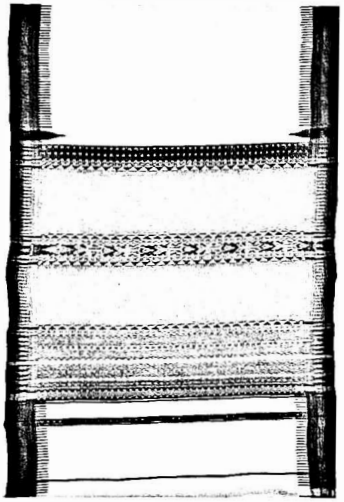

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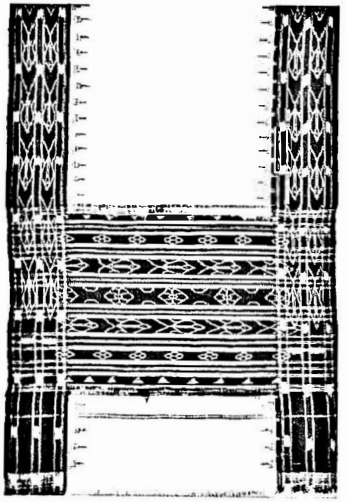

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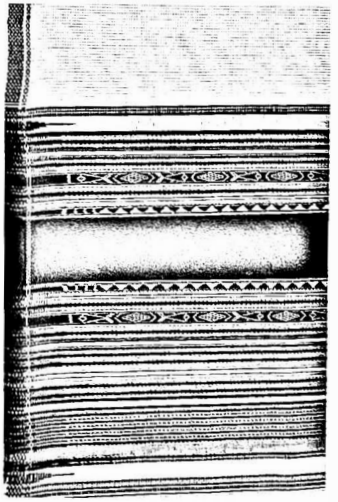


10/60

10/52; 10/53; 10/54: Name: *Ek phulia mohdaanti paata*/Single-flower, tooth-patterned end-piece silk sari; Material: Silk, 15/18 dn; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Shikha Trivedi, New Delhi

10/55: Name: *Chaar phulia phoda kumbh paata*/Four-flower, three-shuttle border silk sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Shikha Trivedi, New Delhi

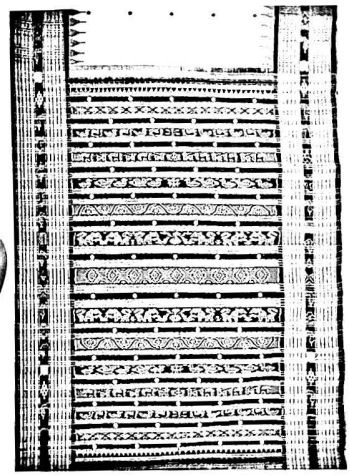
10/56: Name: *Paras phoda kumbh haldia paata*/Mat-patterned, three-shuttle border silk sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Shikha Trivedi, New Delhi

10/57: Name: *Bandha do phulia saarhi*/Yarn-resist, 2-flower patterned border end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.10-1.17 m; Weight: 500-530 gm; Origin: Barpalli, Bargarh district

10/58: Name: *Bandhi dhadi machho moh saarhi*/Yarn-resist border, fish patterned end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.10-1.17 m; Welght: 500-530 gm; Origin: Barpalli, Bargarh district

10/59: Name: *Phulkijuda bandha habaspuri saarhi*/Broad border flower-fish yarn-resist patterned end-piece sari: Material: Cotton, 32s; Length: 3.60-5.50 m; Width: 1-1.10 m; Weight:500-530 gm; Origin: Lanjigarh, Kalahandi district

10/60: Name: *Chowka moh bandha saarhi*/Check body, yarn-resist end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 32s; Length: 3.60-5.50 m; Width: 1-1.10 m; Weight:500-530 gm; Origin: Lanjigarh, Kalahandi district



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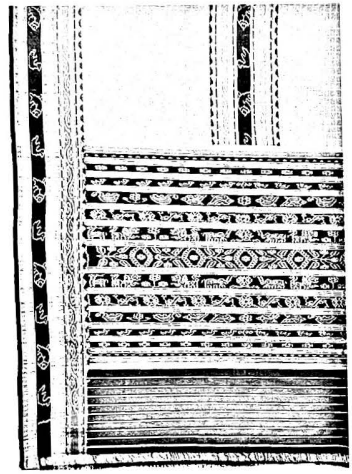

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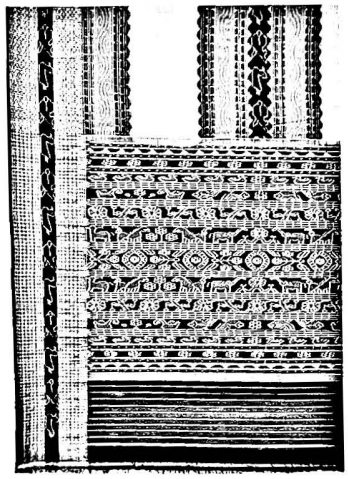

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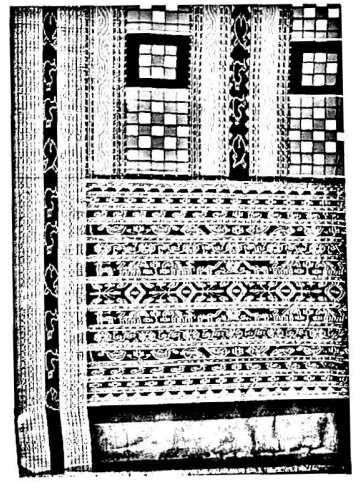

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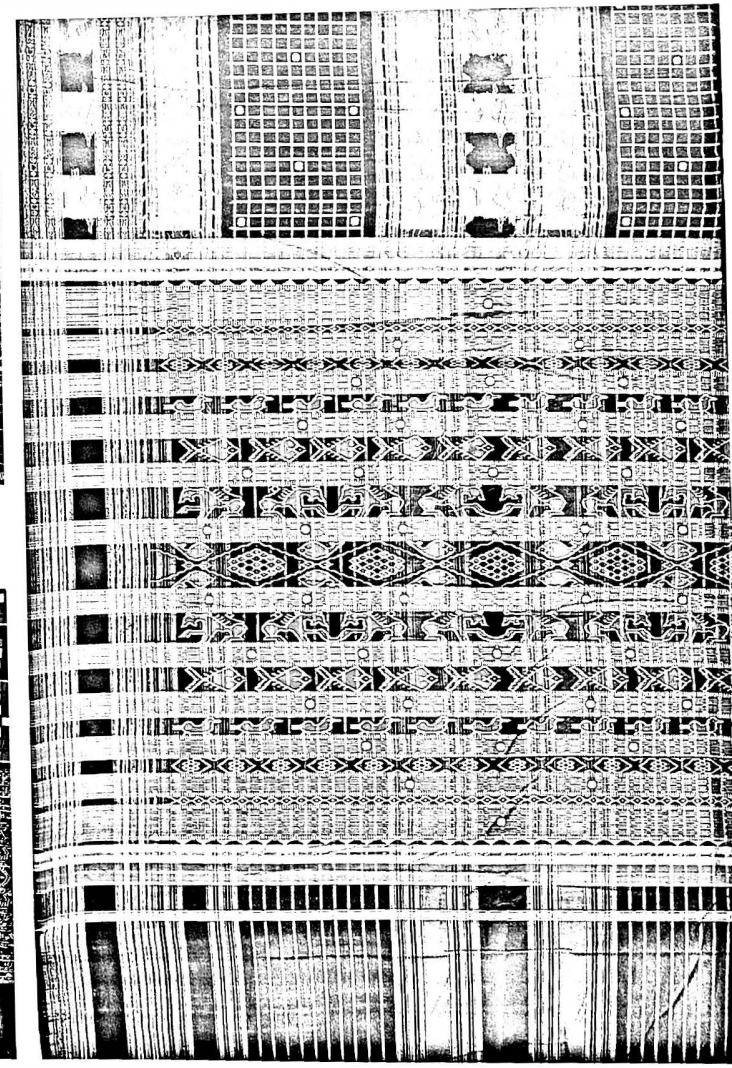


10/65

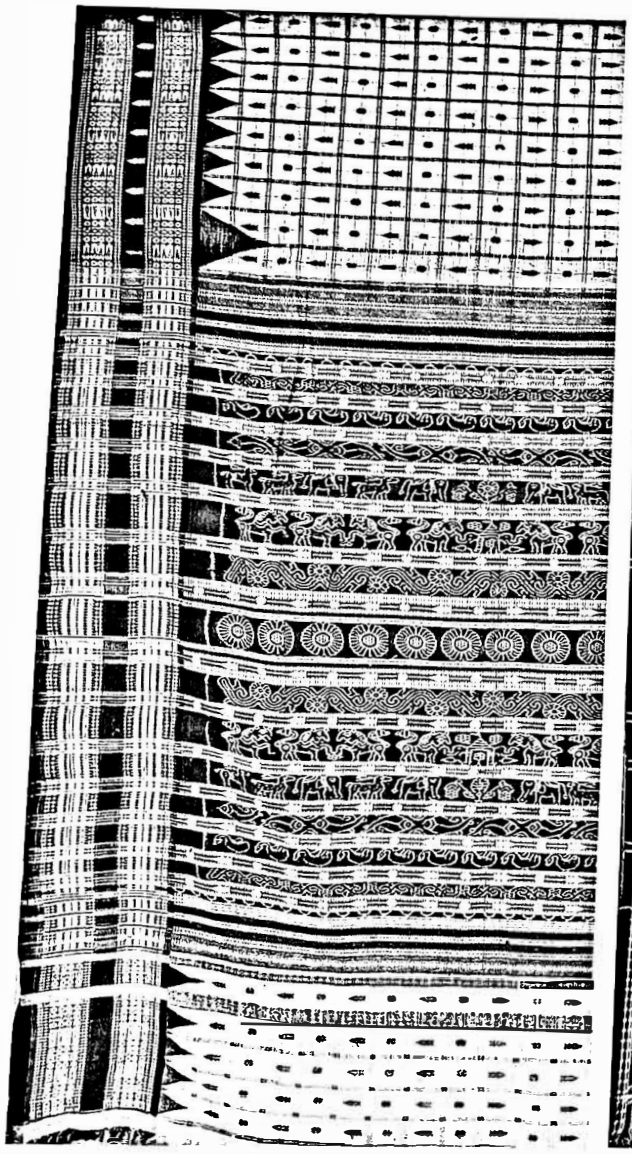
10/61: Name: *Buti bandha paanch phulia saarhi*/Body motif, 5-flower pattern end-piece, yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 3.60 m; Width: 0.87 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Sagarpalli, Sonapur district

10/62: Name: *Chittrapar saarhi*/Three-border check body, yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.36 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 460 gm; Origin: Jhilimunda, Bargarh district

10/63: Name: *Sachipar saarhi*/Three-border white body, yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.28 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 470 gm; Origin: Jhilimunda, Bargarh district

10/64: Name: *Saktapar saarhi*/Three-border checkerboard pattern, yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.15 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 440 gm; Origin: Jhilimunda, Bargarh district

10/65: Name: *Vichitrapuri saarhi*/Three-border check, black body yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.36 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Jhilimunda, Bargarh district



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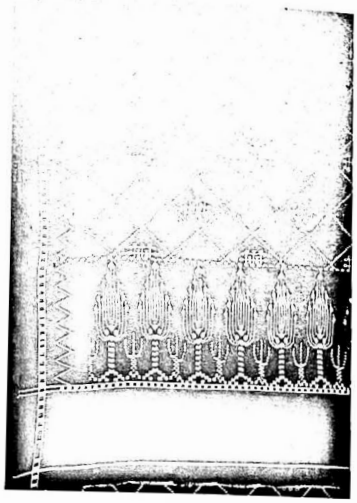

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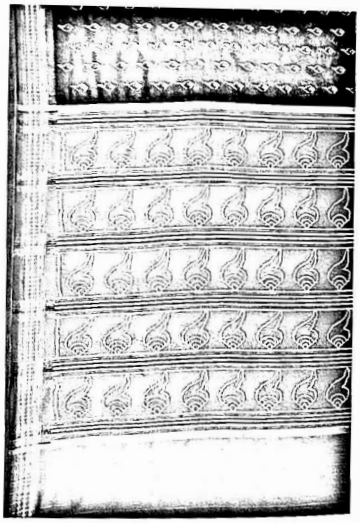


10/69

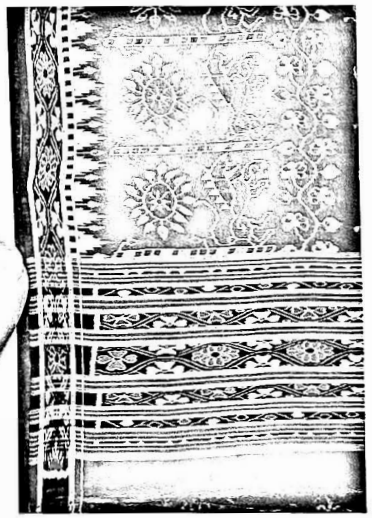
10/66: Name: *Butidar chowka saarhi*/Motif in check body, elaborate end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 60 s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Rengali, Sambalpur district

10/67: Name: New development for Kalingavastra Collection; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Rengali, Sambalpur district.

10/68: Name: *Jatoi bandha saarhi*/Finger print on wall-patterned, yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.15 m; Welght: 350 gm; Courtesy: Kalingavastra Collection

10/69: Name: *Shankha bandha saarhi*/Conch shell yarn-resisit sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 350 gm; Courtesy: Kalingavastra Collection

▲ Nuapatna



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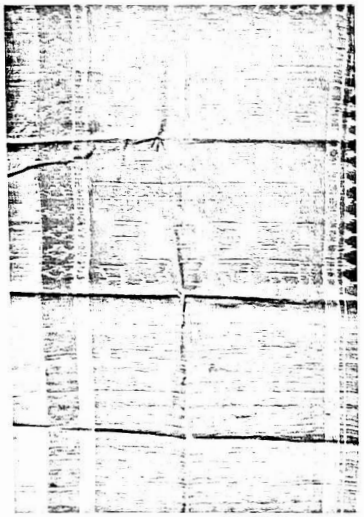
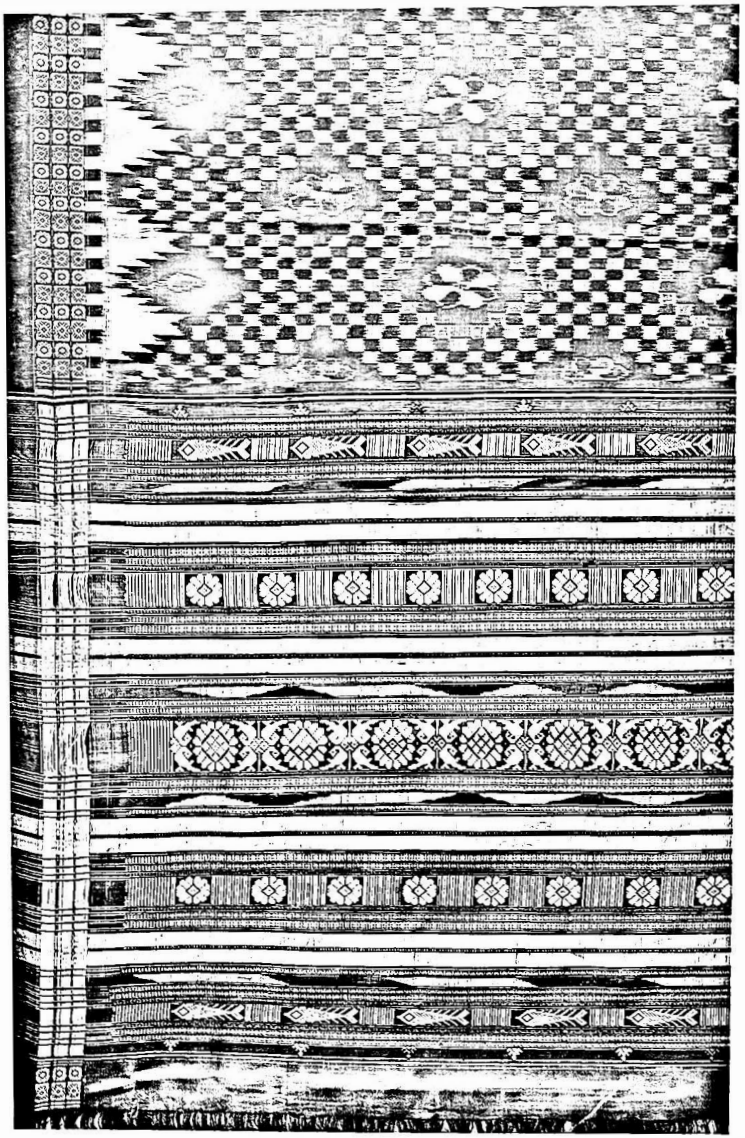


10/71



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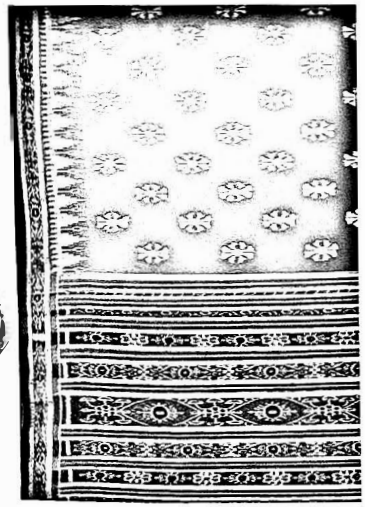

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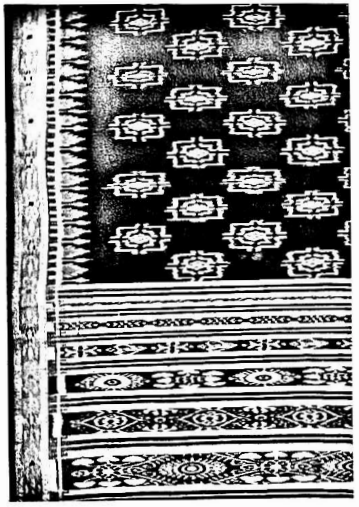


10/73

10/70: Name: *Khandua nuapatna saarhi* / Flower-lion yarn-resist sari; Material: Silk, 15/18 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 550 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

10/71: Name: *Jagannath Puri chadar*/Deity's drape; Material: 6 cocoon *tussar*; Length: 4.50 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 300 gm; Origin: Nuapatna, Cuttack district

10/72: Name: *Khandua* New development; Material: Silk, 15 dn; Length: 5.3 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Shikha Trivedi, New Delhi

10/73: Name:*Khandua* New development; Material: 6 cocoon *tussar*; Length: 4.50 m; Width: 0.95 m; Weight: 340 gm; Courtesy: Shikha Trivedi, New Delhi

10/74: Name: *Khandua nuapatna saarhi* Flower yarn-resist patterned sari; Material: Silk, 15/18 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 550 gm, Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

శ్రమ అనగా దాని భ్రమ తోడ నేసియు
ఇష్ట పూర్తిగా దాని మడత వేసి
అన్ని కులంబుల అవని లోపలి జనుల
ఇట్టి వృత్తియు లేకున్న ఇవామునందు
మన బంధంబు గలులగా, మయులార!

The act brings together threads into
the magic of fabric.
Weaving our protective cover
showers honour on one who weaves
Every other profession pales in comparison!

– Late Chiluveru Ramalingam, weaver from Pochampalli, Nalgonda district*

Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh provides one of the richest handcrafted textile landscapes in terms of variety of fibres; cottons, silks and wools, and techniques (both warp and weft patterning), ikat (yarn-resist), dye painting and printing on fabric, and surface ornamentation. With continuous patronage from the Nizams, through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was flourishing growth not only in the production and trade of the finest textiles for court use, but also in trade with Asia and Africa. Since Independence, patronage textiles have certainly declined, but other trade routes have grown in scale as have a range of products, especially in ikats, *manglagiri* patterned or plain fabrics, and printed *kalamkari*. However, increase in volume has been the overwhelming factor, while technical skill has registered a decline.

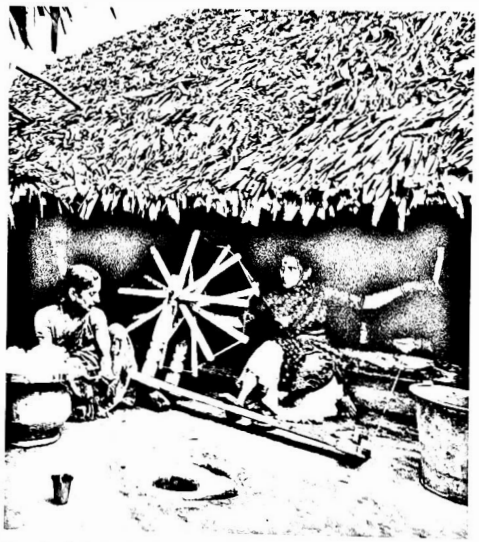
The Andhras are akin to their temple sculptures: animated, robust; with sharply outlined features, wide-eyed, their broad lips curled at the corners. A great deal of their aesthetic imagery is dominated by the full-breasted, ample-hipped woman walking with an energetic gait, sensuously draped in bright cotton or silk, offset against her dark, smooth and glistening skin.

The soil of Andhra has turned from red to black, rocky in parts, with heaps of enormous boulders perched precariously, defying imagination and gravity. Wherever the soil turns soft, it provides fertile ground for a wide range of hardy, indigenous cottons to grow. Gradually, these have lost space to hybrid varieties which are favoured because of their longer staple length and machine-spinning capability. The vast hinterland of hand spinning has therefore been receding, especially since Independence, to small pockets that still subsist because no other employment opportunities have arisen within the area.

Further south into the state, cotton vies with tobacco and loses further ground to this more lucrative competitor. These relatively dry yet rich, soil zones developed ingenious mixed-cropping techniques that conserved its precious groundwater resources and rarely depended on artificial irrigation for sustenance. They now face both the vagaries of weather and the financial burden of crops that need more fertilizer, pesticide and protective care. Farmer-weaver suicides are a direct and tragic consequence of this harsh reality.

The northern region collectively referred to as Telengana and the southern region known as Rayalseema have both suffered greatly from the combined loss of traditional skills and the fallout of development. Only segments of coastal Andhra are relatively better off.

Although the Vedic caste system does not seem to have flourished as vigorously in Andhra, territorial divisions called *nadus* run across professional divisions. *Nadus* are traced back to territories inhabited by the forefathers of professional and social sects. Yet, the hierarchical concept exists: Brahmin priests/scholars - repositories of the Hindu *dharma* - are at the top; the Kshatriya warriors, solar and lunar clans who claim descent from semi-legendary heroes from the north are next; and in the



Cotton hand spinning in Srikakulam district; Courtesy: Manuel Bauer.

* He created the ritual of circumambulating the village on a bullock cart, weaving the *ammori cheera* or sari, offered to the deity at the temple on the culmination of the ritual.

MAHARASHTRA
CHHATTISGARH
ORISSA
KARNATAKA
TAMIL NADU
Bay of Bengal
ADILABAD
KARIMNAGAR
NIZAMABAD
MEDAK
WARANGAL
KHAMMAM
RANGAREDDY
HYDERABAD
NALGONDA
MAHBUBNAGAR
GUNTUR
PRAKASAM
KURNOOL
NELLORE
CUDDAPAH
ANANTAPUR
CHITTOOR
WEST GODAVARI
EAST GODAVARI
KRISHNA
VISAKHAPATNAM
VIZIANAGARAM
SRIKAKULAM
ANDHRA PRADESH
N
COARSE COTTON
Plains
Striped, Checked and Ritual
Extra Warp/Weft and Kuppadam- Three-shuttle
Khadi- Handspun with three-shuttle and inlay
FINE COUNT COTTON
Plains, Extra Warp/Weft
Guntur, Medak, Vizianagaram and Krishna
RMH (Real Madras Handkerchief)
Venkatgiri
Uppada
Gadwal, Kothakota and Narayanpet
IKAT
Rumals
Saris
SILK
Armoor
Narayanpet
Dharmavaram
Peddapuram
Tussar
DYED/FABRIC-RESIST and PRINTED
Kalamkari Painted/Printed
Chengavi and Block Printed
NIZAM'S TEXTILES
Himroo
Mashru
Zardozi

following rung are the trading communities such as Komatis. In the end come the professions of skilled labour such as Kummari potters, Salé weavers, and so on.

Among the weavers, there are at least three major communities, the Devangas, Salés and Togatas, who are traditionally associated with certain regions. However, migration amongst these communities has always been prevalent and has only increased in recent times. Historically soldiers often turned to weaving at times of peace, and thus shifted base depending on where they considered it most lucrative to pursue their work. In fact, weavers share their ancestral legends with weaving communities with similar clan names, not only in the south, but all over India, and have interacted with weavers at social and religious gatherings. The Devangas, spread all over Andhra Pradesh, share their ancestral mythology with the Devangas/Devangans in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and other parts of western India.

The Salés, the largest of the weaving communities, are split into two endogamous sub-sects: the Pattu Salés and Padma Salés. They are probably linked to the Saliyas of neighbouring Tamil Nadu as well as the Padmasalis of Maharashtra and Karnataka. The root of both names is derived from the Sanskrit *shalika*, meaning 'weaver'. The legend of their origin is similar to the legend we heard in Chhattisgarh. Though *pattu* means 'silk' in Telugu, the Pattu Salés weave both silk and fine counts of cotton, while the Padma Salés are said to have originally woven only coarse count cotton. However, today both sub-sects weave all varieties of cotton and silk. The Salés are divided into Vishnu and Shiva worshippers, and both wear the sacred thread symbolizing Brahmin identity.

Three variations of wearing style seen together in Vishakapatnam district.

The Togatas are a weaving community who live predominantly in the Rayalseema region. They claim to have descended from warriors but were probably originally dyers, who later turned to weaving. As weavers, they traditionally wove only coarse cotton cloths worn by the poorer classes, though today they have diversified.

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The Andhras as a people, emerged from the intermingling of Aryans from Central Asia, and the already well-developed, existing cultures of the Nagas and Tilingas, later recognized as the Telugu (from Tilinga, meaning 'speaking'). Their history and geography determined to a large degree their advance as a maritime culture: a vast coastline with several convenient ports that continue to exist today; and at least five major rivers, Nagavalli, Vamsadhara, Krishna, Godavari and Penna, that provide both inland transport and irrigation. Ruled by the Kalingas in medieval times, they established long-standing trade with Southeast Asia and China, especially in hand-woven and printed textiles.

The Roman historian Arrian testified to the export of dyed cotton cloth from Masulia (present-day Machilipatnam in Krishna district). It is said that both Indian cloth and Chinese silk, re-exported from India, were purchased for their weight in gold. This was probably the reason for Pliny's oft-quoted lament that India was 'draining away the wealth of Rome'.

By the seventeenth century, rival European trading companies established themselves and underscored their power by creating a situation of heavy financial dependence for the weavers. The company's injunction that weavers 'work to the perfection of the pattern,' turned them into veritable re-producers of European demand by the turn of the eighteenth century. With the industrial and cotton revolution of England, mechanized goods were thrust upon the hapless colonized countries, and the products of Indian handlooms gradually began to decline. The words attributed to Lord William Bentinck, 'The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India,' are dramatic but apt in their description.

Andhra Pradesh played an active role in the celebrated khadi movement especially in Srikakulam, Cuddapah, East Godavari and Medak districts.

In the wake of Independence, the khadi experiment began to show signs of instability. Handspun handlooms, till then shaken by the import of foreign mill-made goods, began to face a threat from the country's own mills and power looms. By this time, the handloom industry in Andhra had already begun to organize itself into cooperatives for the purpose of credit, though the earliest handloom cooperative society was registered only in 1929.

COARSE COTTON: **(11/3)** Bottanchu chire/*Plain border sari.*

In 1976 three institutions – the Hyderabad Handloom Weavers Central Cooperative Association, the Andhra Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society in Vijayawada, Krishna district and the Rayalseema Apex Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society in Kurnool – were amalgamated to form the Andhra Pradesh State Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society Limited, referred to as APCO. This was to assist the much weakened weaver in purchasing primary yarn, dyestuffs and other raw materials, as well as in marketing the products through APCO outlets throughout the country.

The Andhra textile industry could be considered better off than many other states, though it too, is fraught with numerous problems.

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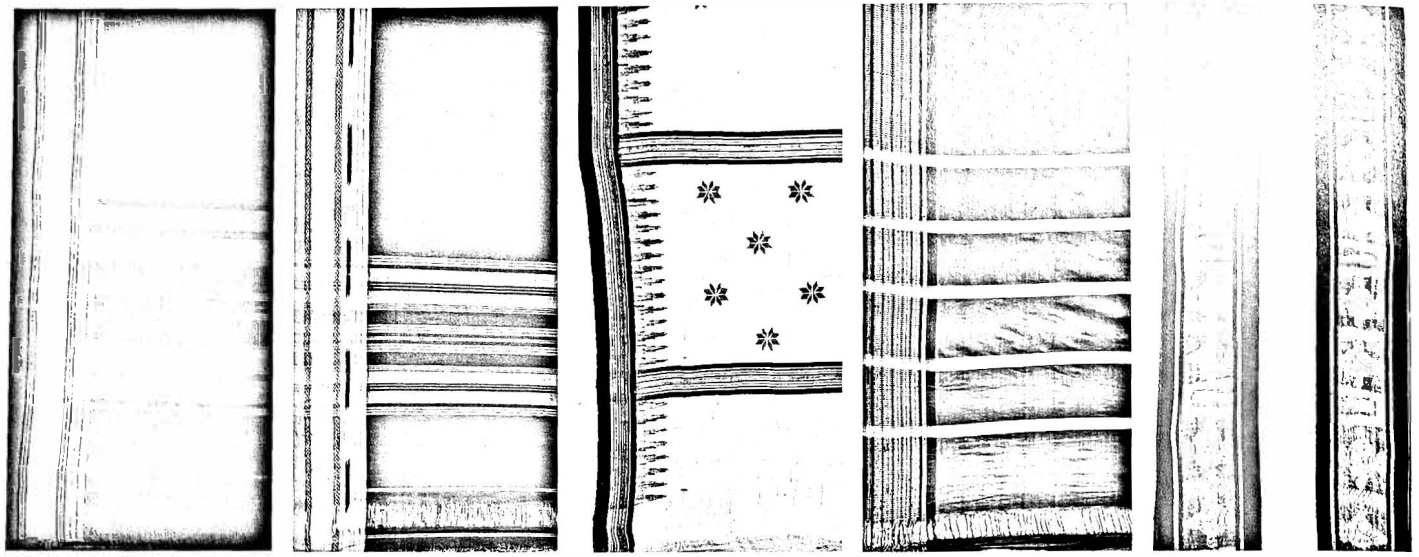
COARSE COTTON

Plains: One of the most striking aspects of the overview of saris in Andhra is the continuing and widespread existence of the coarse count cotton sari, the *bottanchu chire* (11/3). This phenomenon may be attributed to the humble economies of a wide rural base, as well as traditional wearing habits that have persisted. It seems exceptional that an unpatterned *gintam* (2 in a dent)



COARSE COTTON: **(11/7)** Kaitha lambadi gomi chowkdi chire/*Check sari with arrowhead pattern border for Lambadi community*; EXTRA WARP/WEFT AND KUPPADAM: **(11/16)** Tanda chire/*Sari of Tanda community*; KHADI: **(11/21)** Khadi puvvu chire/*Khadi flower motif sari*; FINE COUNT COTTON: GUNTUR SARI: **(11/24)** Pattubadi kalnetha pettu chire/*Cross-shed beaten patterned border, shot colour sari*; Balaji dhoti/*Drape for deity.*

woven and relatively weighty sari in 20s to 40s count sari continues to be produced in the face of the ever-growing threat of power looms.

Lack of skill upgradation is definitely not a factor, as there has been a long history of fine counts existing with the coarse counts, both catering to different markets; from 'beggar to *zamindar* (landowner)', as the weavers put it. Thus, it emerges that in all coarse-count areas, we do not find fine counts but wherever there are fine counts, there is always historical evidence of coarse-count weaving.

Women from agricultural communities throughout Andhra prefer the heavy coarse-count *bottanchu* (11/3) with minimal patterning. In the northern coastal areas, the ground of the *bottanchu* saris is generally *kora* (unbleached white), especially for marriage saris such as *madhuparkan* (11/1; pg 232) whereas in the regions surrounding rivers such as the Godavari and Krishna, the advantage of flowing water for dyeing, has saris in a range of rich body colours. These include *pasapu* (turmeric), *damyanti pachha* (forest green), *vankaya* (brinjal), *chintapikka* (tamarind seed maroon) and *madde* (madder). As an Andhra artist aptly put it:

The peasant woman weighs her sari in her hands as if it were her next meal... as wholesome and fulfilling...

Striped, checked and ritual: The plain *bottanchu* further develops into a stripe and check range as seen in *neeli gaddi chire* (11/9; pg 232), a prime product of the indigo range of Cuddapah district, considered to have protective and curative values for various skin and internal disorders. There is yet another range of ritual saris known as *mokkubadi chirelu* (11/10), *putalamma chire* and numerous other checks and stripes offered to respective deities, seeking protection from disease or as a thanksgiving on occasions such as harvest, the seventh month of pregnancy and so on.

Extra warp/weft and kuppadam (three-shuttle): A patterned border range evolves in coarse count with all the essential motif elements in their most elementary form: the *lahiri* (twill), *mochuri* (dash-like), *rudraksh* (flower seed), *bugudi* (ear ornament), *guvakunnu* (diamond grid), *mamidi* (mango), and even the *chitki* (yarn-resist, dash-like pattern) as seen in *tanda chire* (11/16 above and 11/12 to 11/17; pg 233). The use of *kuppadam* (three-shuttle) in saris 11/14 and 11/15; pg 233, is also noteworthy in coarse counts combined with the *Thippadum thopu kongu* (the dyed, contrast coloured end-piece). In the saris of Telangana in the north, *katiri* (art silk) is often used in the borders with the *bonukammi* (ribbed, woven end-piece).

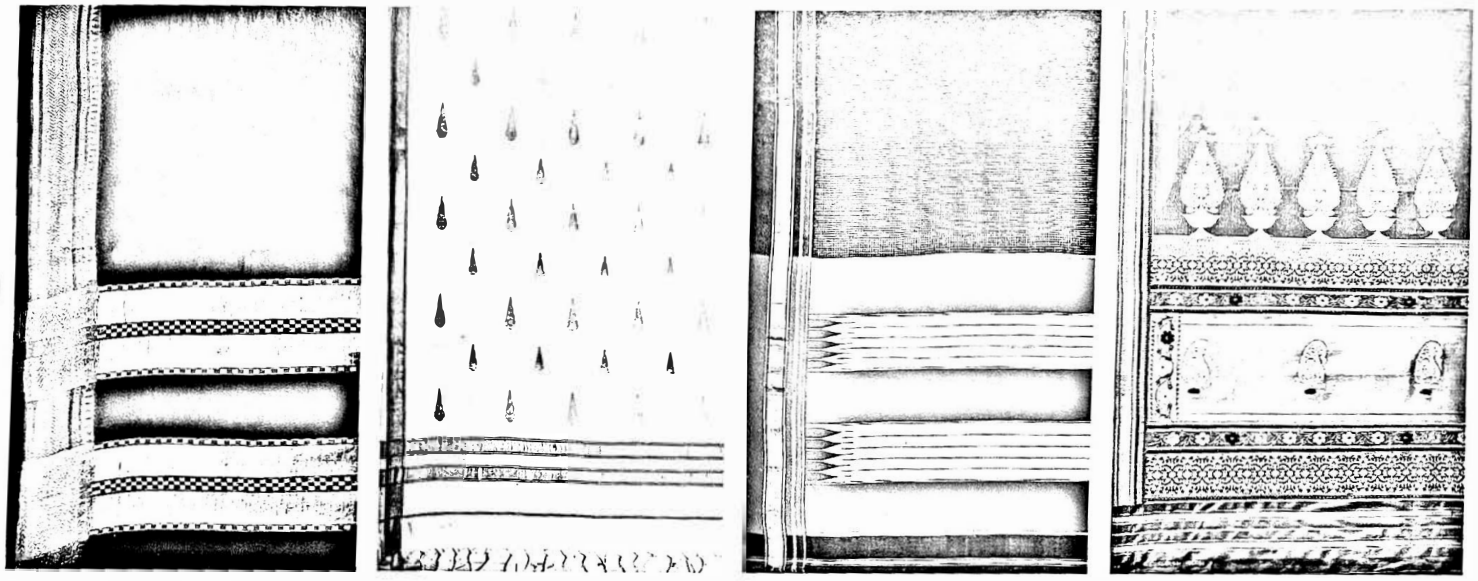
Khadi – Handspun: In khadi saris we find not only an enhanced texture, but also pure colour, when combined with *kuppadam* (three-shuttle) weaving in the borders, often with inlay patterning in the body and the end-piece, as seen in the *khadi puvvu chire* (11/21). Khadi saris often introduce tussar, *muga* or *zari* gold in the borders and end-piece as well; pg 233. Andhra khadi is unique as it precedes the Gandhian freedom movement with its combination of hand spinning and weaving skills; it is based on the cultivation of local rain-fed cottons that are hand plucked, cleaned, carded and combed entirely by hand.

FINE COUNT COTTON

Plains, extra warp/weft (Guntur, Manglagiri district; Siddipet, Medak district; Bobbili, Vizianagaram district): The Balaji dhoti (above) is an example of the plain fine count, patterned border well woven weaves of Andhra, offered at the Tirupati Balaji temple and often auctioned back to worshippers who place it among their regular apparel as a blessing.

Descending closer to the River Godavari; whose waters are said to be ideal in their mineral content for the fixing of dyes; a deep, rich colour range emerges, as can be seen in *pattubadi kalnetha pettu chire* (11/24); literally referring to the heavy sleigh beaten, cross-shed woven sari that does not allow water to fall through its ground fabric. The border patterns include the coarse count range with increasing intricacy but also include the *thaatakanchu* (palm leaf), *itukarai* (brick), *mutyaru* (pearl), *vepaku* (neem leaf), *pushpam* (flower motif), *kangora*

FINE COUNT COTTON: Real Madras handkerchief (RMH).



FINE COUNT COTTON; VENKATGIRI: **(11/35)** Kertalanchu chire/*Wave patterned border sari;* **(11/38)** Uppada kora zari ani puthala cheere/*Teardrop body inlay patterned sari of Uppada;* SILK: NARAYANPET; **(11/52)** Kertalanchu gaddi chire/*Gold wave-patterned border, check-body sari;* .SILK: ARMOOR: **(11/47)** Gomianchu nemali butta panneelu buddi kadel chire/*Ear ornament border, peacock body motif, rose water sprinkler grand end-piece sari.*

(temple spire), *noga* (bud), *gomi* (arrowhead), *chepamilu* (fish bone), *bendapoovu* (hexagonal flower). There is also a range of saris referred to as *addepalli pattubadi chirelu* in which the twill extra warp is woven at the selvedge end, enhancing and strengthening the borders as seen in 11/26, 11/27; pg 234. Manglagiri further enhances the colour range of well woven Guntur saris from a single Annapurna dye house in the 1950s in Vijaywada, to more than twenty-five within a small area of a single town.

Pattemarpu – Real Madras Handkerchief (RMH): In the south coastal areas, there has been a long history of Real Madras Handkerchief, woven largely for export with limited sari production. This continues in the Rayalseema region, until the districts bordering Karnataka, under the influence of Ilikal, emerge with a range of plain, and checks in indigo with Narayanpet as the main centre of production (11/30 and 11/31; pg 234).

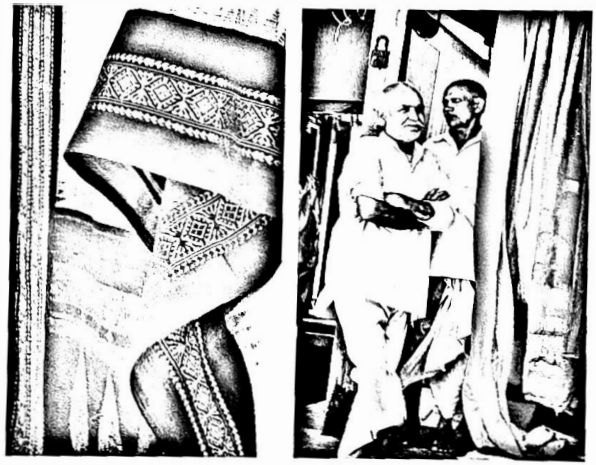
Venkatgiri: The quality of Venkatgiri, Nellore district is a high-density, translucent, fine count cotton in the body, up to 200s count in the past. Woven with *chelnetha/ muvvaninetha* or closed shed that can achieve an equal number of ends and picks in the ground. From the traditionally valued *muthu pata chire* (11/33; pg 234) with its airy white body, solid *kaddi zari anchu* borders in gold, it has moved to colour with or without gold; as seen in 11/35. At one time, Venkatgiri could take its heavy gold borders right up to the selvedge end with only four ends of cotton to keep it firm; referred to as *Voriyakanchu*. The use of *laguda petu* or drawboy dobbies helped in the weaving of 100s count body with an 80s double in the borders. Support from the royalty and landed gentry of Pithapuram, Peddapuram in east Godavari district, Nellore, Venkatgiri and Vizianagaram, made possible the weaving of the finest Venkatgiri saris.

Today, in competition with Uppada, Venkatgiri has also introduced weft patterning in the body and endpieces to gain an edge in the market.

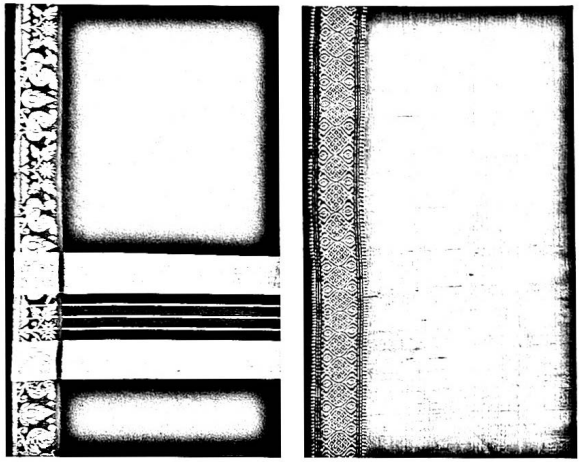
Uppada: In Uppada, east Godavari district, a traditional range of high-count cotton saris and *dhotis* with delicate, extra weft loom patterning similar to the *jamdani* referred to as *ani poothalu*, had disappeared. Its origins are not known, though it is said that three weavers from the area went to Dhaka, Bangladesh around 1940, and introduced weft patterning. In 1955, a training weaving centre promoted the use of *adai* pattern harness. With a short *marasu* horizontal warp of only 18 yards/ 16.38 metres, weavers certainly had the expertise to develop saris from the *talapaga* turbans and *angavastrams* (upper drapes) they were weaving previously. Sari weaving found a fresh impetus after several design interventions since the Visvakarma exhibitions (1982-1991).

Compared to Venkatgiri, in Uppada (11/38) the body ground of the sari is slightly lighter to accommodate the weft-loom embroidered elements. Invariably, the warp-patterned, weighty borders of Venkatgiri are also replaced by simple and plain gold bands.

Gadwal and Kothakota: In district Mahbubnagar, there are a number of villages in the vicinity of Gadwal with atleast three thousand looms devoted to the weaving of cotton body silk border saris . They were previously mixing silk and cotton in the body as well as in checks of a single/multiple colour (see 11/44, pg 236). However, it is the pure cotton or silk body (11/39 to 11/43; pg 235) that



Gadwal sari; Weaver showing Armoor sari.



DHARMAVARAM: **(11/58)** Nemali aaku anchu chire/*Peacock/leaf motif border sari;* TUSSAR: **(11/65)** Dasili puvvu anchu chire/*Tussar floral border sari.*

has gained fame in Gadwal; with or without the *Kangora Katakomma* three-shuttle temple border. This range of saris received patronage from Rajah Seetaram Bhupal who sent three weavers to Benaras in 1922. Later Maharani Adilakshmi Devamma encouraged the cotton body sari with the *attakatam* attached end-piece which the weavers continue to weave even today; for '*goppa kossam*' or pride, as it is the skill of the hand which has saved them from extinction. Kothakota became a hinterland producer of both Gadwal saris, as well as the silks of Dharmavaram.

SILK

Armoor; Narayanpet: The silk range is partly a reinterpretation of the cottons as can be seen in the case of *narayanpet* (11/52; for cotton see 11/30 & 11/31, pg 234). Since the 1930s, with the initiative of Rani Kumudini Devi of Wanaparthy, a silk range developed in Kothakota with Varanasi-like motifs as well. With Armoor, there develops the narrow vine-and-leaf patterned border range, along with the bird's-eye motif previously seen in Paithan (11/47; pg 223) and the *pitambaralu*. These are woven by a large settlement of Khatris said to be warriors originally from Rajasthan, who speak a mix of Rajasthani, Gujarati and Marathi spliced with Telugu. They have woven *patkas*, *angavastrams* and saris from Maharashtra as well as for the local gentry of Gadwal, Narayenpet, Kothakota and Armoor, who have supported them in the past. The *kadel chire* (11/48; pg 237) with a contrast border and richly patterned end-piece, has been its distinguishing feature.

Dharmavaram: Dharmavaram in Anantpur district exemplifies a fine balance between body, border and end-piece in saris, such as 11/58. Eighty years ago, silk came from Bangalore for the *kuttanchu* three-shuttle patterned border saris. The increasing cultivation of mulberry silk in Anantpur district with two thousand silk reeling units in the single town of Hindupur, has greatly enhanced the production possibilities of the Dharmavaram sari. The introduction of the *jala* pattern harness in 1950 has also enlarged the animal and motif elements of the borders and end-pieces, which are possibly inspired by the nearby Lepakshi temple. Ever since the area has developed a special '*sambandhan*' or relationship with Kanchipuram, weaving has become a primary vocation not only for the weaving communities but also for Brahmins, Vyasas and Muslims.

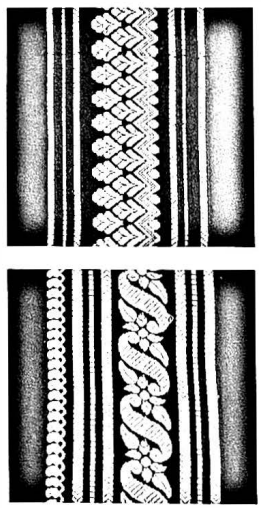
Peddapuram: Peddapuram, though largely inactive today, was once well known for its rich plain body textures with narrow vine borders (11/64A, 64B).

Tussar: Tussar was originally cultivated in northwest Telengana mainly in Karimnagar and Warangal districts. Sari and turban weaving seems to have stopped some time after Independence. The tussar saris that were woven were largely plain body with narrow borders, as can be seen in 11/65. Though now, tussar is being used in ikat saris (11/67; pg 239).

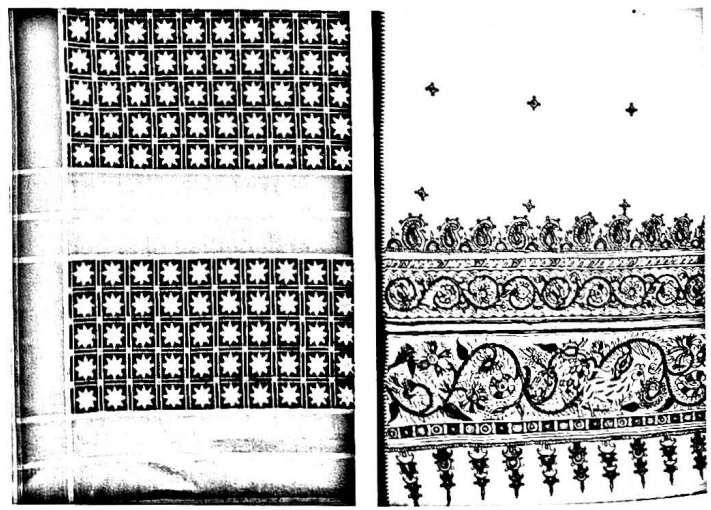
No doubt, there was a time when in a small village, the same weaver would make a single range of saris similar in their decorative elements and construction, for all communities. The saris could differ in material, but the range of motifs and design would be in keeping with the style of the region and the skill of the local weavers. The distance between the weaver and his customers has increased to the extent that, often, local customers opt for 'outside' products, both handloom and mill-made, and the weaver has sought urban markets for his ethnic products. This has also caused further confusion in the weaver's own range of patterns and skills.

IKAT

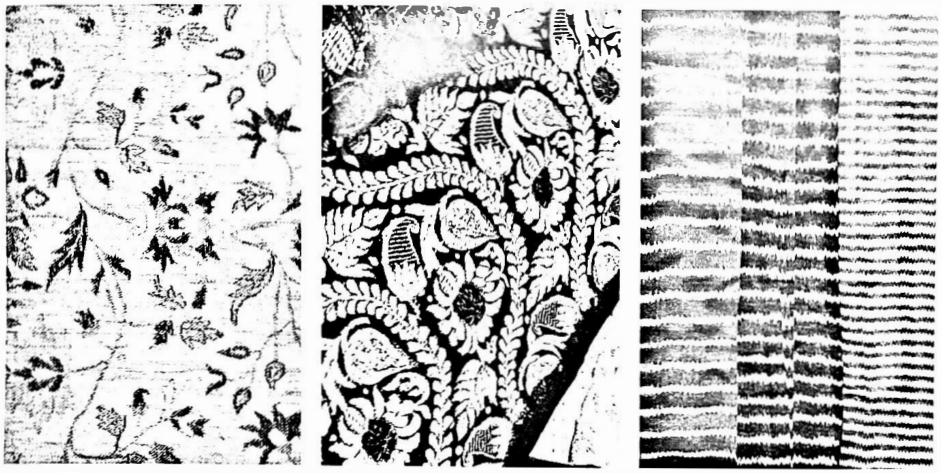
The town of Chirala in Prakasam district, a centre of ikat yarn-resist in the coastal region, had a flourishing local and international market, especially the Middle East and Southeast Asia, with products such as the *telia rumal* (11/72; yarn-resist oil soaked square pieces, later made as saris). In the early twentieth century, this production centre lost its trade and skills to the northern districts of Nalgonda, Medak and Mahbubnagar. This was perhaps due to the change of dress in the importing countries and an increased British interest in trade with coastal Andhra. This was further encouraged by the Nizam who found the northern districts more accessible from Hyderabad. The main production base thereafter, for the *telia rumal* was Pochampalli, in Nalgonda district. Modern demands for both saris and exports, have transformed the humble *chitki* (yarn-resist dash-pattern) headscarf or sari, and the more elaborate yarn-resist *rumal*. The *chukka bandha chire* (11/72) is a classic example of the *rumal* layout as a sari. It now emulates the design directories of not only



SILK: PEDDAPURAM: **(11/64A, 64B)** *Floral vine border variations.*



IKAT: **(11/72)** Chukka bandha chire/*Star motif yarn-resist sari;* FABRIC-RESIST AND PRINTED/PAINTED: **(11/82)** Theega kongu chire/*Vine end-piece painted kalamkari sari.*



NIZAM'S TEXTILES: (11/85; 11/86) Himroo jangla/*Foliage motif;* (11/84) *Mashru.*

other ikat-producing areas in Gujarat and Orissa; but with the rise in the export market in recent years; also of other ikat-producing countries including Japan and Indonesia.

DYED/FABRIC-RESIST / PRINTED / PAINTED

Kalamkari, originally a dye painting style for the art of religious storytelling, became popular, with its center in Srikalahasti, Chittoor district. Favoured by the British, Machlipatnam in Krishna district, evolved into a block-printing centre to cater to a wider market. There has been a contemporary revival in *kalamkari* in a wide range of products including painted and printed saris (11/82 and others; pg 241). This has seen it grow into another export phenomenon; albeit lesser known than ikat. *Kalamkari* has also diversified into a whole new range of base fabrics including the fine *mulmul* or muslin, and even heavyweight furnishing fabrics.

As for the traditional surface ornamentation and dyeing techniques, the *chengavi* (resist-dyed saris; 11/81; pg 241) of southern Andhra are an unmistakable offshoot of the *sungdi* or tie-dye, of Tamil Nadu.

NIZAM'S TEXTILES

These were textiles especially sponsored by members of the ruling Nizam's family for their own requirements and were exclusive to the Hyderabad region. Surface ornamentation with metallic and silk yarn embroideries has recorded a gradual decline with the loss of court patronage. Complex, mixed yarn weaves such as *mashru* and *himroo* have also suffered immensely. They have barely survived in the select workshop of Suraya Hasan, who has sponsored some weavers.

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The textile map of Andhra Pradesh is a rich and varied one, with unlimited possibilities. Yet, its contemporary development has been uneven with some areas such as ikats and, to a lesser degree, the fine count weaves of *manglagiri* and printed *kalamkari* finding market support, while others such as coarse and fine count saris and fabrics face extinction. Areas of specialized weaves such as Gadwal and Narayanpet; with their combination of cotton body-silk borders and end-pieces, and Uppada; with its compact cotton grounds and zari gold inlay patterning, are in the last stages of their existence.

The situation of the silk-weaving areas is worse. There is hardly any production in old centres such as Peddapuram, while the silks of Narayanpet, Armoor and Dharmavaram have gradually lost trader support and as a result, lost the constant supply of raw materials too. This is partially due to the growth of larger and more accessible silk production centres in adjoining Tamil Nadu, and also because of the changing tastes and preferences of its original clientele.

Nevertheless, there exists a surprisingly sound infrastructure of societies and private institutions in the state, however badly held together and poorly managed. This very infrastructure is vital, as its influence permeates some of the most remote corners of the state. The regions that fall under the government net are not beyond hope, for the simple reason that they can be made to participate in any sort of developmental exercise: conveyance of ideas, upgradation of skills, setting up of sound marketing networks, dissemination of information and a host of other areas which are vital to the progress of the handloom sector in the state. The government, or an organized private initiative from within the state, needs to undertake the responsibility of developing distinct regions that await intervention both in technical and aesthetic terms. Andhra's handloom industry is like a sleeping winged horse. It has to be woken, its muscles flexed and capabilities stretched if it is to survive the present difficult situation of cheaper substitutes from mills in India, in addition to the threat of imports. The capacity of hand-spinning on the traditional spinning wheel in parts of the state, combined with the finest weaving and patterning skill, needs further support to ensure that it does not die out.

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1. *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Warmington, E.H., Delhi, 1974, Pliny, xii 84 and vi 101; cited *ibid.*
2. *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea: Trade in the Indian Ocean*, ed. Wilfred H. Schoff, New York, 1912.

మన రాష్ట్రంలో ప్రతి పన్నెండవ వ్యక్తి చేనేత పారిశ్రామికుడే.
అతడు ఆకలితో అలమటించకుండా చూడవలసిన బాధ్యత మన మీద ఉంది.

Every twelfth man in our state is a weaver by calling.
Ensuring that he does not languish in hunger is a responsibility that lies with every one of us.

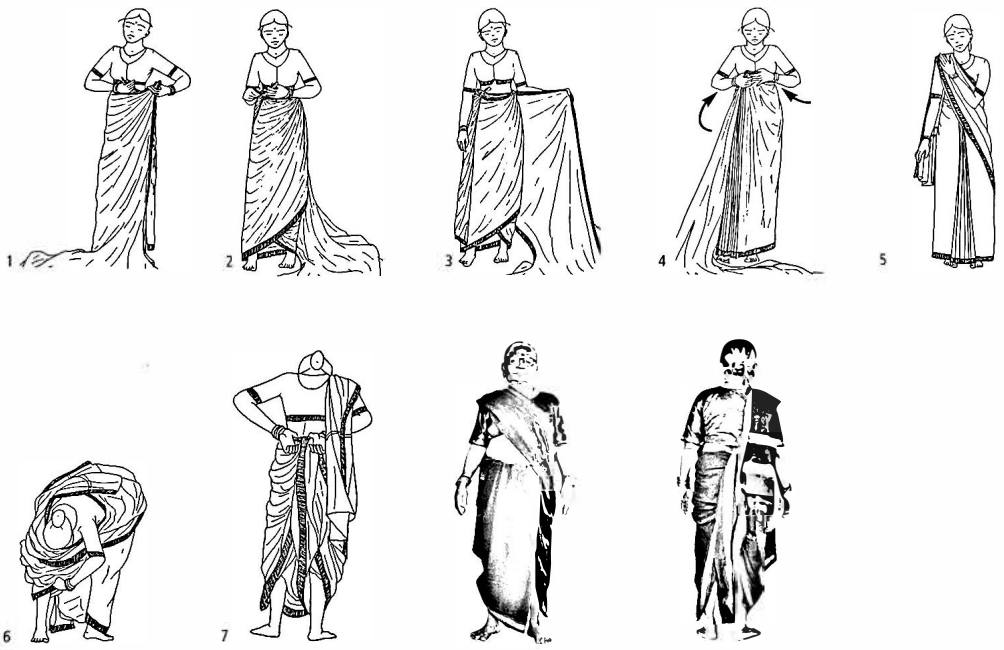
—C. Rajagopalachari

WEARING STYLES – ANDHRA PRADESH

STYLE 1: NADIKATTU/Tied-at-the-waist style

STYLE 1: NADIKATTU/Tied-at-the-waist style
LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.44 m
WORN BY: Padma Salé (weaving community); Kapu (agricultural community); Reddy (agriculturists)
AREA: Nalgonda district, Telengana region, north Andhra Pradesh

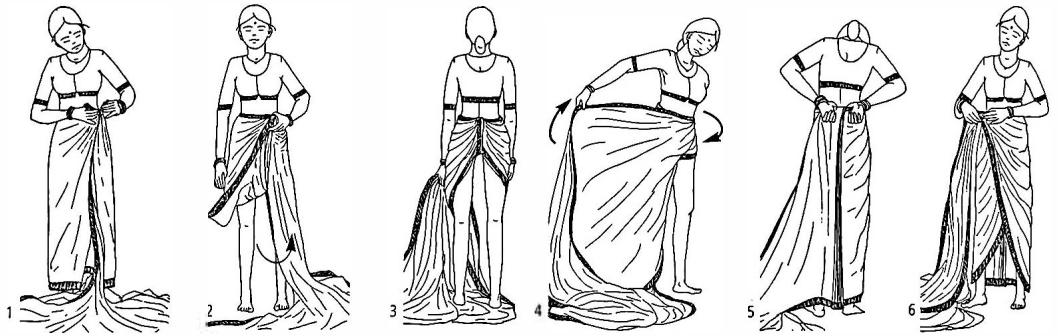
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and bring free end over it.
2. Bring free end around waist anticlockwise and tie knot with inner end-piece at right waist.
3. Bring free end to left waist clockwise from back.
4. Make five to six pleats leaving enough free end-piece and tuck in at centre front waist.
5. Bring free end-piece around waist clockwise and throw over right shoulder.
6. Pick up centre pleat from bottom.
7. Take it to centre back waist between legs and tuck in.

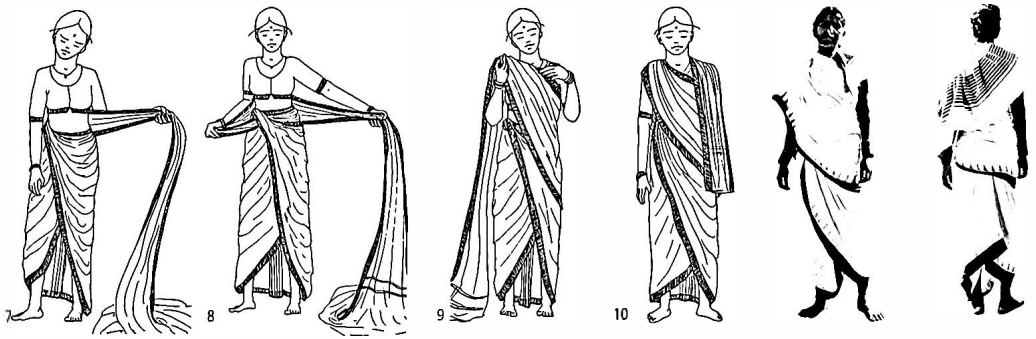


STYLE 2: VENUKAGUNDARAM-I/Tied-at-the-back style
LENGTH: 7-7.5 yd/ 6.44-6.9 m
WORN BY: Kintala Kalinga (agriculturists)
AREA: Srikakulam district, Andhra region, north coastal Andhra Pradesh

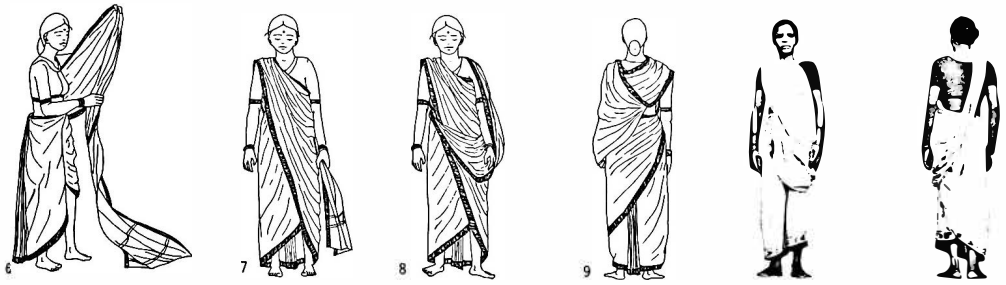
1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist anticlockwise and tie knot at left waist.
2. Pick up lower edge of inner end and tuck in at left waist over knot.
3. Bring lower edge of triangle to back between legs and tuck in at centre back waist.
4. Hold free end of sari from left border and bring to back clockwise.
5. Make up to six pleats with free end-piece and tuck in at centre back waist.
6. Bring free end to front clockwise taking lower border from left ankle to right waist.
7. Bring gathered free end-piece around waist clockwise and hold it at front left waist.
8. Pass gathered piece under front upper drape and bring around waist clockwise to left arm.
9. Throw free end-piece over right shoulder.
10. Bring outer end-piece over left shoulder from back to front.

STYLE 2: VENUKAGUNDARAM-I/Tied-at-the-back style



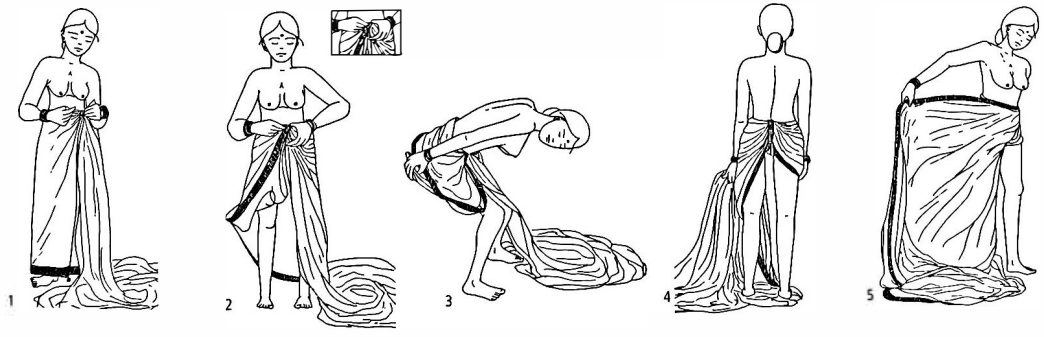


STYLE 2: VARIATION 1



STYLE 3: VENUKAGUNDARAM-II

STYLE 4: ADDUGUNDARAM/Cross-pleated style



STYLE 2: VARIATION 1

Stages 1-5 are common with Style 2

6. Bring free end to front clockwise.
7. Throw free end-piece over right shoulder and bring over left shoulder from back to front.
8. Bring outer end-piece to right waist and tuck in.
9. Back view.

STYLE 3: VENUKAGUNDARAM-II

LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.4 m
WORN BY: Burugapuka Kalingalu (agriculturists)
AREA: Coastal Andhra Pradesh

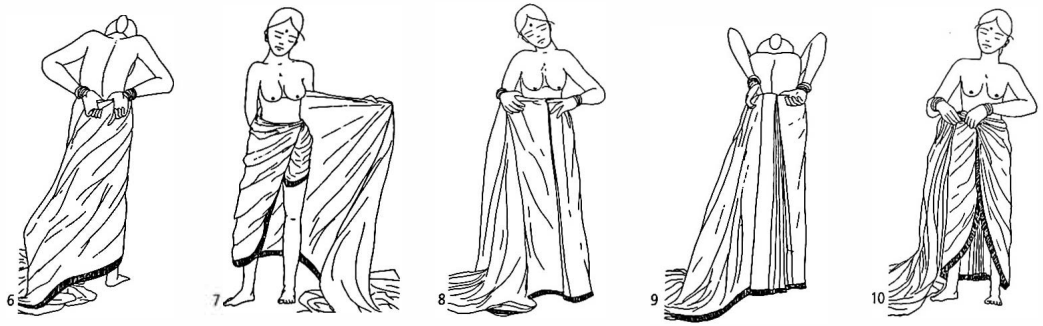
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist anticlockwise and tie knot at left waist.
2. Pick up lower border of inner end-piece and tuck in at front waist making fold above knee length.
3. Hold free end of sari from bottom.
4. Bring around waist clockwise.
5. Throw outer endpiece over right shoulder leaving enough loose portion for making pleats.
6. Make five to six pleats with loose portion of sari.
7. Bring gathered pleats to centre back waist anticlockwise.
8. Tuck in gathered pleats at centre back waist.
9. Bring outer end-piece to front over left shoulder, under left arm and tuck in at right waist.

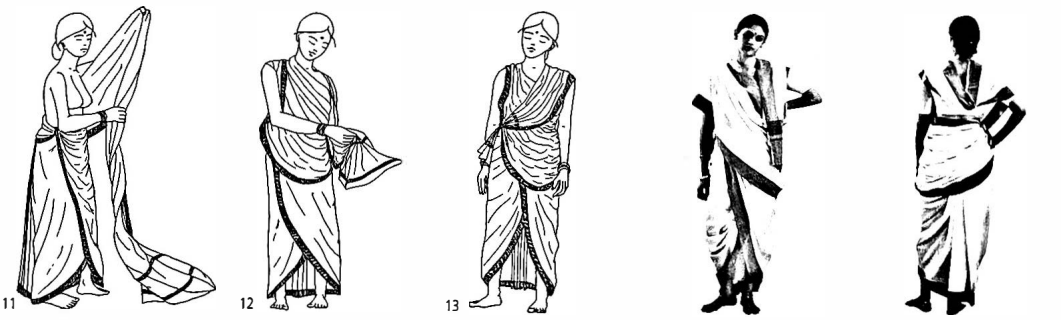
STYLE 4: ADDUGUNDARAM/Cross-pleated style

LENGTH: 7-7.5 yd/ 6.44-6.9 m
WORN BY: Koorakulavallu (agriculturists)
AREA: Coastal Andhra Pradesh

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist anticlockwise and tie at centre front waist.
2. Pick up lower edge of inner end and tuck into centre front waist.
3. Bring lower edge of triangle to back between legs.
4. Tuck in at centre back waist.
5. Hold left border of free end and bring around waist clockwise.

6. Tuck in free end-piece at centre back waist.
7. Bring free end-piece to front clockwise.
8. Make four to five pleats with free end of sari.
9. Bring gathered pleats to centre back waist anticlockwise and tuck in.
10. Bring free end-piece to front clockwise forming a 'V' in front and gather at right waist.
11. Tuck gathered portion into right waist and bring free end-piece to front clockwise.
12. Throw free end-piece over right shoulder and bring to front over left shoulder.
13. Tuck in outer end-piece at right waist.





STYLE 5: GOCHI KATTU/Loincloth style

LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m

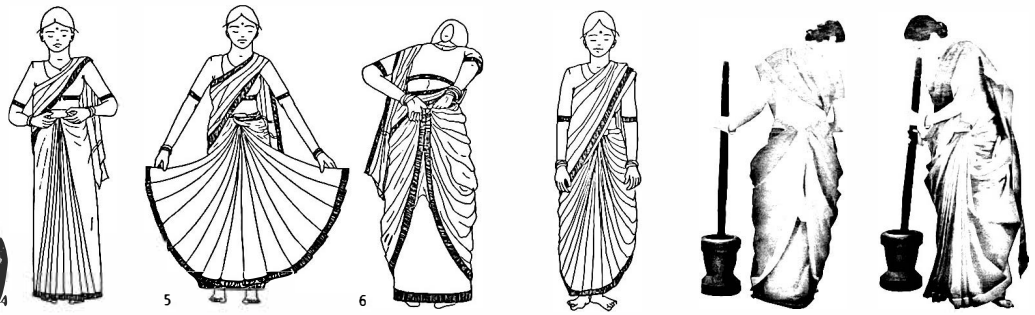
WORN BY: Golla (shepherd community); Gudati Kapulu (agriculturists)

AREA: Kothapalli, Karimnagar district, Telengana region, north Andhra Pradesh

1. Bring inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at front.
2. Bring outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise and throw over left shoulder till thigh length.
3. Make pleats of remaining loose portion facing right.
4. Open topmost outer pleat and wrap tightly around gathered pleats. Tuck in at right.
5. Pick up lower borders at two extremes.
6. Pick centre pleat from bottom and bring to back between legs.
7. Make two to three small pleats and tuck into centre back waist showing borders.

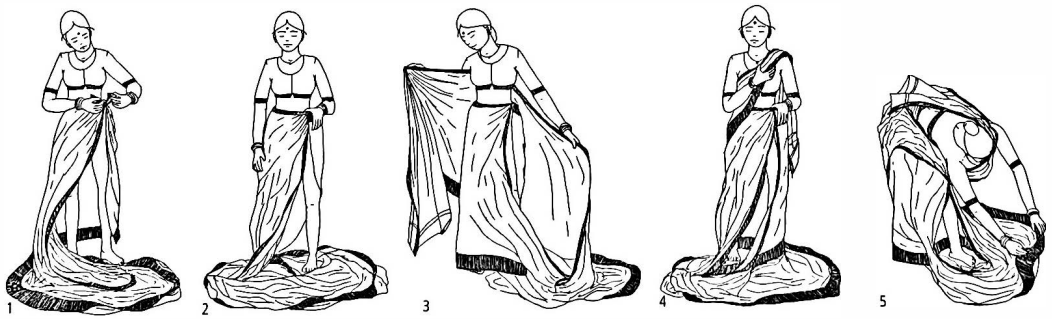
STYLE 5: GOCHI KATTU/Loincloth style

STYLE 6: BOGGILI POSI KATTUKODAM/Fold tie style



STYLE 7: MUDUKONGULA CHIRA/Three endpiece sari style

STYLE 8: MUKKALA CHIRA/Long drape style



STYLE 6: BOGGILI POSI KATTUKODAM/Fold tie style

LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.26 m
WORN BY: Golla (shepherd community); Gudati Kapulu (agriculturists)
AREA: Narasannapalle, Cuddapah district, Rayalseema region, south Andhra Pradesh

Stages 1-3 are common with Style 5

4. Roll pleats outward and secure by wrapping over with innermost layer.
5. Pick up lower borders at two extremes.
6. Bring to centre back waist from either sides and tuck in.

STYLE 7: MUDUKONGULA CHIRA/Three end-piece sari

LENGTH: 6 yd/ 5.52 m
WORN BY: Padma Salé (weaving community)
AREA: Pochampalli, Nalgonda district, Telengana region, central Andhra Pradesh

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Bring both ends around waist anticlockwise.
3. Throw over left shoulder and make pleats with loose portion of sari.
4. Tuck in gathered pleats at centre front waist.
5. Take out both ends from shoulder.
6. Throw only one end-piece over left shoulder.
7. Bring other end-piece to left waist clockwise and make pleats.
8. Tuck pleats at front left waist.

STYLE 8: MUKKALA CHIRA/Long drape style

LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m
WORN BY: Kapu (agricultural community)
AREA: Butchireddipalem, Nellore district, Rayalseema region, south Andhra Pradesh

1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at left waist.
2. Pick up bottom edge of inner end-piece and tuck in at left waist.
3. Bring outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise.
4. Throw over left shoulder till knee length.
5. Pick loose end portion from lower border.
6. Make pleats of remaining loose portion.
7. Tuck in pleats at centre front waist.

STYLE 9: GUDAKATTU/Newly married woman's style

LENGTH: 7 yd/ 6.44 m

WORN BY: Newly married Vaishnava Brahmin women

AREA: Visakhapatnam, coastal Andhra Pradesh

1. Leaving one metre from inner end-piece, wrap sari clockwise and tie knot at left waist.
2. Pick up inner end-piece from lower border and take it back between legs.
3. Tuck in pulled portion at right waist and bring remaining portion to left.
4. Tuck into left waist over knot.
5. Leaving enough loose portion for pleats, bring free end around waist clockwise and throw over right shoulder. Make pleats of remaining loose portion.
6. Tuck gathered pleats into centre front waist.
7. Pick up remaining inner end-piece and make pleats.
8. Bring gathered pleats to back between legs and tuck into centre back waist.

STYLE 10: KACCHA KATTU/Older woman's style

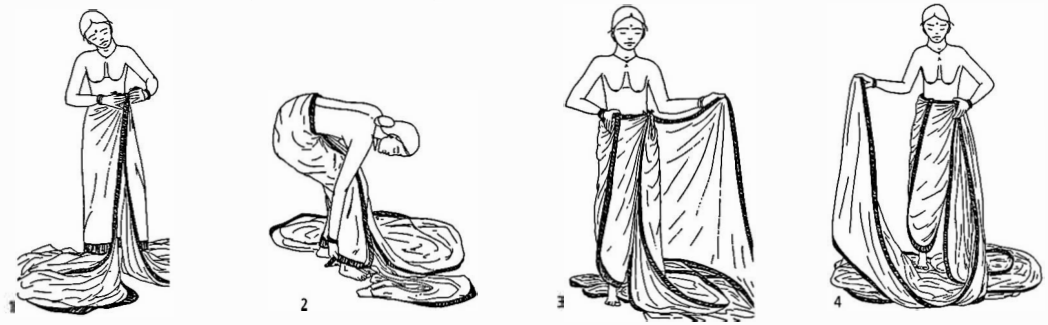
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m

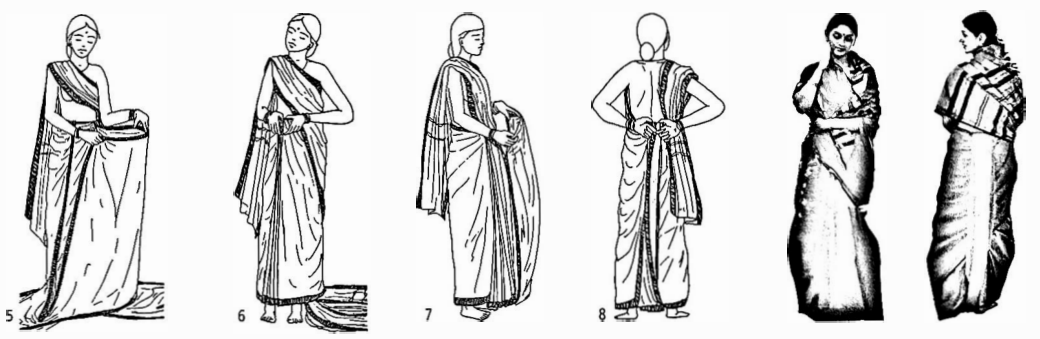
WORN BY: Older Vaishnava Brahmin women

AREA: Visakhapatnam, coastal Andhra Pradesh

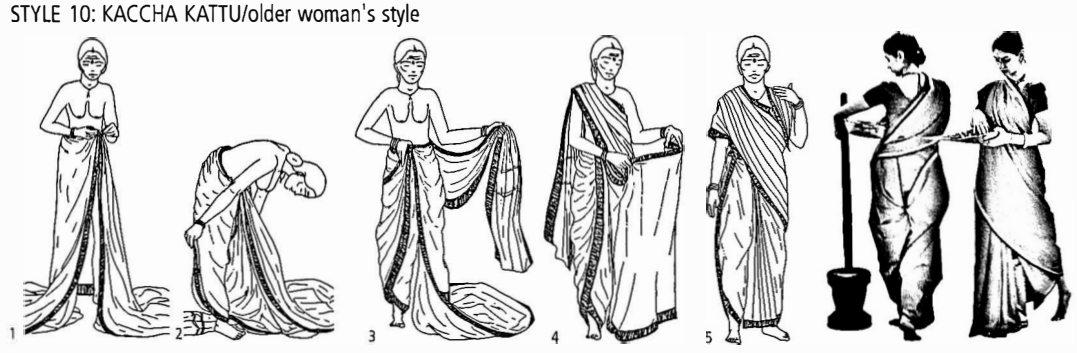
1. Divide sari into half and wrap around waist from middle. Tie knot at center front.
2. Pick up right border and bring to back between legs.
3. Bring pulled portion to right front waist and tuck in. Take remaining portion around waist clockwise to front left waist.
4. Throw over right shoulder and make pleats with left free end of sari.
5. Tuck gathered pleats into centre front waist and bring outer end-piece over left shoulder from back to front.

STYLE 9: GUDAKATTU/Newly married woman's style



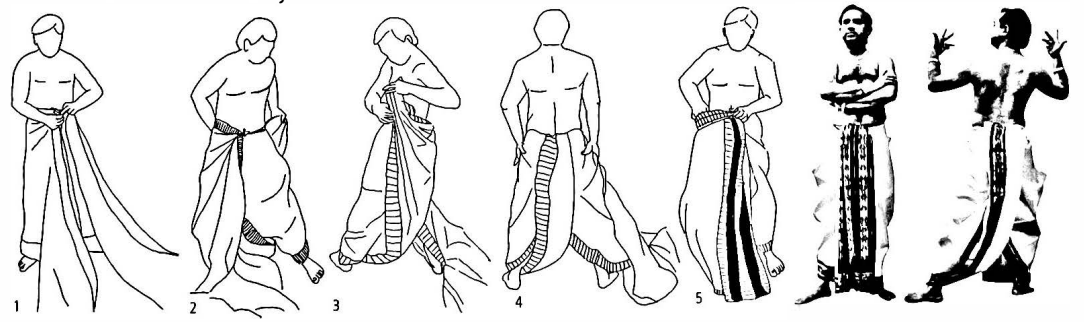


STYLE 10: KACCHA KATTU/older woman's style



STYLE 11: KUCHIPUDI/Dance style

STYLE 12: KUCHIPUDI/dance style



STYLE 11: KUCHIPUDI/Dance style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Female dancers
AREA: Central Andhra Pradesh

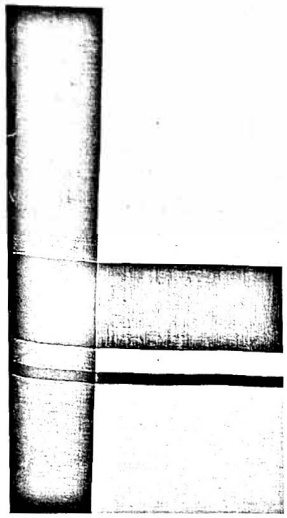
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Hold outer end-piece and bring around waist anticlockwise.
3. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder till floor length.
4. Make pleats of loose portion of sari and tuck in at centre front waist.
5. Pick up centre pleats from bottom.
6. Bring to back between legs.
7. Make small pleats and tuck in at centre back waist.
8. Take out outer end-piece from shoulder and hold with left hand.
9. Pass outer end-piece under gathered pleats tucked in at centre back waist and bring to front anticlockwise.
10. Throw outer end-piece over left shoulder and bring to front anticlockwise. Gather outer end-piece and tuck in at left waist.

STYLE 12: KUCHIPUDI/Dance style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.26 m
WORN BY: Male dancers
AREA: Central Andhra Pradesh

1. Divide sari into half and wrap around waist from middle. Tie knot at centre front waist.
2. Bring right portion of sari to back clockwise.
3. Pick up end edge of sari and make pleats.
4. Tuck gathered pleats at centre back waist.
5. Pick up right portion of sari in front and make pleats. Tuck in gathered pleats at centre front waist.

● Plain saris

1 COARSE COTTON



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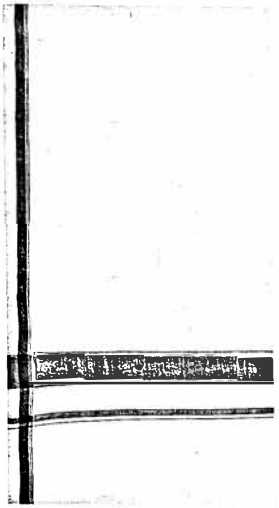

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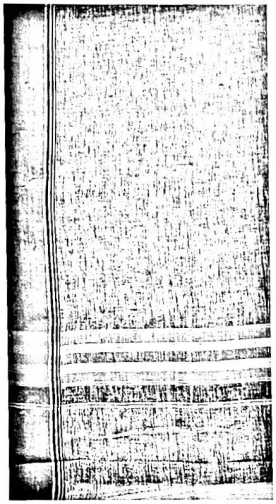

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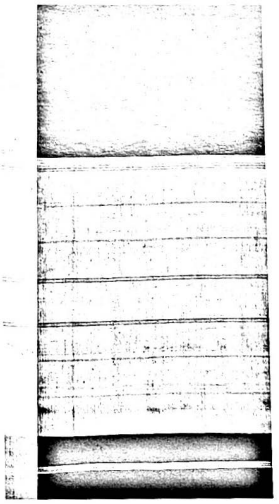

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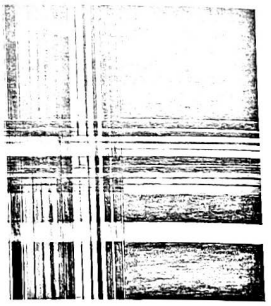

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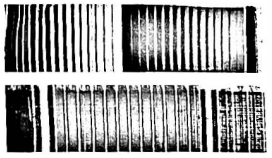
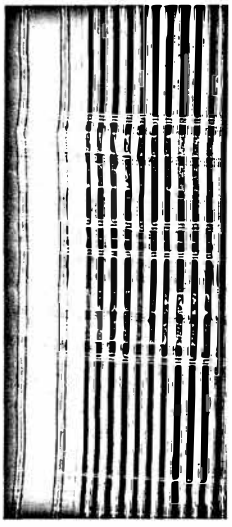


11/5A, 5B

★ 1.2: Striped and checked saris



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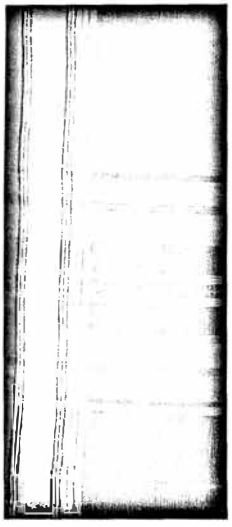

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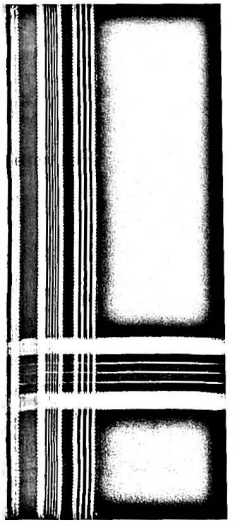

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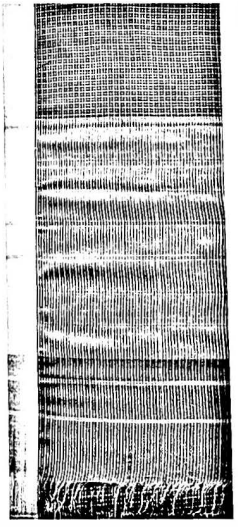

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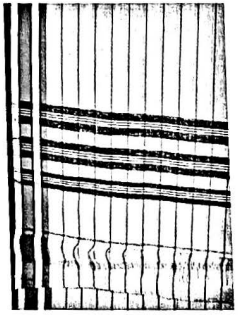

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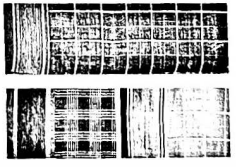
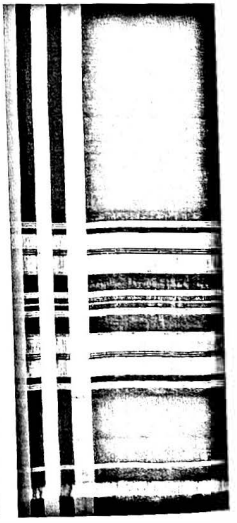


11/10A, 10B, 10C



11/11

11/1: Name: *Madhuparkam sada bottanchu chirel*Auspicious plain body border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 6.25 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Boddam, Srikakulam district

11/2: Name: *Geeralanchu chirel*Broad stripe border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.72 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 470 gm; Origin: Tolapi, Srikakulam district

11/3: Name: *Gazulanchu*/Bangle stripe border sari/Plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.31 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 620 gm; Origin: Kottakki, Vizianagaram district

11/4: Name: *Neeli bottanchu chirel*Indigo dyed plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.31 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 560 gm; Origin: Uravakonda, Anantapur district

11/5; 5A; 5B: Name: *Kertalanchu chirel*Striped border sari and border variations; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 8.80 m; Width: 0.97 m; Weight: 890 gm; Origin: Poddasidi, Srikakulam district

11/6: Name: *Kaitha lambadi pedda kabiru chirel*Striped sari for Lambadi community; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 8.20 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 1,220 gm; Origin: Gajwel, Medak district

11/7: Name: *Kaitha lambadi gomi chowkdi chirel*Check sari with arrowhead pattern for Lambadi community; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 8.20 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 1,220 gm; Origin: Kothapalli, Karimnagar district

11/8: Name: *Pedda godanchu chirel*Broad striped border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 560 gm; Origin: Narasannpeta, Srikakulam district

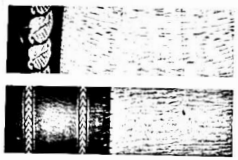
11/9: Name: *Neeli gaddi chirel*Indigo check sari; Material: Cotton with silk check, 40s; Length: 7.31 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 560 gm; Origin: Uravakonda, Anantapur district

11/10; 10A; 10B; 10C: Name: *Putalamma chirel*Sari for Goddess Putalamma; Name: *Tomtom gaddi chirel*Solid check sari detail; Name: *Bettedu gaddi chirel*Four-finger width check sari detail; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 560 gm; Origin: Kothapalli, Karimnagar district; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Hyderabad

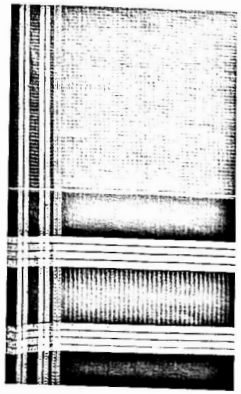
11/11: Name: *Bettedu gaddi chirel*Four-finger width check sari detail; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 7.04 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 1,000 gm; Origin: Lingampalle, Cuddapah district

▲ Extra warp/weft and *Kuppadam* (three-shuttle)

11/12



11/12A, 12B



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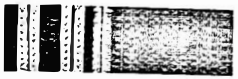
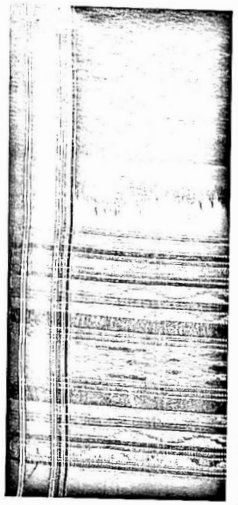


11/13A



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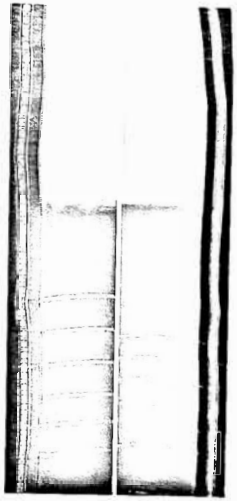

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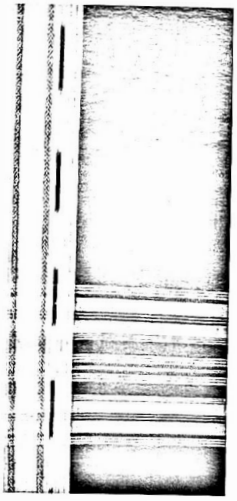

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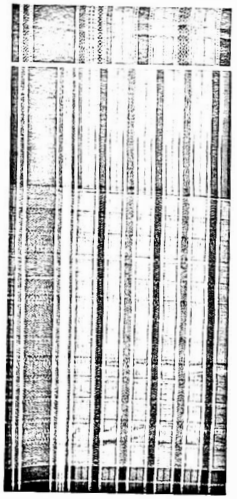
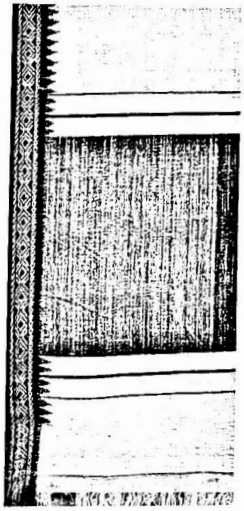


11/17

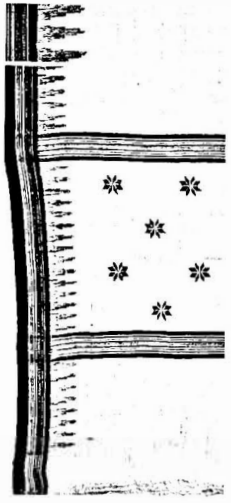
♠ Khadi – Handspun saris with three-shuttle and inlay pattern

11/18



11/19

11/20



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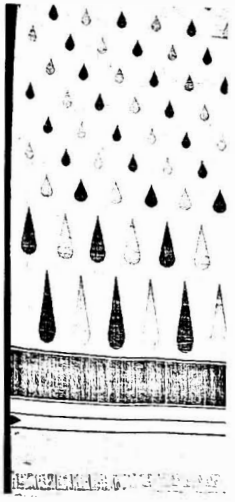

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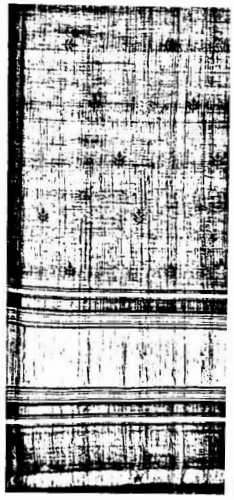


11/23

11/12: Name: *Lugni pettu chirel*Patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 6.85 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 540 gm; Origin: Polavaram, Krishna district

11/12A; 12B: Name: *Raavi aaku pettu chirel*Tamarisk leaf patterned border; *Gorni pettu*/Arrowhead patterned; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Hyderabad

11/13; 13A: Name: *Gasala jodu gadi kirige*/Child's double check sari; Material: Cotton, 26s; Length: 4.57 m; Width: 0.91 m; Weight: 360 gm; Origin: Yemmiganur, Kurnool district

11/14: Name: *Kuruma golla pelli chirel*Bridal sari of the cowherd community; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 7.85 m; Width: 0.93 m; Weight: 900 gm; Origin: Nizamabad, Nizamabad district

11/15; 15A: Name: *Golla ganga jamna pettu chirel*Cowherd's two colour border bridal sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 7.85 m; Width: 0.93 m; Weight: 590 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Hyderabad

11/16: Name: *Tanda chirel*Sari of Tanda community; Material: Cotton, 20s; Length: 7.15 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 1.220 gm; Origin: Huzurabad, Karimnagar district

11/17 Name: *Patta pettu chirel*Extra warp-patterned body/border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharat Ram, New Delhi

11/18: Name: *Khadi sada kuppadam chirel*Plain *khadi* three-shuttle sari; Material: Handspun cotton, 60s; Length: 4.70 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Late Sushila Mehta, Mumbai

11/19: Name: *Khadi kuppadam muga pettu chirel Khadi*, three-shuttle *muga* silk border patterned sari; Material: Handspun cotton, 80s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Grama Swarajya Sangham, Srikakulam

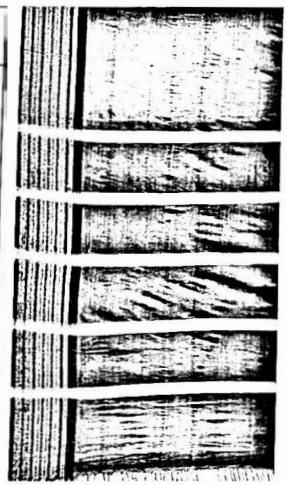
11/20: Name: *Khadi zari kuppadam chirel Khadi* with gold, three-shuttle border sari; Material: Handspun cotton, 100s; Length: 6.40 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Grama Swarajya Sangham, Srikakulam

11/21: Name: *Khadi puvvu chirel Khadi* flower motif sari; Material: Handspun cotton, 100s; Length: 6.40 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Late Krishna Sethi, New Delhi

11/22: Name: *Khadi buta chirel*Teardrop-patterned *khadi* sari; Material: Handspun cotton, 100s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Grama Swarajya Sangham, Srikakulam

11/23: Name: *Neeli zari buta chirel*Indigo, gold-flower motif body sari; Material: Handspun cotton, 100s; Length: 6.30 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Grama Swarajya Sangham, Srikakulam

●❦ Plain, extra warp/weft saris (Guntur, Siddipet, Narayanpet)



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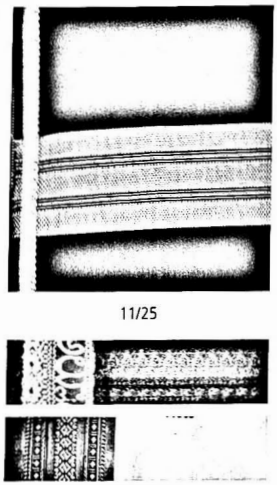

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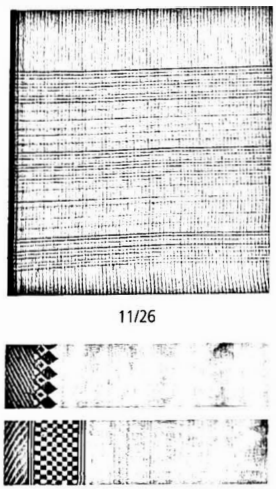

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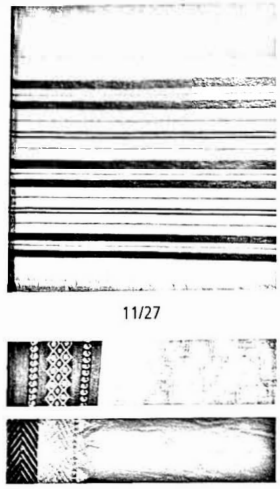
11/26



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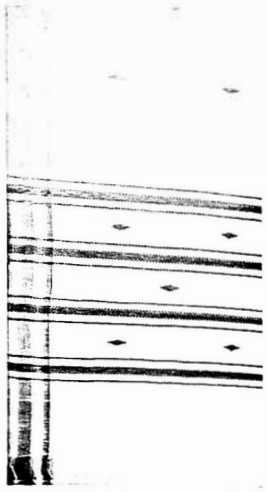

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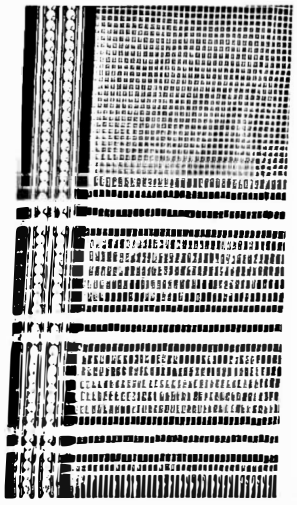
★✹ Venkatgiri and Uppada saris



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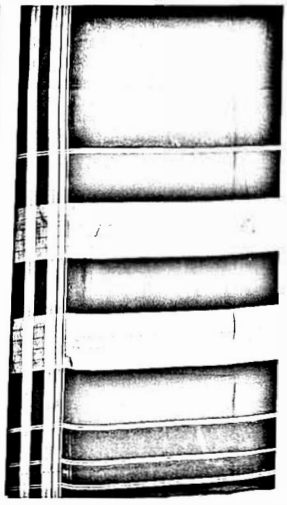

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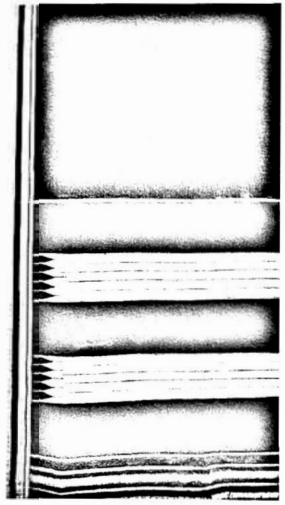

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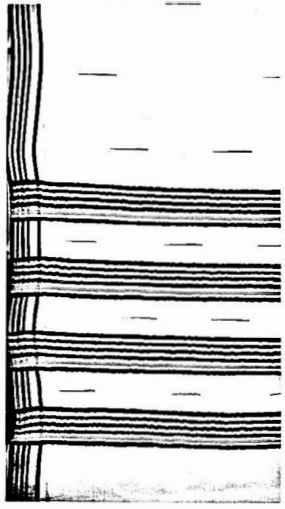

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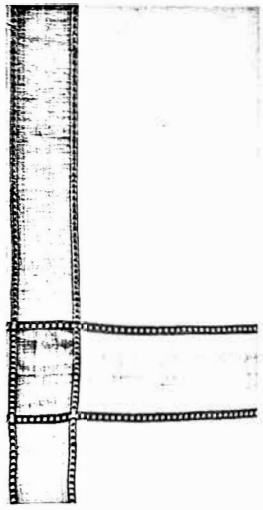


11/33

11/24: Name: *Pattubadi kalnetha pettu chirel*Cross-shed beaten patterned border, shot colour sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Ghantasala, Krishna district

11/25; 25A; 25B: Border variations of Guntur; *Pattubadi raavi aaku pettu chirel*Cross-shed, tamarisk leaf-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Addepalli, Guntur district; Bangarrayapeta, Visakhapatnam district

11/26; 26A: Name: *Guntur banaras pettu chirel*Twill border patterned sari; border variations (**26B:** *Itukarai pettu*); Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 6.40 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 410 gm; Courtesy: Suraya Hasan, Hyderabad

11/27: Name: *Gomi zari anchu chirel*Arrowhead, gold border patterned sari; Material: Cotton, 80s/gold border; Length: 8.16 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 700 gm; Origin: Bhattiprolu, Guntur district

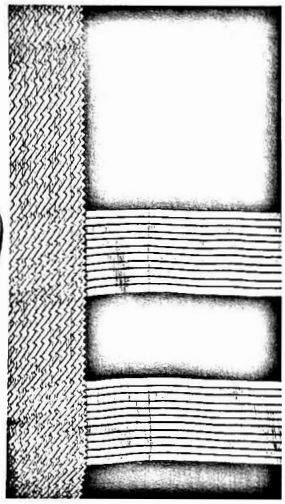
11/28: Name: *Siddipet patta anchu chirel*Plain border sari of Siddipet; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Siddipet, Medak district

11/29: Name: *Mamidi gaddi chirel*Mango-patterned border, check body sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Siddipet, Medak district

11/30; 11/31: Name: *Narayanpet nippani chirel*Narayanpet double border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 8.20 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Narayanpet, Mahbubnagar district

11/32: Name: *Zari patta chirel*Plain stripe gold border sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 390 gm; Origin: Venkatagiri, Nellore district

11/33: Name: *Muthu patta chirel*Pearl dash-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Late Kamla Lal, New Delhi



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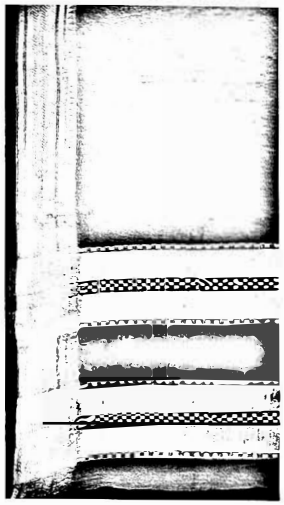

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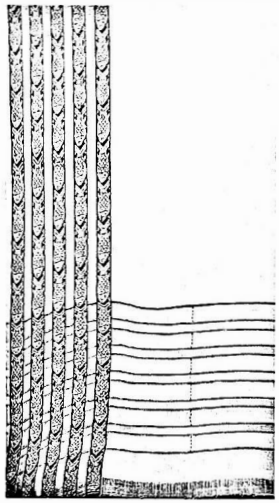

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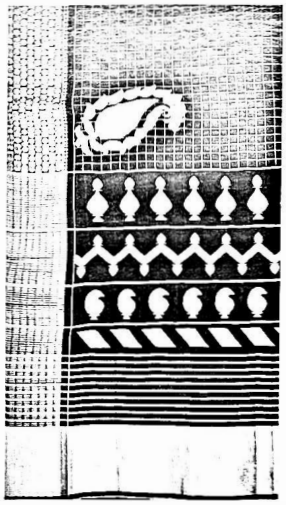

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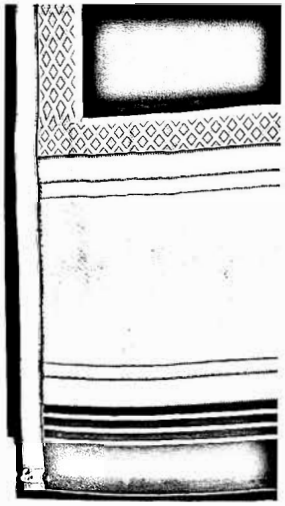
❤ Gadwal/Kothakota saris



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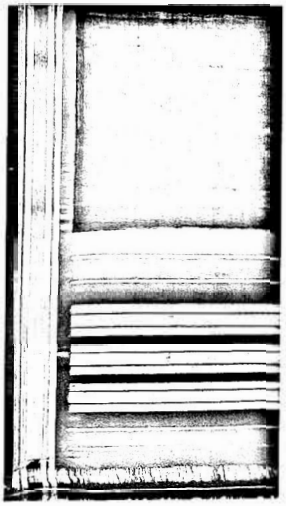

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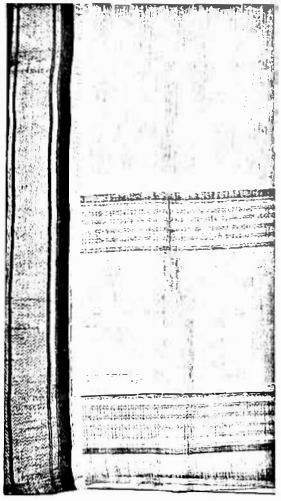

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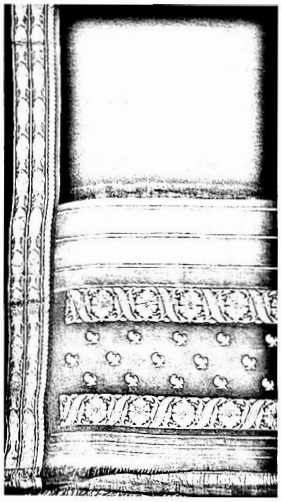

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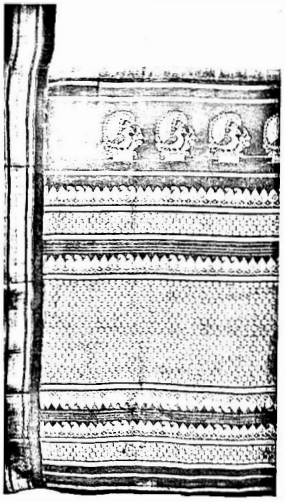


11/43

11/34; 11/35: Name: *Kertalanchu chire*/Wave-patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.48m; Width: 1.19m; Weight: 460gm; Courtesy: Ratna Sudhabala, Hyderabad

11/36: Name: *Chepa anchu chire*/Fish patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.48m; Width: 1.19m; Weight: 460gm; Courtesy: Ratna Sudhabala, Hyderabad

11/37: Name: *Rudraksham anchu mamidi konia gaddi chire*/Seed flower border, mango corner check body sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 540 gm; Courtesy: Aruna Reddy, Hyderabad

11/38: Name: *Uppada kora zari ani puthala chire*/Teardrop body inlay patterned sari of Uppada; Material: Cotton, 120s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 290 gm; Origin: Venkataglri, Nellore district

11/39: Name: *Neeli chaya zari chire*/Indigo body, gold border/end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 100s; Length: 7.31 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Kumudini Devi Wanaparthy, Hyderabad

11/40: Name: *Banaras anchu chire*/Twill border sari; Material: Cotton body, 80s; Silk border, 15 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: K. Venkatswamy & Sons, Gadwal, Mahbubnagar district

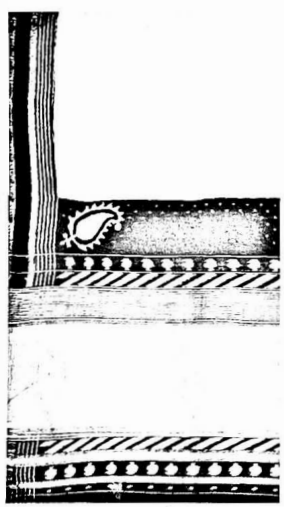
11/41: Name: *Kertalanchulgomi kangora rudraksham kongu chire*/Three-shuttle, wave-patterned border, seed flower end-piece sari; Material: Cotton body, 80s; Silk border, 13/5 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Vijayalakshmi Narne, Hyderabad

11/42: Name: *Chepa anchu puvvu kongu chire*/Fish border, flower end-piece sari; Material: Cotton body/Silk border/End-piece, 100s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Neela Reddy, Hyderabad

11/43: Name: *Kertalanchu nemali kongu chire*/Wave-patterned border, peacock end-piece sari; Material: Cotton body/Silk border/End-piece, 80s; Length: 5.70 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Ghanshyam Sarode, Hyderabad

3
SILK SARIS

11/44



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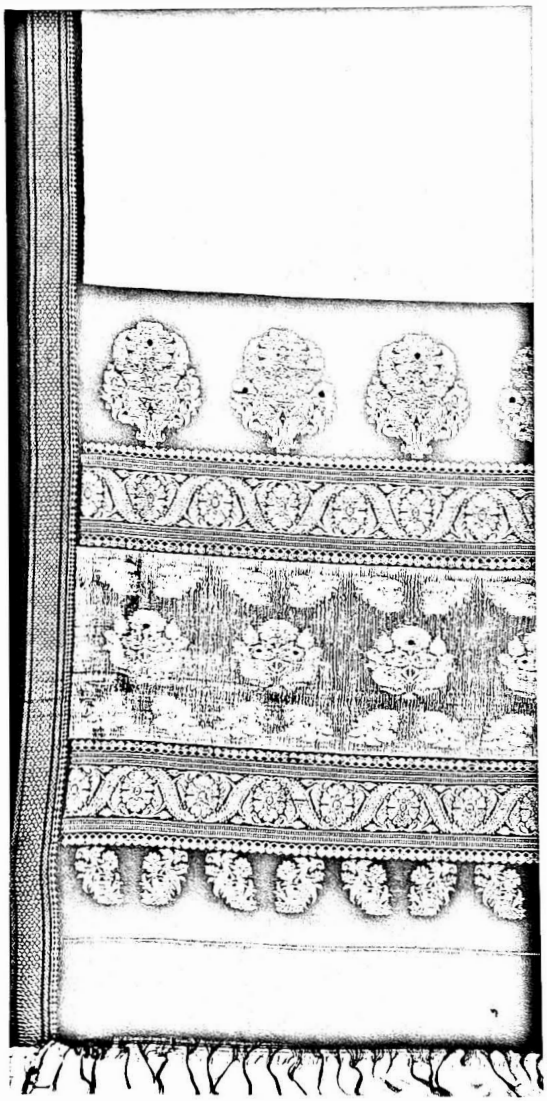

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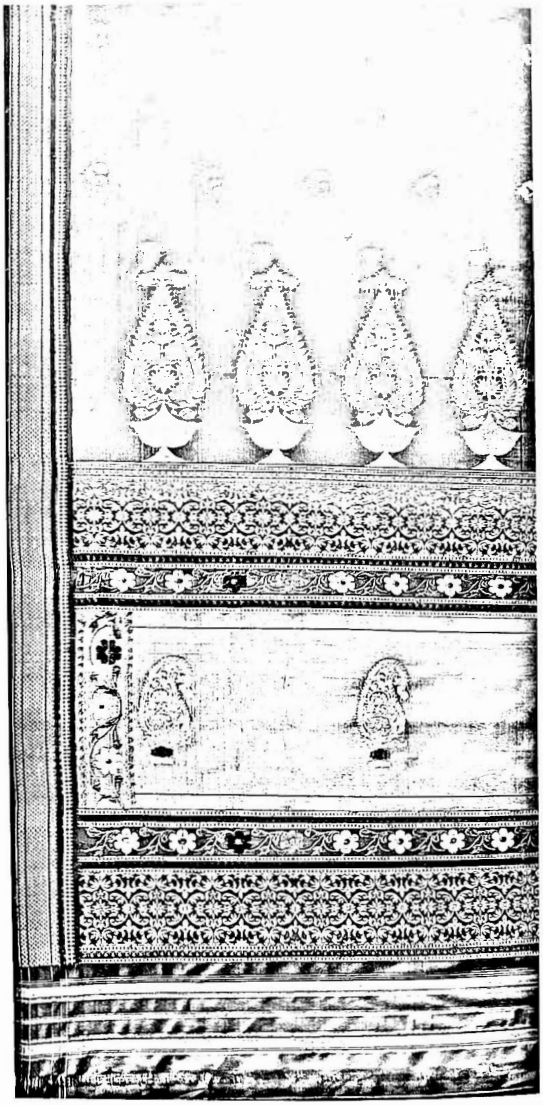
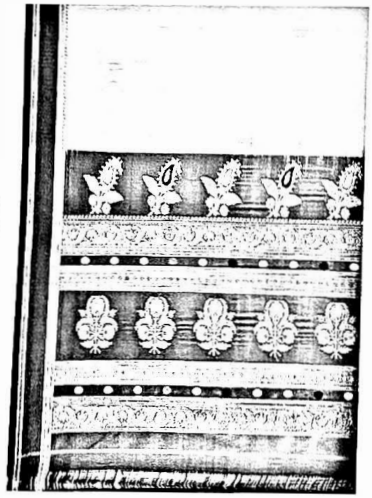


11/47

11/44: Name: *Rajmahal hara tikki pura pukkah chirel*Grand double-check body sarl; Material: Cotton body, silk border/End-piece, 60s; Length: 7.31 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: K. Venkatswamy & Sons, Gadwal, Mahbubnagar district
11/45: Name: *Chepa anchu mamidi konia kongu chirel*Fish border, mango corner end-piece sari; Material: Cotton body, silk border/End-piece, 80s; Length: 7.31 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 490 gm; Courtesy: Lalitha Prasad, Hyderabad
11/46: Name: *Guvanchu kangora kadel chirel*Three-shuttle dove-eye border, grand end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 7.31 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 680 gm; Courtesy: Neela Reddy, Hyderabad
11/47: Name: *Gomianchu nemali butta panneelu buddi kadel chirel*Ear ornament border, peacock body motif, rose water sprinkler grand end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 500 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi



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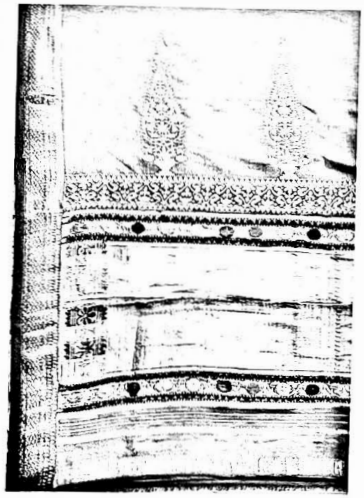

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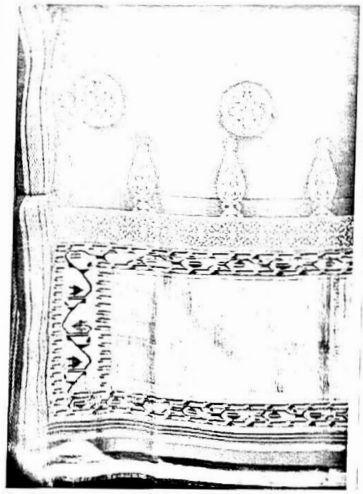

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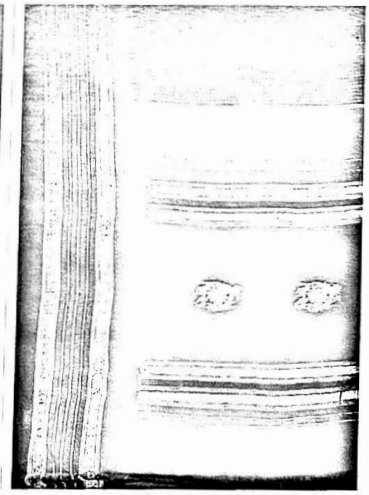

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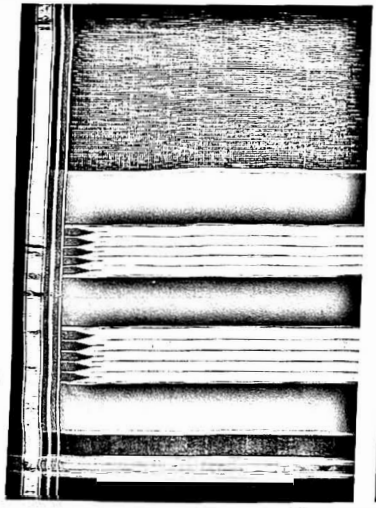

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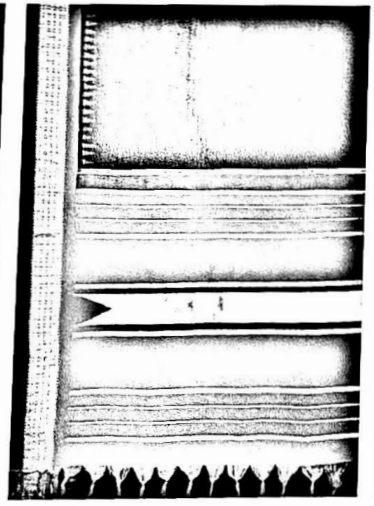

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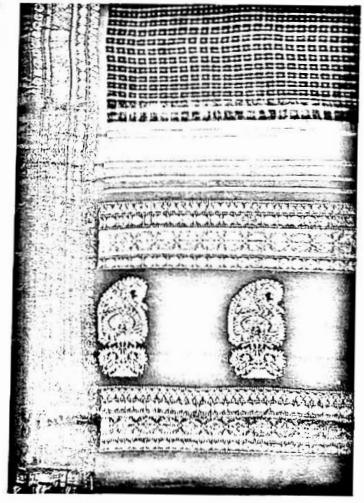


11/54

11/55

11/48: Name: *Gomianchu kangora kadel chirel*Arrowhead, three-shuttle, elaborate end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 7.25 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 850 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharat Ram, New Delhi

11/49: Name: *Guvanchu panneelu buddi kadel kangora chirel*Dove-eye patterned border, rose water sprinkler elaborate end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 450 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

11/50: Name: *Pitambaralu panneelu chirel*Medallion motif body, rose water sprinkler loom-embroidered end-piece sari in auspicious pink; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 590 gm; Courtesy: Late Seetha Pooviah, Mumbai

11/51: Name: *Puvvu anchu kangora gaddi chirel*Floral border / end-piece, check-body sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.55 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 420 gm; Courtesy: Ghanshyam Sarode, Hyderabad

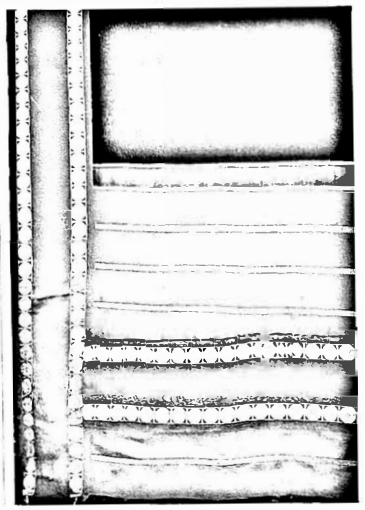
11/52: Name: *Kertalanchu gaddi chirel*Gold wave-patterned border, check-body sari; Material: Cotton check, 60s; Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.90 m; Weight: 530 gm; Courtesy: Ghanshyam Sarode, Hyderabad

11/53: Name: *Narayanpet rudraksh anchu kangora chirel*Seed-flower motif, Three-shuttle border sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 660 gm; Courtesy: Renuka Kelkar, New Delhi

11/54: Name: *Rudraksham puvvu gaddi chirel*Seed-flower motif border, double-check body sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 660 gm; Courtesy: Aruna Kothari, Hyderabad

11/55: Name: *Nemali anchu kongu chirel*Peacock border / end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 590 gm; Courtesy: Lakshmi Rameshwar Rao, Hyderabad

11/56



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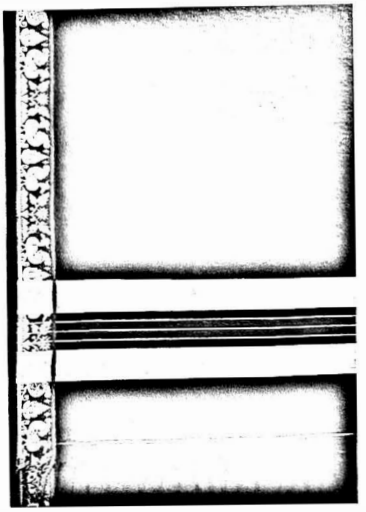

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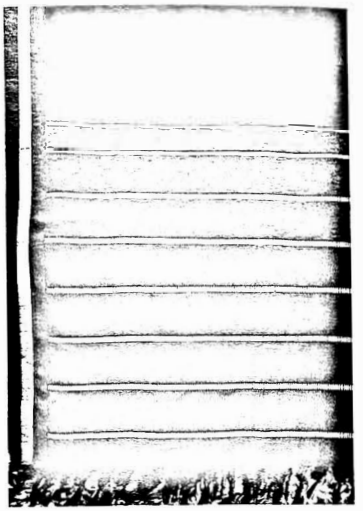

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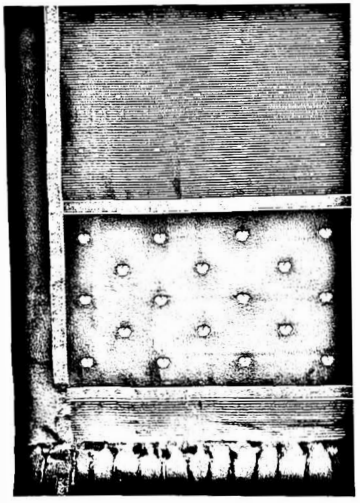

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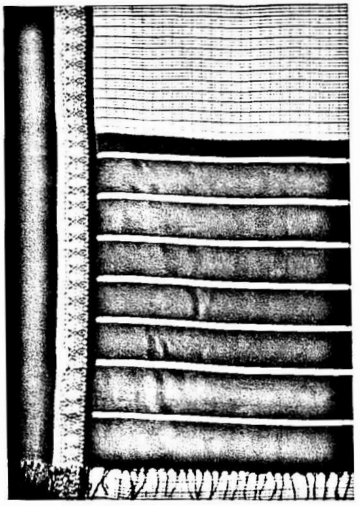

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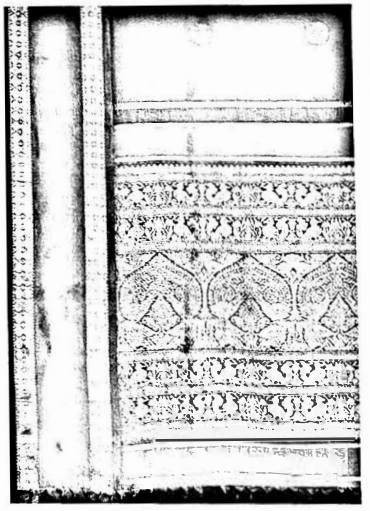

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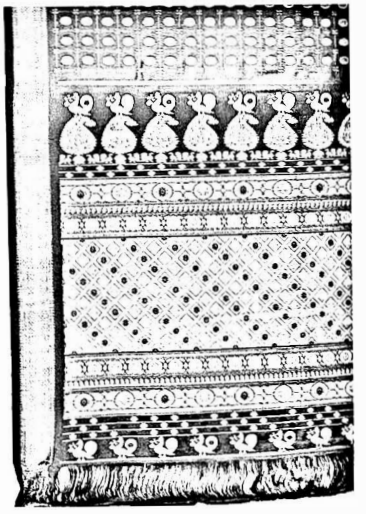


11/63

11/56: Name: *Mudda banti puvvu nemali pettu nadumu chirel*Marigold and peacock motif body sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 7.10 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 740 gm; Courtesy: Renuka Kelkar, New Delhi

11/57: Name: *Billa buta anchu chirel*Medallion motif border/end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.16 m; Weight: 590 gm; Courtesy: Lakshmi Devi Raj, Hyderabad

11/58: Name: *Nemali aaku anchu chirel*Peacock/leaf motif border sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Renuka Kelkar, New Delhi

11/59: Name: *Puvvu anchu chirel*Flower motif border sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 550 gm; Courtesy: Lakshmi Devi Raj, Hyderabad

11/60: Name: *Puvvu anchu nemali kongu chirel*Floral vine border, peacock end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 650 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 690 gm; Courtesy: Renuka Kelkar, New Delhi

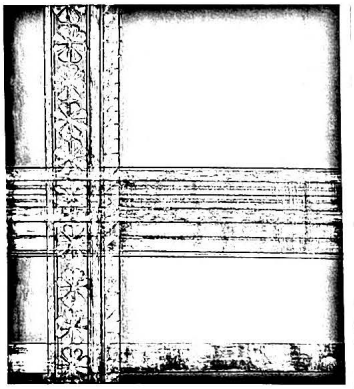
11/61: Name: *Padmam pettu gaddi chirel*Lotus-patterned border, multicoloured-check body sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 6.60 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 690 gm; Courtesy: Renuka Kelkar, New Delhi

11/62: Name: *Rudraksh anchu nemali kongu chirel*Seed flower border, peacock end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 740 gm; Courtesy: Renuka Kelkar, New Delhi

11/63: Name: *Guvanchu billa buta gaddi nemali puvvu kongu chirel*Dove-eye patterned, medallion motif check-body sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 7.20 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 920 gm; Courtesy: Manju Bharatram, New Delhi

✣ Peddapuram

▲ Tussar



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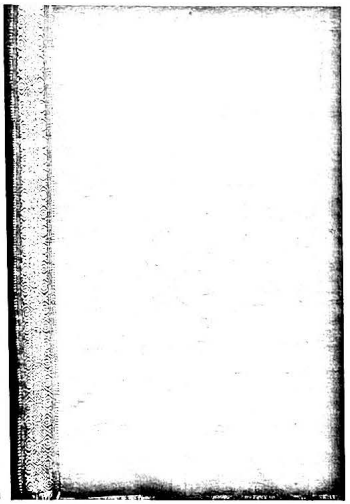
11/64B



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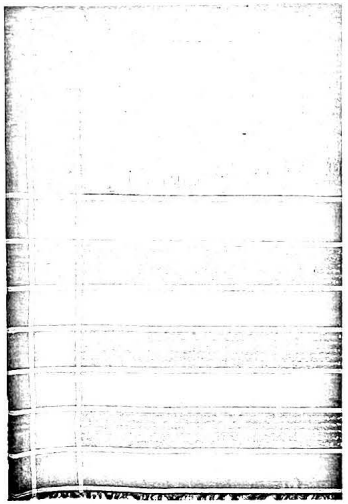

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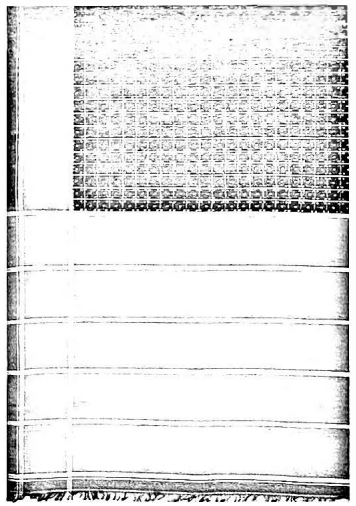

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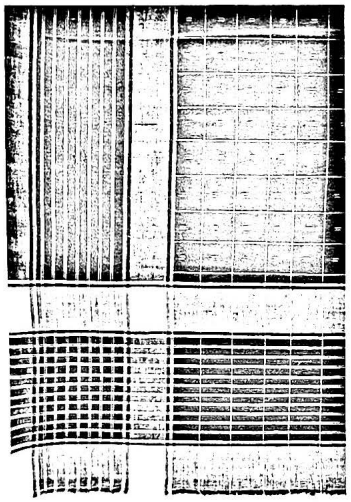
4 IKATS



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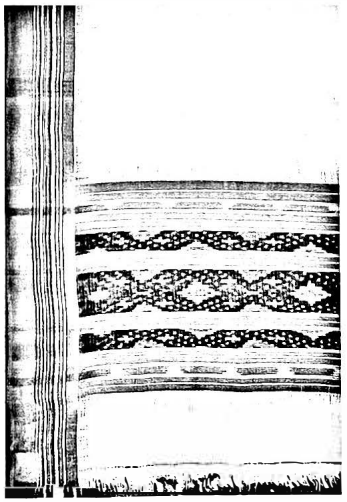

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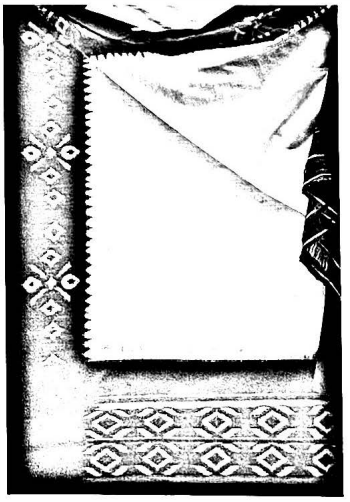

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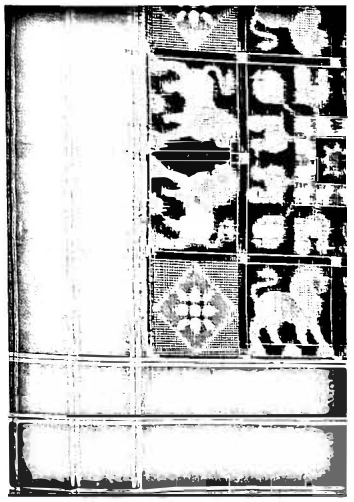


11/71

11/64: Name: *Pushpam anchu chirel*Flower-vine border sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 490 gm; Origin: Peddapuram, East Godavari district

11/64A; 64B: Name: Floral vine border variations

11/65: Name: *Dasili puvvu anchu chirel*Tussar floral border sari; Material: Silk, 8 cocoon tussar; Length: 6.40 m; Width 1.10 m; Weight: 5.10 gm; Courtesy: Ghanshyam Sarode, Hyderabad

11/66: Name: *Mugi gaddi dasili chirel*2 x 2 check tussar sari; Material: Silk, 6 cocoon tussar; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Puttapaka, Nalgonda district

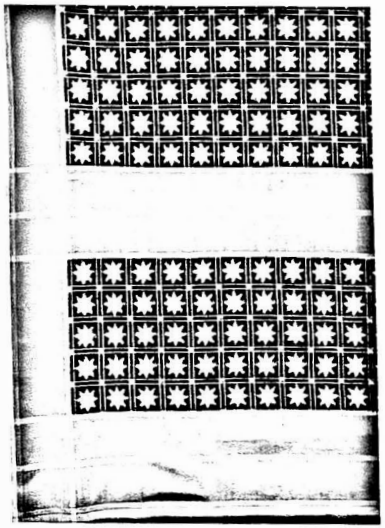
11/67: Name: *Dasili chowkda bandha chirel*Tussar check yarn-resist sari; Material: Silk, 6 cocoon tussar; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Puttapaka, Nalgonda district

11/68: Name: *Chitki rumall*Dash-patterned yarn-resist square piece; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 1.08 m X 8 pcs = 8.64 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 130 gm; Origin: Hasanparthy, Warangal district

11/69: Name: *Pushpam anchu bandha kongu gaddi chirel*Floral yarn-resist border/end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 460 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Hyderabad

11/70: Name: *Mudu kongula chirel*Three end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 4.48 m + 1 end-piece: 0.85 m + 2 end-pieces: 1.25 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 470 gm; Origin: Pochampalli, Nalgonda district

11/71: Name: *Singha telia nemali bandha rumall*Lion-peacock yarn-resist square piece; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 1.08 m/rumal X 8 pcs = 8.64 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 520 gm; Origin: Koyallagudem, Nalgonda district



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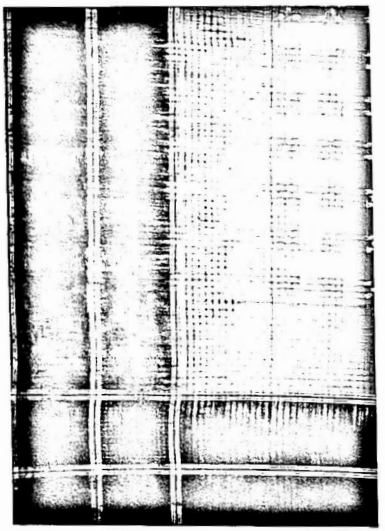

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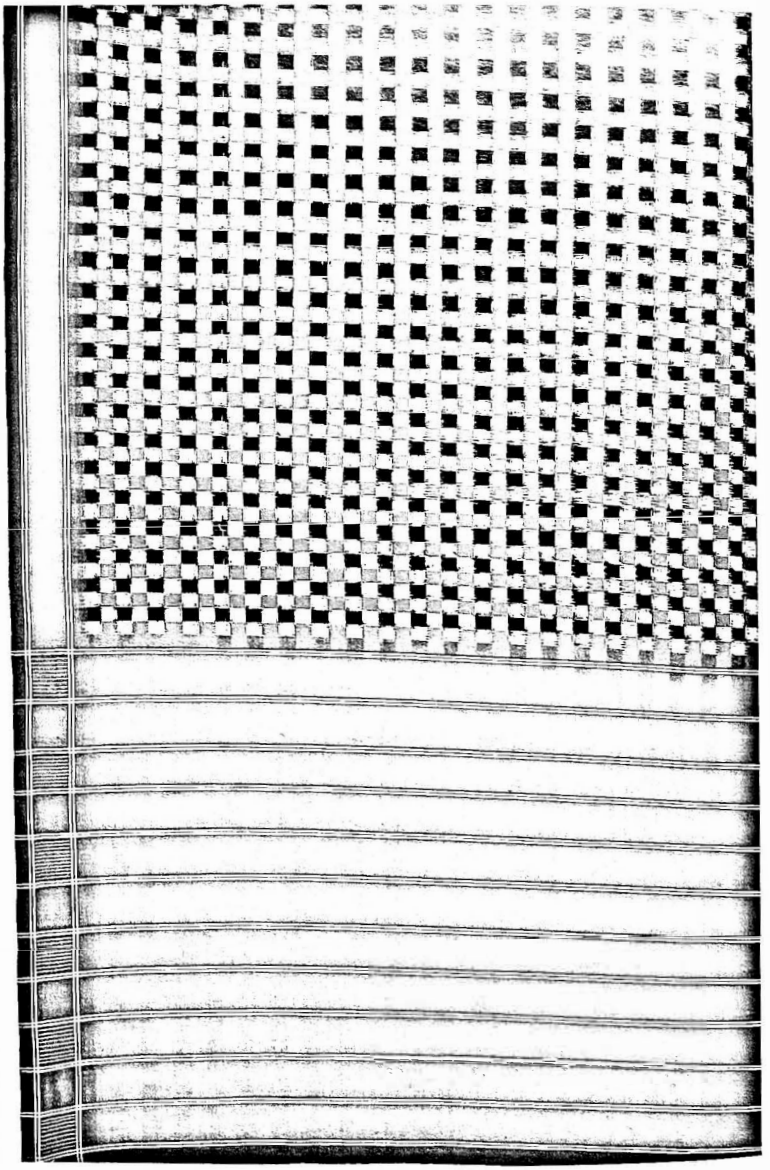

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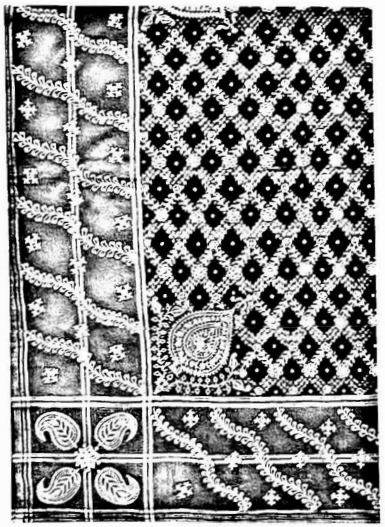

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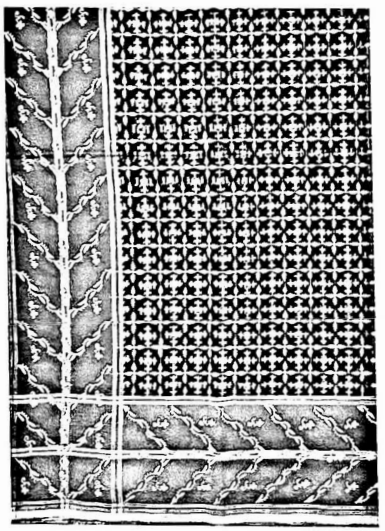

11/75

11/72: Name: *Chukka bandha chirel*Star motif yarn-resist sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 480 gm; Courtesy: Visvakarma Collection
11/73: Name: *Bandha zari gaddi chirel*Yarn-resist gold check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 550 gm; Courtesy: Suman Benegal, New Delhi
11/74: Name: *Chitki zardozi rumall*Dash-patterned, zardozi-embroidered square piece; Material: Cotton with metal thread embroidery, 60s; Weight: 130 gm x 8; Courtesy: Jagdish and Kamla Mittal, Hyderabad
11/75: Name: *Jaali bandha zardozi rumal chirel*Trellis-patterned, yarn-resist embroidered square piece; Material: Cotton with metal thread embroidery, 60s; Weight: 130 gm x 8; Courtesy: Jagdish and Kamla Mittal, Hyderabad
11/76: Name: *Chitki gaddi chirel*Dash-patterned check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 4.40 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 530 gm; Courtesy: Suman Benegal, New Delhi

5 DYED/FABRIC AND PRINTED

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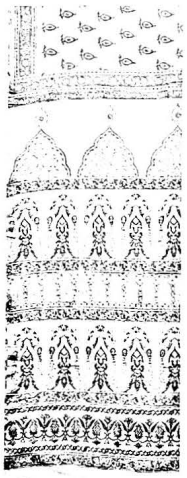
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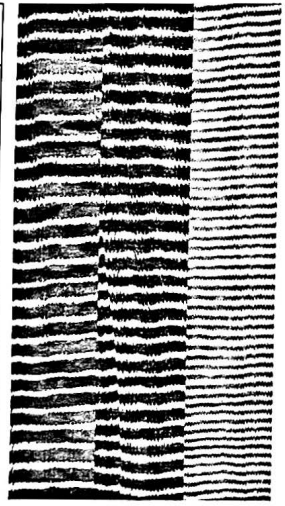
6 MASHRU, HIMROO, ZARDOZI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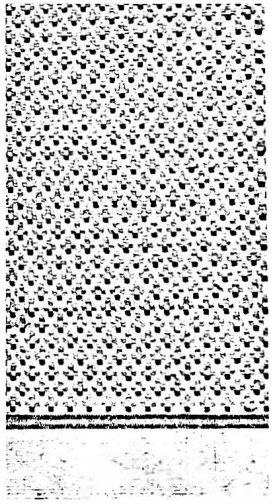
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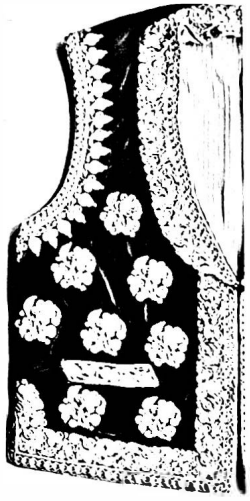

11/88

11/77; 11/78: Name: *Theega anchu nemali kongu chiree*/Vine border, peacock end-piece, *kalamkari* printed sari; Material: Cotton, 80/100 s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Lakshmi Devi Raj, Hyderabad

11/79: Name: *Theega anchu kongu puvvu jaal nemali chiree*/Vine border, peacock end-piece, floral printed sari; Material: Cotton, 80s/100s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Lakshmi Devi Raj, Hyderabad

11/80: Name: *Theega anchu buta nemudu chiree*/Floral vine border, body motif printed sari; Material: Cotton, 80s/100s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 380 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Vijayawada, Krishna district

11/81: Name: *Chuttu chengavi chiree*/Clamp resist, fabric-resist and printed sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.00 m; Width: 1.17m; Weight: 460 gm; Origin: Bangarupet, Nellore district

11/82; 11/83: Name: *Theega kongu chiree*/Vine end-piece, painted *kalamkari* sari; Material: Cotton, 40s and 80s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Sri Kalahasti, Chittoor district

11/84: Name: *Mashru*/Silk warp, cotton weft satin weave fabric; Material: silk x cotton; Courtesy: Suraya Hasan, Hyderabad

11/85; 11/86: Name: *Himroo jangla*/Foliage motif/Cotton x silk weft fabric; Material: Cotton warp and Silk weft; Courtesy: Suraiya Hasan, Hyderabad

11/87: Name: *Himroo* cotton drape; Material: Cotton, 2/60s; Length: 2.15 m; Width: 0.80 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Suraiya Hasan, Hyderabad

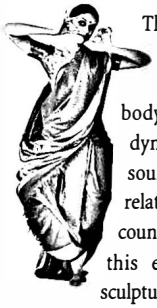
11/88: Name: *Zardozi Vasket*/Gold wire embroidery on velvet jacket; Material: Cotton and Silk; Courtesy: Suraiya Hasan, Hyderabad

கட்டும் விழிச்சுடர்தான் – கண்ணம்மா!
சூரிய சந்திரரோ?
வட்ட கரிய விழி – கண்ணம்மா!
வானக்கருமை கொல்லோ?
பட்டுக் கருநீலப் – புடவை
பதித்த நல் வயிரம்
நட்ட நடு நிசியில் – தெரியும்
நச்சத்திரங்களடி.

Sparkling eyes has my beloved,
bright as the sun and moon
Her round black eyes are rivals to the dark night;
Dark blue silk is her sari,
set with bright diamonds,
Brighter than stars that glitter in the darkest night.

– *My Beloved*, by Subrahmanya Bharati (1882-1921)

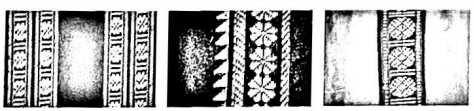
Tamil Nadu



This is the most volatile, enigmatic, colour-obsessed part of South India. You can sense the change in the head-hand-body movement, which has a grace and dynamism that is quite distinct. Not a sound bears resemblance to any Sanskrit-related language heard in other parts of the country. Yet, we have been moving towards this epicentre since we encountered the sculpturesque Andhras; wide eyed and full lips curled at the cheeks, keeping rhythm with their hands. The Kannadigas, soft-spoken; poetic, literary and theatrically inclined, refined in their daily habits as well as in the arts.

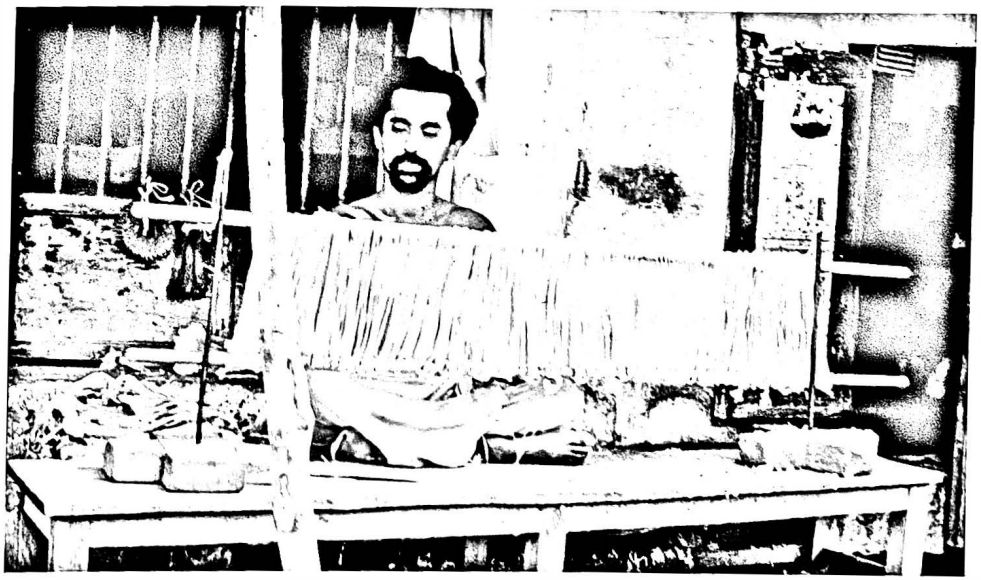
We mistook the origin of saris in Andhra and Karnataka many times, as there has been a constant exchange of weaver population and markets, and therefore, of raw materials and skills between these major southern states. However, there are certain discernible features in technique, design vocabulary, treatment, colour and fabric quality that set them apart.

FLOWER INTERPRETATIONS



Karnataka *Andhra Pradesh* *Tamil Nadu*

Though there is no fixed criteria that can be applied in distinguishing the saris of Tamil Nadu from those of adjoining states, the former represents the culmination of a journey, the elements of which were visible in the neighbouring states. While there has been a more fluid merging of motifs, materials and layouts in Andhra and Karnataka, the saris of Tamil Nadu seem to freeze this fluidity into a well-enunciated formula. The colour contrasts, material combinations and inlaying of motifs follow a well-drawn pattern of 'play within strictly drawn lines', similar to the structure recognizable in Carnatic music as well as the well-known forms of



A heald maker at work.

SADHA (PLAIN)
- ■ Cotton
- ❁ Silk
- ♣ Mixed (Cotton and Silk)

SEERU and KATTAM (STRIPES and CHECKS)
- ★ Cotton
- ✢ Silk
- ✩ Mixed (Cotton and Silk)

KORVAI (THREE-SHUTTLE)
- ▲ Cotton
- ✦ Silk
- ● Mixed (Cotton and Silk)

PETTU (PATTERNED)
- ♥ Cotton
- ■ Sikinaickanpet/Cotton-Painted
- ◉ Sungadi/Cotton-Resist dyed
- ◇ Silk
- ♦ Mixed (Cotton and Silk)

dance. Even the daily act of drawing *kolam* (floor patterns) in white rice powder follows the principle of first establishing a dotted grid, and then drawing flowing lines around the grid in numerous permutations and combinations.

Tamil Nadu has always had a large number of resident weavers, not only from its neighbouring states, Karnataka and Andhra, but also from the Saurashtra region in Gujarat. This influx has helped the state enlarge its repertoire and hone its skills and thereby expand its market reach. Historically, King Uttama Chola settled the *Pattu Sele* weavers from Andhra in four specially located parts of Kanchipuram in the tenth century, and King Thirumalai Nayak brought weavers from Saurashtra to be settled in Madurai in the sixteenth century. Weavers often accompanied their patron-kings on military tours as woven garments were an intrinsic part of diplomacy. Moreover, the ancient kingdoms of the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas had maintained flourishing trade ties with Sri Lanka, China, Indonesia, Myanmar and other parts of Southeast Asia; the influence of which has merged with the Tamil aesthetic.

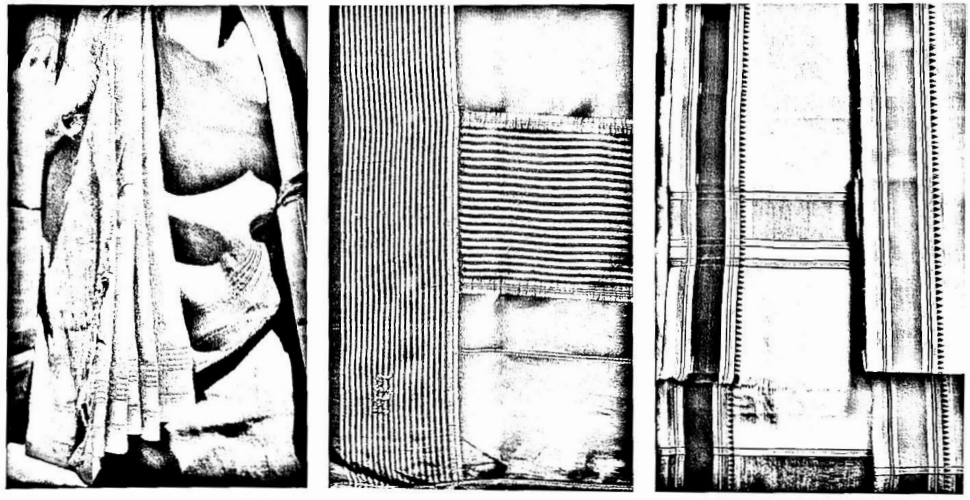
The local weaver population consisting mainly of the Kaikolars, while the Saliyars have held a monopoly on coarse count cottons throughout the state, though mainly concentrated in the western and central districts. There has been an influx of Kannada Devangas in the districts facing Karnataka, all the way to Madurai, largely due to the increasing market reach of Tamil Nadu handlooms since the nineteenth century. They brought with them the expertise for fine count cottons, and along with the Padma Sele and Pattu Sele (weaving communities) of Andhra and Saurashtra (also referred to as Pattunulkars), they enhanced silk-weaving skills in the northern Kanchipuram belt, and all through Tiruchchirappalli and Thanjavur to Madurai and Ramanathapuram. Today, weavers of all communities weave with silk in order to compete in a wider market, though the Saurashtrians retain their mastery.

Underlying this range of weaving communities is the product range that at its widest base consists of *vellai* (white cloth), which include the *sadha* (plain) saris with coloured borders and end-pieces. They later include colour in the sari body and also in all manner of draped garments for men, especially the *vesthi* (lower drape) and the *thundu* (upper drape). It is from these humble origins that the counts escalate and certain pockets of higher skill emerge with *seeru* (stripe), *kattam* (check), *korvai* (three-shuttle), *pettu* (patterned borders) and *mundani* (end-piece).

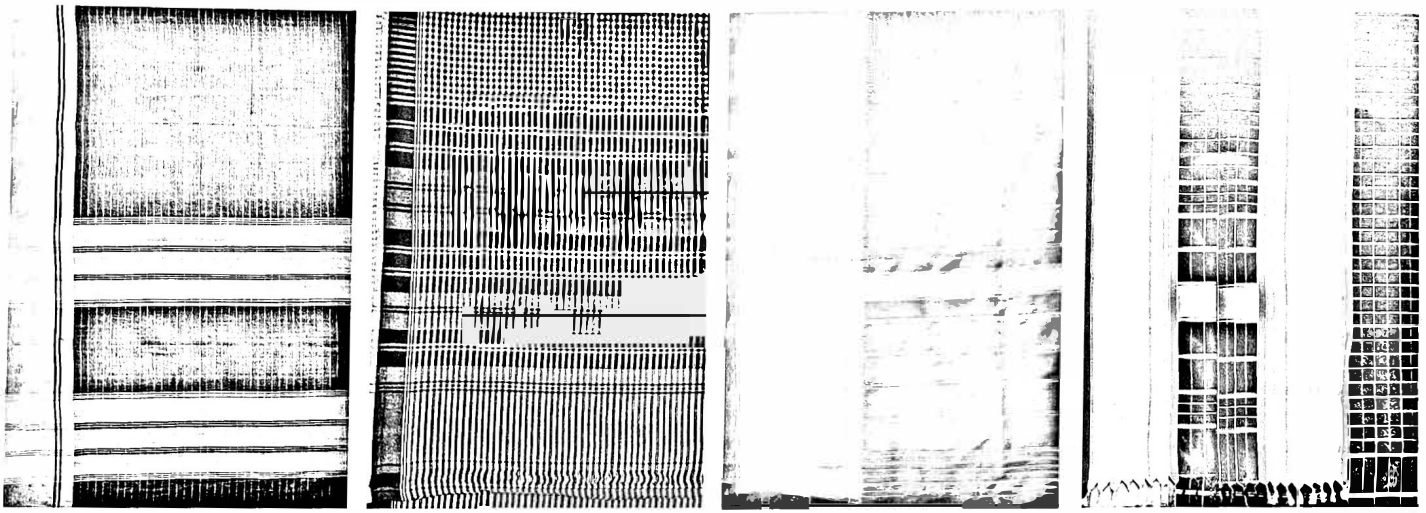
It is for this reason that the saris have been categorized under the four headings described above. However, none of them is exclusive; even a *sadha* sari may have a *korvai* (three-shuttle weave) or a cotton body with a silk border in a medium or coarse count. Each category has further been divided into cotton, silk, and cotton-silk mixed. Compared to the limited range of natural dyes available in the saris and fabrics of the nineteenth century, there is a profusion of colour with the advent of chemical colours in the twentieth century. Cotton still forms the firm base from which the silks emerge, and cotton production, though much more defrayed now, still has age-old centres around which it revolves: Kanchipuram, which was the capital of the Pallava Dynasty; Waraiyur, the capital of the Cholas; Karur, the capital of the Cheras; and Madurai, the capital of the Pandyas. The silks begin by emulating the cottons, but at some point in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, once the *adai* (pattern harness) comes to Kanchipuram, supposedly from Varanasi, there is an escalation in the patterned elements of the *karai* (border), *udal* (body) and *mundani* (end-piece).

The nature of cotton weaving and its preparatory process is what we need to understand. Particularly, the weaving of *sadha* saris and men's drapes, for it reveals the dynamics both within and between weaving communities. For instance, these plain fabrics invariably had warp lengths of more than 120 yards/110 metres, referred to as *neehta pavu*, which required *thopus* (large shaded groves) under which men and women of the community could work on each other's warps, on the basis of either *mathal* (reciprocity of labour) or *dudal* (contractual wage labour). Till the 1960s, people worked entirely on the basis of the former but since then, there has been an increase of the wage labour system, and also greater specialization and division of labour between the communities.

A combination of sago starch, tapioca and wheat flower boiled and brought to a thick consistency, and then mixed with a proportion of groundnut oil, was allowed to lie overnight for the brush-sizing next morning. A wet warp stretched between pairs of men, positioned on either side of the warp, was brushed down one eighth of the warp by each team, while their assistants ensured there was no breakage or entangling of lease or warp threads even as the entire warp was turned over for the application of the sizing on the other side. There is a formal thanksgiving to the gods (for instance, to Goddess Chamundeshwari by the Devangas) after every sizing is completed successfully. There has been an increase in hank-sizing, especially in coarse counts, as the sheer labour and coordination, cost and time required for brush-sizing is considered increasingly cumbersome and wasteful. Besides, the long street warp has been gradually replaced since the 1970s by the warping drum known as *ratu*, and every weaver who could afford it, has invested in one. Although there has been a steady division of labour among the communities, such as in Manamedu in Nagapattinam district, warping and sizing mills have been set up by the Saliyars and Muthurajas, who own them both individually and collectively.



SADHA/PLAIN: COTTON: Munja burai/*Plain body, gold band border;* SILK: **(12/10)** Pattu seeru karai selai/*Plain body, striped border end-piece silk sari;* MIXED COTTON/SILK: **(12/11)** Sadha seeru karai vesthi/*Plain stripe border drape.*



SEERU AND KATTAM: COTTON: **(12/19)** Thandavalam oosi vanam selai/*Pinstripe sari;* **(12/22)** Gundumani selai/*Single-colour fat round bead check sari;* SILK: **(12/31)** Pattu seeru korvai selai/Silk stripe body, three-shuttle sari; **(12/36)** Oosivanam karpa kattam korvai selai/*Two-colour, four-end check, three shuttle sari.*

SADHA PLAIN

Cotton: The *sadha*/plain white (12/1 to 12/4; pg 254) with its later incarnations in body and border colour, has maintained its importance as the everyday-wear sari among Cheri peasants and rural working people all over the state. The colour range includes *kempu* (crimson), *pachai* (green), *paasai* (olive), *manjal* (turmeric yellow), and *araku* (lac red; pg 245). These saris were also valued by other communities for ceremonies relating to birth, marriage and death, during which they were used in their unbleached form or dyed/sprinkled with turmeric or *kumkum* (burnt turmeric). These 8 yards/7.38 metres long saris have either fine tape borders or the broader *bavanchu* after a narrow selvedge band or from the selvedge itself, which can go upto 3.81 centimetres (3 finger width) from the selvedge end. The coloured border band totally submerges the weft yarn of the body with coloured two-plied, lower-count yarns. If the body is unbleached white, there is invariably a bleached white band or bands, at the edge of the body, providing a further binding and transition for the borders (see 12/2; pg 254). There are all-white *mundu-vesthi* 2-piece sets, akin to the weaves of Kerala, woven in south Tamil Nadu. There are even wedding saris such as the *munja burai* woven in this genre, as seen in Arupukkotai, Virudunagar district (pg 245).

Aiyar brahmin women in sadha (plain) and fine kattam (check).

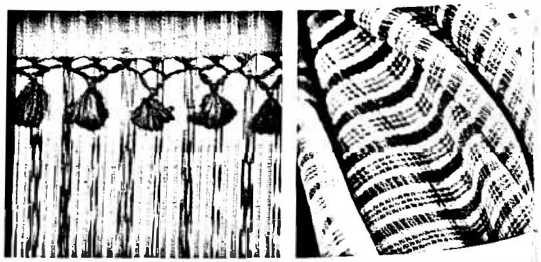
A 40s count sari is often woven with a 60s reed, and certainly never below 54s. Though the *janta* sari scheme opened the window for lower qualities to be produced and marketed, it has adversely affected the production of the *sadha*.

Silk: The *Pattu seeru karai* (12/10, pg 245) further enlarges the concept of the border as a ribbon in one or more colours. From here the shot colour in the body of the *sadha selai* develops a popular range of colour combinations in the warp and weft. Since the market range of the *sadha selai* is wide and there is not too much effort involved in its production and sale, one often finds even skilled weavers reverting to the weaving of *sadha* in order to keep the home fires burning.

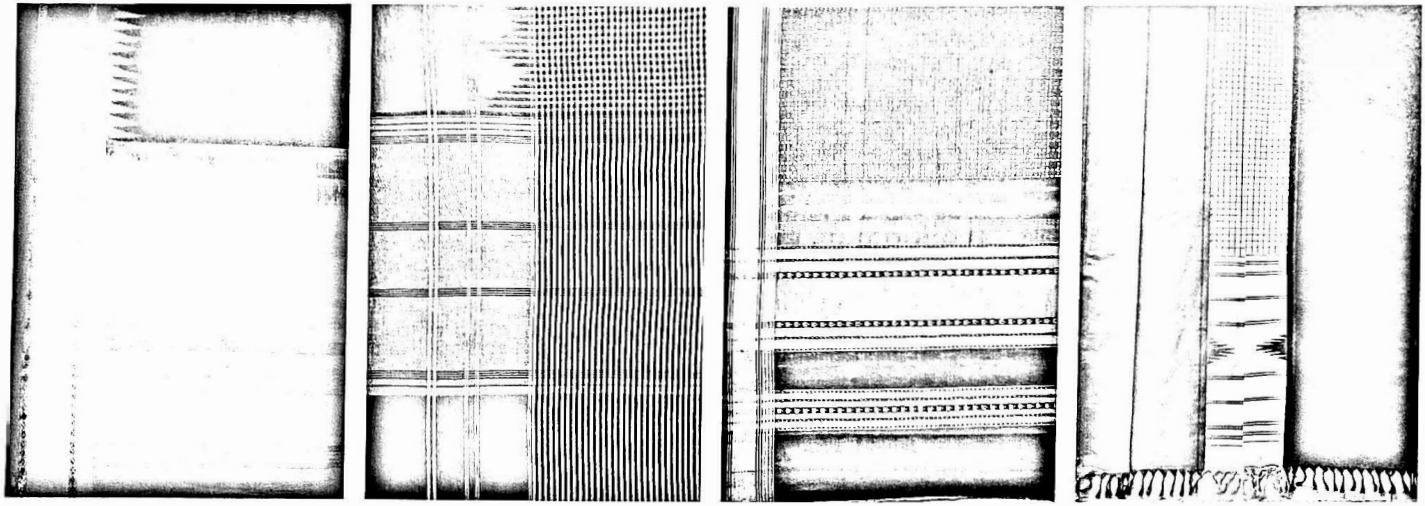
Mixed cotton/silk: As seen in 12/11 (pg 245), *sadha seeru karai vesthi* literally a broad band upper drape, with a selvedge in contrast colour, inspired the weaving of saris. This evolution took place some time in the 1960s and was greatly appreciated till the 90s. Their patterned border versions survived for longer.

SEERU AND KATTAM/ STRIPES AND CHECKS

Cotton: The monotony of a single colour is broken by the *seeru* (stripe) and *kattam* (check). From the finest *seeru* (12/19, pinstripes) of two ends to bands of two or three colours, the *udal* (body) comes alive with colour and movement. Further, the stripe colours appear in the weft again, to make the finest 1x1 check with a range that goes up to large checkerboard squares in the body. In Arupukkottai, Virudunagar district, there was even a *gundumani* (fat, round-bead check; 12/22) sari woven



SEERU AND KATTAM: MIXED COTTON/SILK: **(12/47)** Kuttini selai/*Warp yarn-resist silk/cotton sari;* Korainadu selai/*Cotton silk check of Korainadu.*



KORVAI/THREE-SHUTTLE: COTTON: **(12/48)** Sadha chinnpuva korvai selai/*Plain body, fine flower border, three-shuttle sari;* **(12/53)** Chettinad kandangi gundumani korvai selai/*Fine three-shuttle, fat, round-bead check sari;* **(12/29)** Muttukottadi selai/*Broken-check body sari;* SILK: **(12/60)** Mupaggam ganga jamuna korvai selai/*Check body, double-colour border sari.*

especially for the Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh markets. Essentially, stripes and checks were the preserve of the cotton weaver, but they have gradually been absorbed by the silks and more often in a combination of cotton and silk stripes and checks. This is indicative either of a strategy to broaden the market-reach or the upward mobility of large numbers of people who can now afford cotton-silk mixes.

The extra warp stripe also appears in the cotton, adding a dimension to the texture and drape of the fabric, as seen in 12/20; pg 255.

Silk: Pinstripes, or *kosi maram*, in the Kanchipuram area; also known as Oosivanam, are often combined with the *korvai* (12/30; pg 257) three-shuttle weave and reappear in the central band of the *mundani* (end-piece). This is referred to as *nadu kambi*. Such layouts with the stripes in *manjal* and *araku* are not only popular weaves in Tiruchchirappalli and Salem, but have also appeared in the silks of Kanchipuram and are referred to as *kosi vana*. The pinstripe in silk transforms into a *zari* gold stripe (12/39; pg 258) in Kanchipuram, Kumbakonam and Thanjavur, and is called *vyra kosi*. The stripe widths and spacing between stripes are innumerable, with weavers in specific areas using their own formula to devise stripe variations. For instance in Arni, Salem and Rasipuram (Namakkal district), the *senigar* weavers use a ratio of 3:1 – for every three *kuligais* one *kuligai* = two ends) of ground colour, they insert one *kuligai* of coloured stripe, and the borders are usually in the colour of the stripe (12/18; pg 255). In the *pattu seeru korvai selai* (12/31), four *kuligais* blue, four *kuligai ambavalli* (yellow) and ten *kuligais* pink, make the stripe. In the check sari *Korainadu kattam korvai selai* (12/54; pg 260), two *kuilgais* red, one *kuligai* black warp and weft wise forms the check. Similarly, there are other saris such as *oosivanam karpa kattam korvai selai* (12/36) and double *kattam korvai selai* (12/59; pg 248) - each name signifies a specific configuration of warp ends that make up a stripe/check pattern.

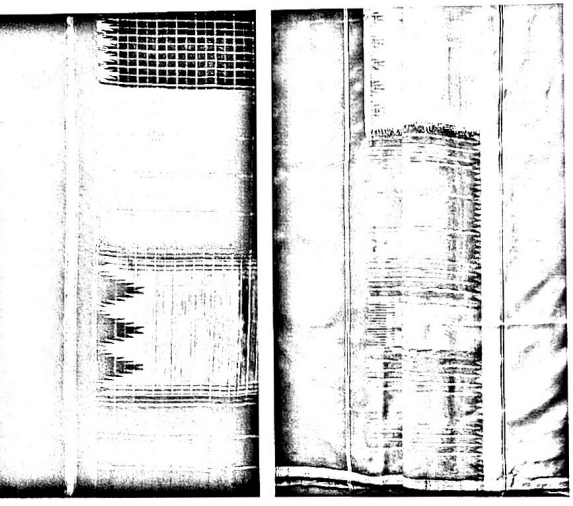
Mixed cotton/silk: In Ayyampettai, Thanjavur district, the *kuttini* (12/47; sari/fabric), is a deviant of the striped range as it combines a yarn-resist silk warp usually with a cotton weft, especially for the Muslim population of the region who do not wear pure silk.

In the *kattam* (check) range, there are three distinct varieties: the *kaal yerengina kattam*, in which the weft lines of the check run through the border (12/43; see page 258) the *maripu*, in which two shuttles are used to return the check weft at the border edge back into the body; and the *korvai*, in which the three shuttles ensure a solid-coloured border (12/65; pg 262). It is in the first of these techniques that the mixed cotton and silk check saris (*korainadu selai;* 12/42; pg 258) are woven, in which the silk element highlighted both the colour and the texture of the cotton ground. Many of these mixed cotton-silk saris were considered the 'common person's expensive sari', and post-1960s, have come to be worn as everyday wear among the wealthy. This fact was corroborated by a lady who grew up in Mysore, who explained: 'These Vakkaligar women used to come and sell milk products wearing these cotton-silk checks with plain *manjal* borders. I came to Delhi and got a shock when I saw fashionable women wearing these saris, which were worn by the *thavir karitchi* (curd vendors) in the south in small widths of 38 inches to 42 inches.'

The checks, too, have a formula for their proportions. The *mukkan visiri* (three-eyed fan check) from Thanjavur district, has a set of three weft lines in *araku* (red) intersecting with pairs of red warp lines on a brilliant yellow ground, with a four-inch yellow border marked by two green stripes on either side (see 12/41; pg 258). Weavers in Aduthurai, Thanjavur district and Korainadu, Nagapattinam district, explain that a number of cotton as well as silk check saris were woven for the Mysore nobility.

KORVAI/THREE-SHUTTLE

Cotton: The *korvai* saris can incorporate innumerable colours in the check as the borders are woven independently with two separate shuttles. The *kandangi selais* (12/53) of Karaikudi and the *negamum selais* of Coimbatore district, woven in 8 yards/7.35 metres length, are good examples of these. There is a simpler version of these woven in the *maripu* two-shuttle technique, in which one shuttle goes right through the selvedge in the ground colour, and the other runs only from border to border with the check colour (12/29). This is normally used in fine count cottons for fine checks that run at regular intervals, referred to as *malikara buligai*, at every 4, 6, 8, 10 picks. There are also *muthukotadi* (extra warp/weft checks in a pearl, dash-like form) woven with a 2 up, 2 down treadle movement. These *muthukotadis* are found in cotton in Thanjavur and in silk in the



KORVAI/THREE-SHUTTLE: SILK: **(12/59)** Double kattam korvai selai/*Double-colour check body, three-shuttle sari;* **(12/56)** Korvai mupaggam ganga jamuna selai /*Three-shuttle, double color border sari.*

Tiruvannamalai and Kanchipuram area. There is an upgraded version in the *banaras kotadi* in silk, which has a twill check in silk or gold *zari*.

The *korvai* technique was widely prevalent in pure cottons, cotton with silk borders, and pure silks as well, in order to achieve a pure colour in the borders and an enhanced texture and weight. Since the 1970s, cotton *korvai* has receded to small pockets around Kanchipuram, such as Vadampakkam, Hassanampet in Thiruvannamalai and Palani in Dindigul district, and Rasipuram in Namakkal district.

Silk: In silk, Korvai has fared only slightly better in Kanchipuram, Thanjavur, Madurai and Salem. Yet, the concept of contrast in colour and texture in the borders and end-pieces is inherent and intrinsic to the sari in Tamil Nadu. The *mundani* in functional terms is literally the 'front-piece', also implying its usage in various wearing styles of the region. The *karai* (borders) are the riverbanks to the *udal* (body) of the sari. The *korvai* sari has some essential features: first the borders are invariably broad, often one-third of the width and invariably in two colours (12/60). In Vellore and Arani, Tiruvanamalai district the *sennigar* (weavers) talked of a *mupaggam* sari (12/60) divided into three parts. The second feature is that in the cotton *korvais* the borders are always in lower counts than in the body (12/48), while in the silk *korvais*, the border yarn is of a heavier ply (12/59). Thirdly, the border and the end-piece are often of the same colour but together differ from that of the body (above); fourthly, the *korvai* is either introduced in *beet*; 12/58 (plain inter-locking joints) or is composed of *muggu* (temple spire) forms along the borders; and fifthly, in the treatment of the *mundani*, the *korvai* element is introduced in a third colour other than the body colour (12/56), in the form of a *kommai* or *chittai*, a type of band woven with an extra shuttle. Finally, the *udal* (body) differs from sari to sari, but is generally plain or in checks or stripes, and in bright colours - a combination of predominantly yellow, red and black.

This description fits nearly all the old sari samples that have surfaced since the 1940s or 50s from households in parts of Ramanathapuram, Madurai, Pudukkottai and Sivaganga districts (what was once Chettinadu). Known as *kandangis* by the women of the Nattukottai Chettiars or '*achis*', a prosperous trading community, these saris became a hallmark of the Chetti women. The saris were available in both silk and cotton. They were typically of shorter width, between 40-42 inches, and were probably worn above the ankles, without blouses, along with jewellery on the neck, arms and ankles.

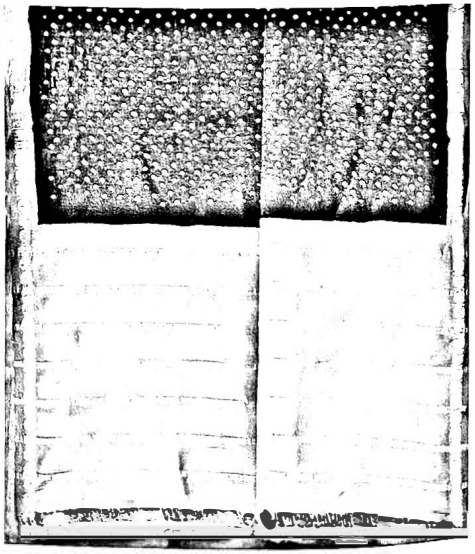
The treatment of the junction between the border and the end-piece in the *korvai* technique is somewhat different. In the case of joining border to body, it merges colours that differ sharply from each other, and in the case of the border end-piece junction, there is no contrast as the colour of the end-piece is in practice, though not always, the same as that of the border. The *korvai* element, then, is introduced into the end-piece in two basic ways. First it may be in the form of a *kommai* (12/59), a weft band woven with a third shuttle in a colour contrasting to that of the end-piece. A similar type of end-piece with a *kommai* was described to us by the Mudaliar weavers of Tirruppur in Coimbatore, who referred to such an end-piece as the *dana mundi*. Another mode of introducing a contrasting coloured ornamentation in the end-piece using the *korvai* technique is in the form arising from above the border inwards on to either weft end of the end-piece as seen in the double *kattam korvai selai* (12/59). Traditionally, the two different colours of body and end-piece are achieved by the process of tie-dyeing known as *kuntth kuttadal* in Tirruppur, *katti sayam* or *bundu* in Coimbatore, *kadaka sayam* in Kumbakonam, Thanjavur district or *muska* elsewhere. A warp length with the end-piece of two adjacent saris was tied together and dipped in the dye simultaneously.

A second method, characteristic of the silk weavers at Kanchipuram, is the *petni* (12/56), a technique that involves two separate sets of warp ends in different colours, one for the body and another shorter one for the end-piece. Such an end-piece is also called a *vettu mundi* (cut end-piece), which is eventually 'attached' onto the body during the process of weaving itself. The technique involves the drawing-in through the healds of the end-piece warp from the opposite end, to the weaver. This is then twisted on to the body warp and finally also made to pass through the same dents in the reed, using the two to fold over. The tension is corrected and the end-piece warp is woven together with the body warp for about an inch and a half, before it is cut off.

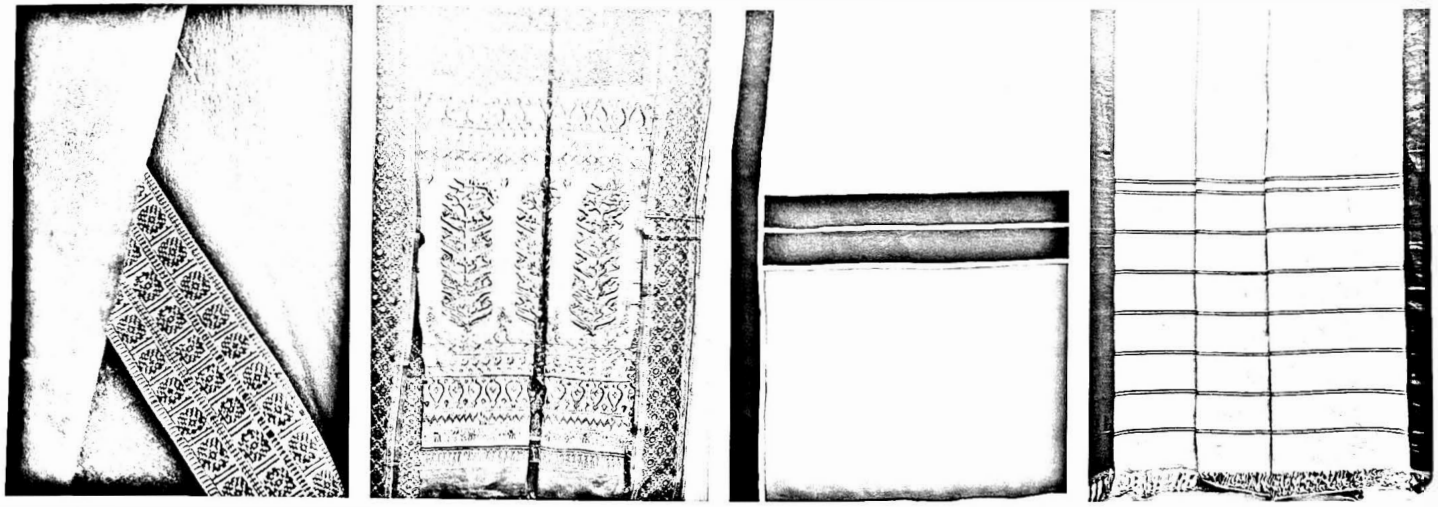
Out of some eighty villages visited by us, across the state of Tamil Nadu, we found barely half a dozen engaged in the all-cotton *korvai*. Of these, a still fewer number were weaving such cloths for cooperatives, the major bulk of *korvai* cloths being woven primarily for *taniyars* (master weavers). Weavers brought under the cooperative field are no longer in the clutches of *taniyars* and so, have a say in the type of cloth they weave. *Korvai* requires an additional apprentice weaver on the loom, which means that the wages for weaving a *korvai* sari must then be divided between the two, even if unequally. Because it is time-consuming and requires additional help, the *korvai* technique is not entirely cost-effective in cotton goods.

Another important factor responsible for the near disappearance of the *korvai* has been the introduction of new, improved and more economical methods of weaving by the British in the early twentieth century, of which the fly shuttle loom is one. Being well aware of its disadvantages in the production of certain 'native cloths', E. B Havell wrote in 'Industries of Madras' from the *Journal of Art and Industry* Vol. III, No. 27, London, 1929 that the fly shuttle 'cannot be used when the weft threads do not pass right through the whole width of the cloth.'

Mixed cotton/silk: These saris have evolved in post-Independence years from the range of upper and lower



(12/71) Pettu karai sungadi/*Clamp-resist, tie-dyed, single-coin border sari.*



PETTU/PATTERNED: COTTON: Pettu selai/*Cotton patterned border sari;* **(12/84)** Kodalikarapur selai/*Brocade ground handpainted sari of Koddalikarapur;* **(12/81)** Sikinaickanpet selai/*Dye-painted sari of Sikinaickanpet;* MIXED COTTON/SILK THREE-SHUTTLE AND PETTU PATTERNED: **(12/66)** Kuilkan karai selai/*Nightingale's eye patterned border sari.*

drapes for men, and therefore maintain the narrow borders with fine Korvai three-shuttle joining the two borders with body (12/61 to 12/66; pg 262).

A new innovation called the SPS loom, named after its inventor S.P. Subramanyam, a weaver from Waraiyur in Tiruchchirappali district, employs an extra shuttle case housing two shuttles for working the borders on either sides and it requires only one person to weave the entire sari. Moreover, the weaver need not strain his back from end-to-end across the width of the cloth in order to pass the shuttles between the warp sheds.

PETTU/PATTERNED

Cotton: *Pettu* is the term that defines the use of extra warp and/or extra weft threads in cotton, *pattu* (silk), or *zari* gold, in order to create the characteristic raised effect on a ground weave that is cotton, silk, or a mixed fabric, which typically ornaments a sari's border, end-piece and body. It seems to be a practice for demarcating and accentuating the essential design spaces in a sari. On a monochrome sari, *zarigai pettu* in gold or silver, or even coloured *pettu*, stands out sharply and has much the same effect as does *korvai*, highlighting the border and the end-piece (above left).

Unlike Banaras (now Varanasi) in Uttar Pradesh, where the pattern threads in a border are introduced weft-wise, in Tamil Nadu they are introduced in the *karai* borders (above) vertically or warp-wise, as well as in the weft. In the case of the *mundani* (end piece), the borders appear in the weft as well as in the *butta* or spot patterning (12/73; pg 263). The *zarigai* gold employed throughout Tamil Nadu was imported from either Surat, Gujarat or France, though it was also made by the local Muslim population who, according to the Madurai district gazetteer of 1906, 'still carry on the industry to supply a demand which survives in Tirunelveli, Tiruchchirappalli and Travancore in neighbouring Kerala.' Post-Independence, a zari gold/silver yarn production unit was set up in Kanchipuram, Tamil Nadu.

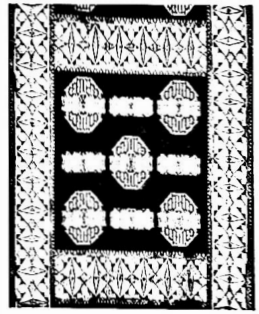
Another type of cotton sari, with zari brocade in an entirely different technique, was woven at Koddalikarapur a village in Thanjavur district (12/84), for the royal family. We find a good description by Sir George Watts of these saris, in *1903 Delhi Durbar Exhibition*, published for the visiting Prince of Wales:

> 'Saris were specially woven of a good-quality cotton, in which a pattern previously conceived was worked out by threads of gold let into the weft, as in the manufacture of *jamdani* flowered muslins, but with this difference that the gold was made to form the background of the pattern, not the pattern itself. The next stage seems to have consisted in colouring the pattern. This was done by elaborating a design in wax by means of the *kalmadar* (bamboo pen) and block printing combined. When waxed, certain portions were printed in darker shades of the same colour in order to give shadow effects.'

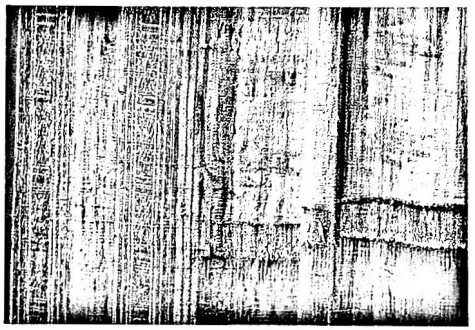
The earliest device employed for creating simple geometric-figured patterning in extra warp or weft threads is known as the *kol*. A simple device consisting of two rods is connected by interlocking string loops suspended from each other. The junction of the interlock forms an 'eye' through which warp threads are made to pass in a predetermined manner before they go through the dents of the reed. The *kol* is lifted with the left hand, while the right hand is used to pass the *kai nada* (throw shuttle) through the warp shed. This *kol* method for *pettu* patterning was explained by elderly weavers, who talked about 4-*kol*, 8-*kol* and 16-*kol* devices.

The additional *pettu kutchis* or *petta kambis* literally (sticks or rods), are lifted manually and by using a foot treadle in the *kol* technique and are regulated by sandbags which serve as weights, in order to lower them after they have been raised. The most commonly woven *pettu* by the *kol* technique has been the *mayilkannu* (12/69; pg 263), literally the 'peacock's eye'. When woven tightly, so that each 'eye' is a miniscule dot in a wide composition, the *pettu* is particularly attractive. However, when the 'eyes' are awkwardly elongated or enlarged, the delicacy of the *pettu* is lost entirely.

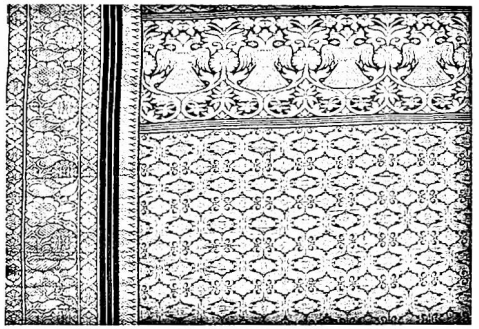
Sikinaickanpet Cotton-Painted: Sikinaickanpet in Nagapattinam district has had a tradition of dye painting of ritual cloths and since the 1980s these have been adapted for making stencil-dye-painted



PETTU/PATTERNED: MIXED COTTON/SILK: Pattemarpu/Real Madras Handkerchief.



PETTU/PATTERNED: SILK: **(12/85)** Sada charkha pattu pettu karai selai/*Plain body, hand-spun silk-patterned border sari.*



PETTU/PATTERNED: SILK: **(12/90)** Gandeberunda mundani pettu karai udal selai/*Double-headed eagle end-piece, body border patterned sari.*

saris (12/81; pg 264). The richness and density of red, black, ochre and blue rubbed into the stencil gaps with a cloth pod is unique and rivetingly dramatic.

Sungadi - Cotton-resist dyed: The fabric and clamp resist *sungadi* (12/71; pg 248) was a product of Madurai, characteristic of the patterned cottons of Tamil Nadu with warp patterned borders and end pieces, often clamp resist dyed in a darker colour than the body, which was resist tied and dyed in spot patterning, is reminiscent of Gujarat.

Silk: The simplest of the patterned silk is the *sadha charkha pattu pettu karai selai* (12/85), which has a limited warp pattern in the borders, with the added advantage of texture in its handspun silk and the *petni* (attached contrast coloured end-piece). The more complex figurative motifs in both the borders as extra warp, and in the end-piece as extra weft, were introduced into Tamil Nadu with the advent of the pattern harness *(adai)* also called *jungu*, which enables one to select and lift only a set of warp ends necessary for creating a particular pattern. When the *adai* was introduced is not clear, but it was employed extensively by the silk-weaving Saurashtra community. It is similar to, but less complicated than, the *banaras jala.*

According to Thiru Jairama Chettiar, 70, owner of an *adai* workshop in Kanchipuram, there was virtually no *zarigai* or gold thread work in Kanchipuram prior to 1937, and he began his workshop in 1942. Hailing from a traditional weaving community, the Padma Seles, Thiru Jairama required no initiation into the art of weaving and creating patterns for the *adai* on graph paper.

While the *adai* is still employed in the main silk-weaving centres of Kumbakonam, Salem, Madurai and Kanchipuram, the dobby introduced in the 1940s is also used as a device for facilitating complicated shedding required for patterns known by the Saurashtra community as the *mettupath* or the *pettu poth*. The *adai* by contrast, can be operated in any direction as well as in sections or parts, and provides more flexibility in patterning (12/92; see page 267).

The most recent of all inventions in the field of patterning is the Jacquard, a more expensive device compared to the dobby. In Tamil Nadu the average number of hooks used is 120, although the maximum that can be fitted is 400. The Jacquard is used extensively in all silk-weaving areas of Thanjavur, Madurai, Salem and Kanchipuram, where enlarged and elaborate *pettu* patterning in *zari* gold greatly enhances the market value of the sari. At Kumbakonam the pure silk cloth most frequently made is the *pitambaram*, derived from the yellow *vesthi* assigned to Vishnu inspired by Varanasi. The body of the cloth is generally red, sometimes divided by gold into squares or diamonds, while both the ends are adorned with stripes and figured patterning.

Mixed cotton/silk three-shuttle and pettu patterned: The mixed cotton/silk three-shuttle saris, e.g. *kuilkan karai selai* (12/66; pg 249), have evolved from the mixed yarn *vesthis* for men. Since the 1950s, they have become increasingly popular for the lightness of their fine cotton body oramented with unfussy silk/zari gold borders and the simplicity of their *end-piece*. The weaving of these normally required an apprentice to handle one border end for the return of the third shuttle and the difference of quality in the weaving was visible. The RMH (Real Madras Handkerchief; pg 249) fabrics woven for export to Africa were another example of mixed cotton/silk fabrics.

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Considering that until the mid-1990s, Tamil Nadu was one of the most successful producers of handloom saris and other fabrics (cottons, silks and mixed); both in the private sector and the cooperative societies; its state today is in total disarray. In India, Co-optex (the marketing cooperative of producers) was the most successful production and marketing cooperative for handlooms till the mid 1990s. Its collapse occurred not only due to the decline in the handloom sari and fabric patronage, but also due to the falling standard of handloom weaving and its design range for multiple uses. The increase in volume production by private producers also reveals that with sustained design and quality developments, Co-optex need not have faced the difficulties it is today grounded by. Perhaps the primary reason could be the snapping of intimate ties with its production base, the lowering of hand-weaving skills in the production process, and opting for volume production rather than quality, which has been the mainstay of handloom products. Unfortunately, no amount of design proliferation churned out by studios at the National Institute of Fashion Technology (NIFT), Chennai, can fill the yawning gap between weaving skills that are being decimated and market changes that are misunderstood. Design intervention requires more than a surface understanding of 'design' which is integral to the weaving process, and also of the qualities that handlooms can uniquely provide as distinct from power loom/mill. It is this quality of intervention that had previously sustained the cooperatives and allowed them to thrive.

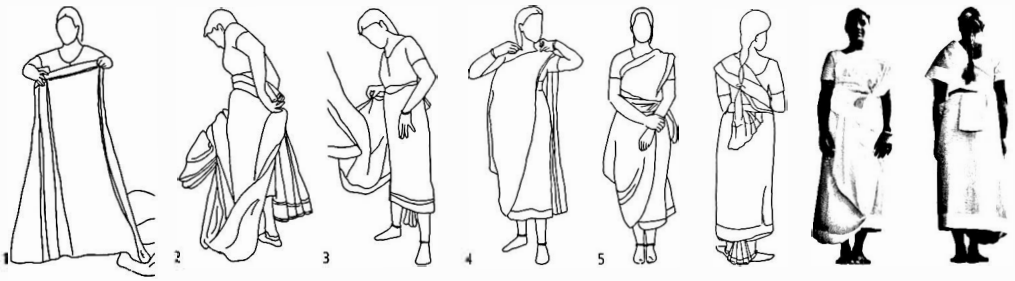
கோத்து மஞ்சள் முகத்தில் பூசி, கோரநாடு புடவைகட்டி
நெத்தியில் திலகம் இட்டு, நீண்ட ஜடை பின்னி,
வந்தால் எங்கள் வீட்டு மஹாலக்ஷ்மி

Her face smeared with turmeric,
clad in the Korainadu sari,
Her long hair braided she comes,
the mahalakshmi of our home.

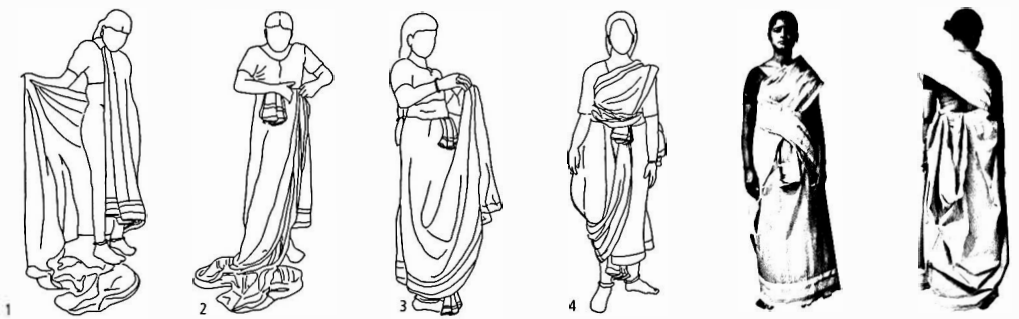
– Traditional saying by weaver, Segunathan Mudaliar

WEARING STYLES – TAMIL NADU

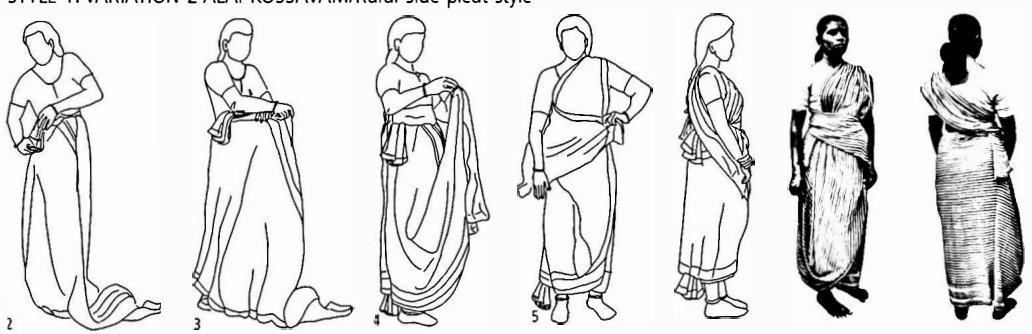
STYLE 1: PINN KOSSAVAM/Rural back pleat style



STYLE 1: VARIATION 1 MUNN KOSSAVAM/Rural front pleat style



STYLE 1: VARIATION 2 ALAI KOSSAVAM/Rural side-pleat style



STYLE 2: SAURASHTRA KATT/Saurashtra community style

STYLE1: PINN KOSSAVAM/Rural back pleat style
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36m
WORN BY:Urban Working Women
AREA: All over Tamil Nadu

1. Take inner end of sari and make up to eight pleats.
2. Bring pleats to centre back from right side.
3. Bind pleats with free end of sari from left waist over pleats.
4. Bring free endpiece to front and drape over left shoulder till sari length.
5. Bring outer end-piece to front under right arm across waist and tuck in at left waist.

STYLE 1: VARIATION 1 MUNN KOSSAVAM/Rural front pleat style

1. Make eight pleats of inner end-piece and hold them under chin.
2. Bring the free end over anticlockwise; tuck into left waist. Free held gathered pleats down.
3. Take free end-piece around waist anticlockwise and throw over left shoulder.
4. Bring outer end-piece to front anticlockwise and tuck into left waist.

STYLE 1: VARIATION 2 ALAI KOSSAVAM/Rural side-pleat style

Stage 1 is common with Style 1

2. Hold pleats at right waist, bring free end over them anticlockwise and tuck in at left waist.
3. Wrap end-piece anticlockwise around waist.
4. Tuck free end-piece at centre front waist and throw outer end-piece over left shoulder.
5. Bring outer end-piece under right arm across front and tuck in at left waist.

STYLE 2: SAURASHTRA KATT/Saurashtra community style
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m
WORN BY: Women of the Saurashtra community
AREA: North and Central Tamil Nadu

1. Take inner end-piece of sari around waist clockwise leaving one metre on floor.
2. Knot at right waist.
3. Take outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise.
4. Throw free end over left shoulder till knee.

5. Make pleats with loose portion of sari and tuck in at centre front waist.
6. Take free portion left on floor at stage 1 to the back, between the legs.
7. Tuck in at centre back waist at least 12 inches.

STYLE 3: VARIATION 1 SAURASHTRA KATT/Saurashtra community style
LENGTH: 8 yd/ 7.36 m
WORN BY: Women of the Saurashtra community
AREA: North and Central Tamil Nadu

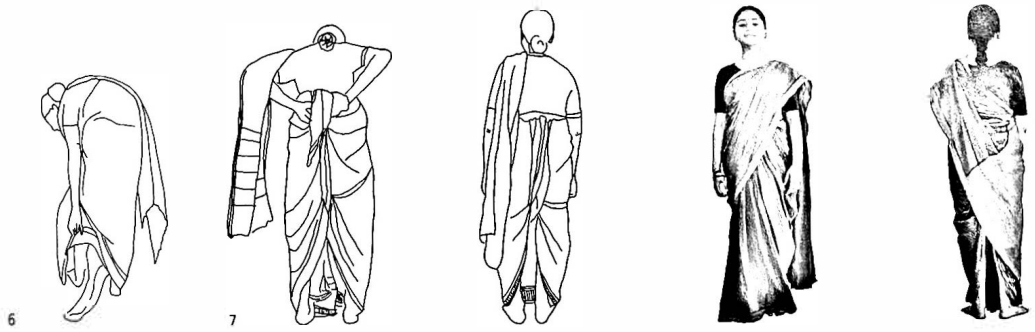
1. Wrap inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist. Take outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise.
2. Throw outer end over left shoulder till knee-length.
3. Make pleats of loose portion with right hand.
4. Roll over pleats outwards till desired length of sari.
5. Take innermost layer of sari over rolled pleats to bind firmly.

STYLE 4: MADISARU/Between-the-leg style.
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Iyengar Brahmin
AREA: Central Tamil Nadu

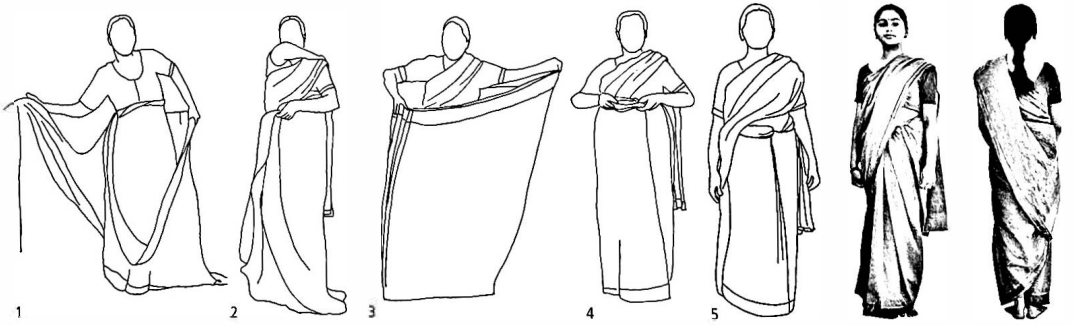
1. Wrap inner end of sari around waist clockwise and tie knot at right waist.
2. Lift lower border of inner end-piece and tuck in at left waist.
3. Make five to six pleats from right free end of sari.
4. Spread out pleats across front and tuck in.
5. Bring free end of sari around waist anticlockwise under right arm.
6. Gather two to three diagonal pleats from free end of sari and tuck into left waist.
7. Take free end of sari front to back between legs.
8. Tuck in at centre back waist up to 12 inches.
9. Bring free end of sari around waist anticlockwise and throw over left shoulder.

NOTE: Outer end-piece may be brought in front under right arm and tucked into left waist.

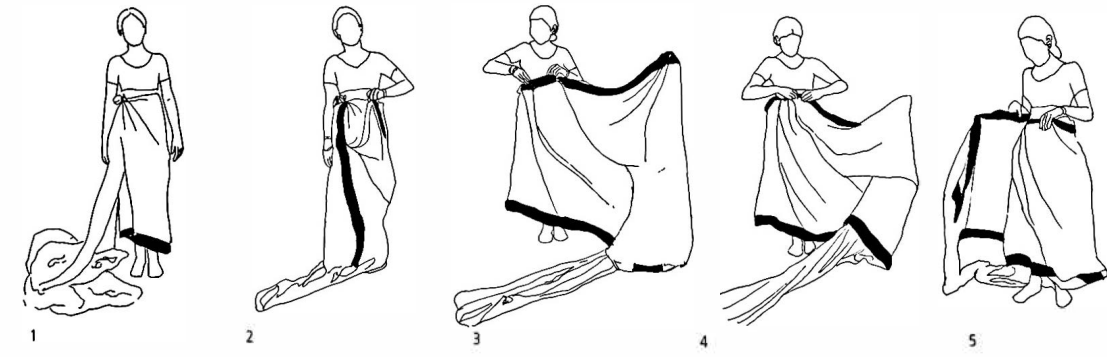
STYLE 2: SAURASHTRA KATT/Saurashtra community style (continued)

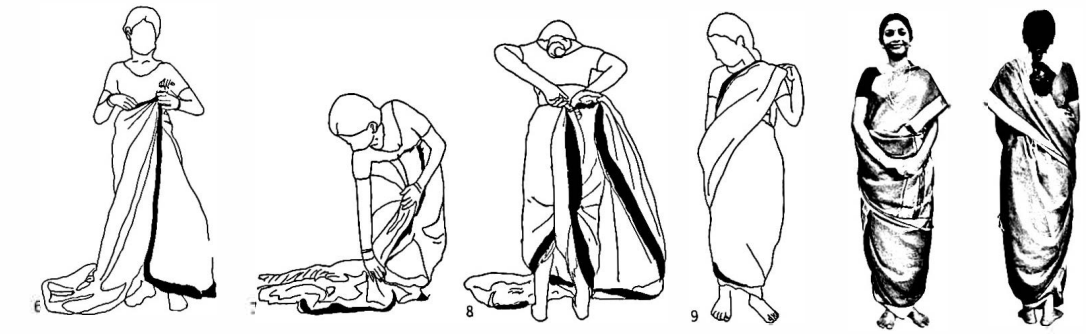


STYLE 3: VARIATION 1 SAURASHTRA KATT/Saurashtra community style



STYLE 4: MADISARU/Between-the-leg style





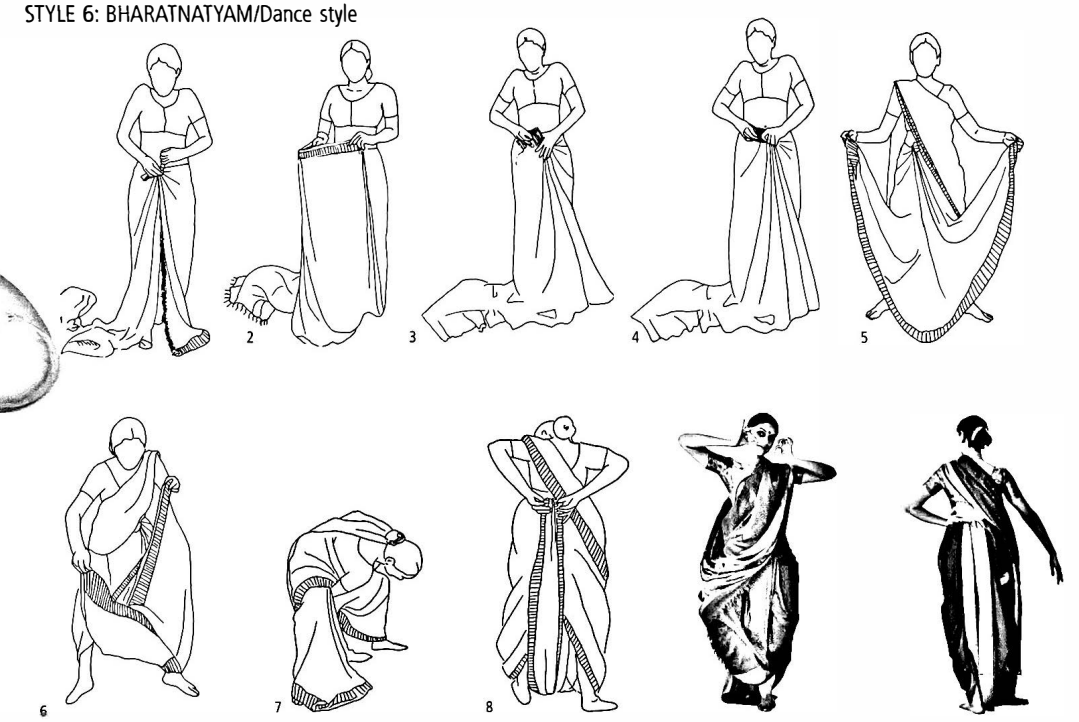
STYLE 5: MADISARU/Between-the-leg style

STYLE 5: MADISARU/Between-the-leg style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Aiyer Brahmin community
AREA: All over Tamil Nadu

1. Take inner end of sari and make four to five pleats. Place gathered pleats at centre back waist from left and bind with free end over it clockwise.
2. Bring free end-piece to centre front waist from left side.
3. Tie knot with upper border of free end-piece and inner wrapped layer at centre front waist.
4. Tuck in front drape mid-body at left waist.
5. Similarly, tuck in right drape at right waist.
6. Bring free end of sari front to back between legs.
7. Tuck it into centre back at least 12 inches.
8. Bring free end-piece to left waist in front.
9. Wrap free end-piece around waist clockwise and bring to front under left arm.
10. Throw outer end-piece over right shoulder.

NOTE: Outer end-piece may be brought in front under left arm and tucked into right waist.

STYLE 6: BHARATNATYAM/Dance style

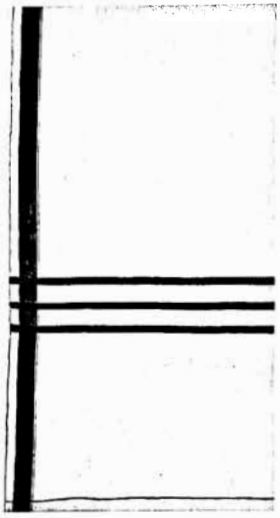


STYLE 6. BHARATNATYAM/Dance style
LENGTH: 9 yd/ 8.3 m
WORN BY: Dancers, before stitched costume came into use
AREA: North and central Tamil Nadu

1. Bring inner end-piece around waist clockwise and tie knot at centre front waist.
2. Make eight to nine pleats of free end-piece.
3. Roll gathered pleats outwards till desired length of sari.
4. Bind pleats with innermost layer of sari in front making kela-/banana-like form at centre waist.
5. Bring outer end-piece around waist anticlockwise and throw over left shoulder. Hold two extremes of sari in front.
6. Join them and pick up centre pleat from lower border.
7. Bring to back between legs.
8. Pleat pulled portion showing both borders on either sides and tuck in at centre back waist.

1 SADHA/PLAIN

■ Cotton



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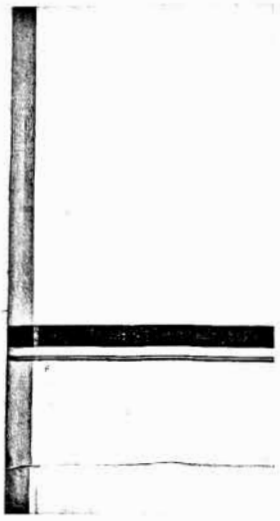

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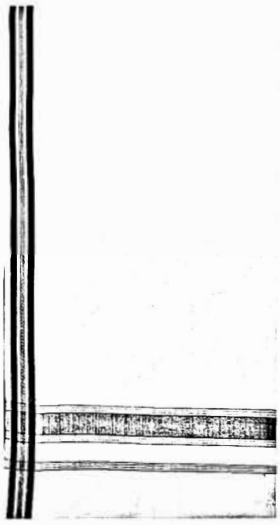

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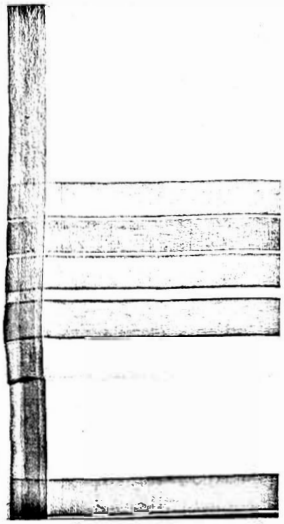

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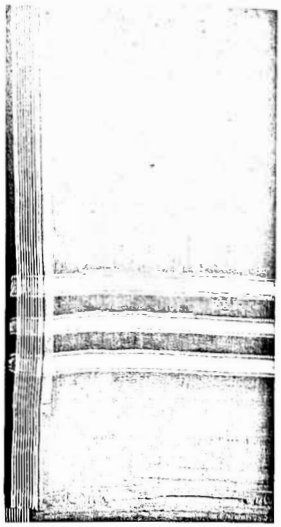
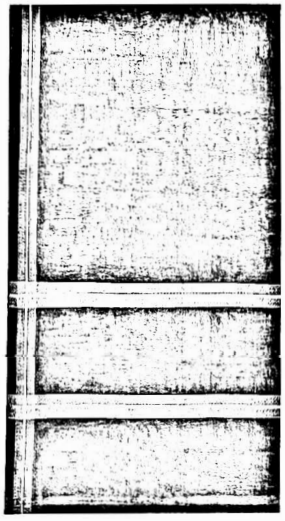


12/5

❋ Silk



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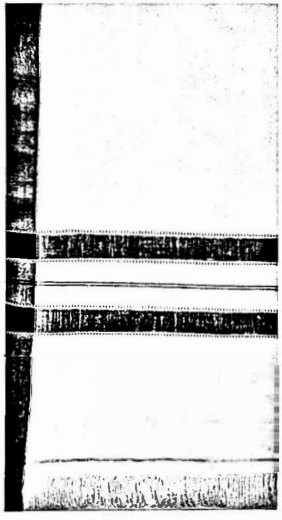

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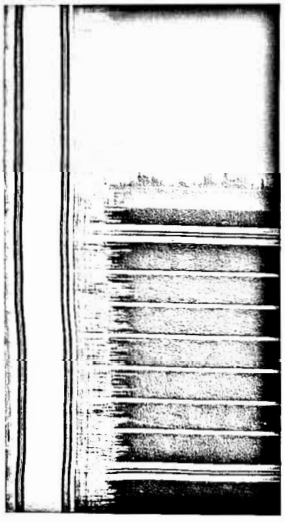

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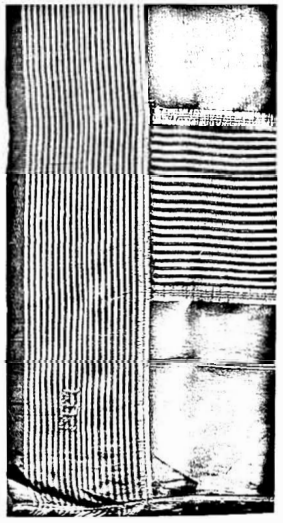


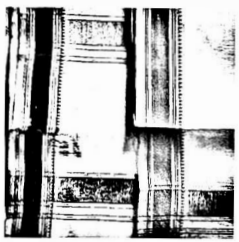
12/10

12/1: Name: *Vellai kambi selai*/Coarse count sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.34 m; Width: 1.06 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Tirunelveli, Tirunelveli district
12/2: Name: *Bavanchu masara dhoti*/Plain two-finger-wide border; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 3.68 m; Width: 1.32 m; Weight: 210 gm; Origin: Gangavalli, Salem district
12/3: Name: *Seeru gundanchul*/Plain band border men's drape; Material: Cotton, 100s x 120s; Length: 3.63 m; Width: 1.32 m; Weight: 200 gm; Origin: Gangavalli, Salem district
12/4: Name: *Sadha vesthi*/Plain body border drape; Material: Cotton, 40s x 30s; Length: 2.54 m; Width: 1.32 m; Weight: 140 gm; Origin: Ayyampettai, Thanjavur district
12/5: Name: *Sadha selai*/Plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.56 m; Width: 1.14 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Cuddalore district
12/6: Name: *Seeru karai*/Varaiyur *selai*/Plain stripe border sari; Material: Cotton, 120s; Length: 5.44 m; Width: 1.26 m; Weight: 300 gm; Origin: Pilladurai, Tiruchchirappalli district
12/7: Name: *Manjal udal selai*/Yellow plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.12 m; Width: 1.13 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Aruppukkotai, Virudunagar district
12/8: Name: *Thiruvannayur selai*/Plain divided border sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.64 m; Width: 1.23 m; Weight: 500 gm; Origin: Chennai district
12/9: Name: *Chinnalapatti selai*/Yarn-resist border and end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.44 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 400 gm; Origin: Palani, Dindigul district
12/10: Name: *Sada pattu seeru karai selai*/Plain body, striped border end-piece silk sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 650 gm; Courtesy: Visalakshi Ramaswamy, Chennai

♣ Mixed cotton/silk

★ Cotton

2 SEERU & KATTAM/STRIPES & CHECKS



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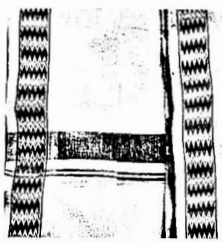

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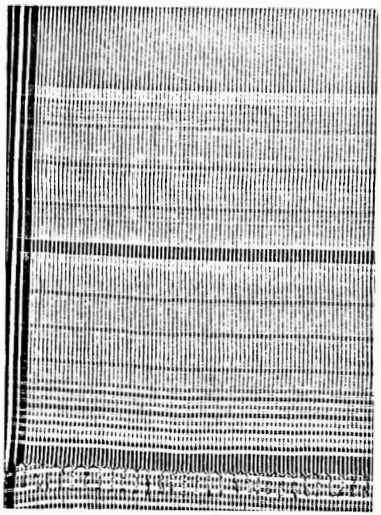

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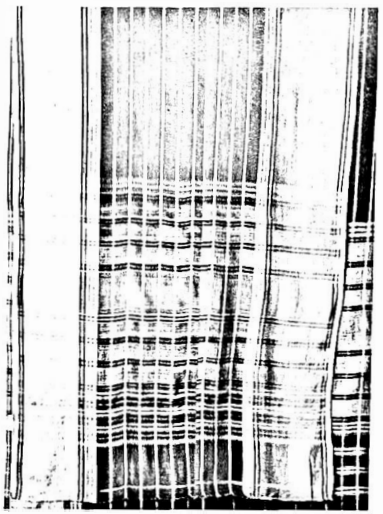

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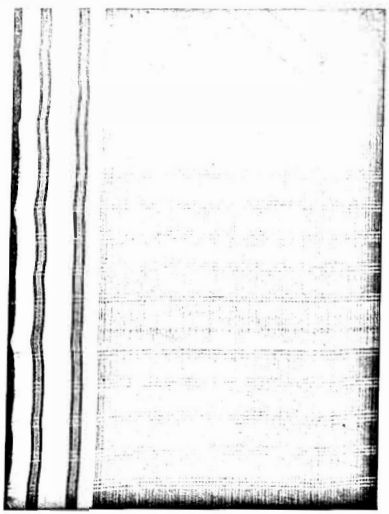

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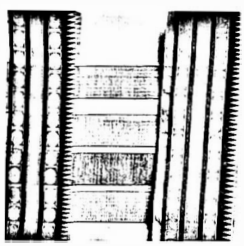
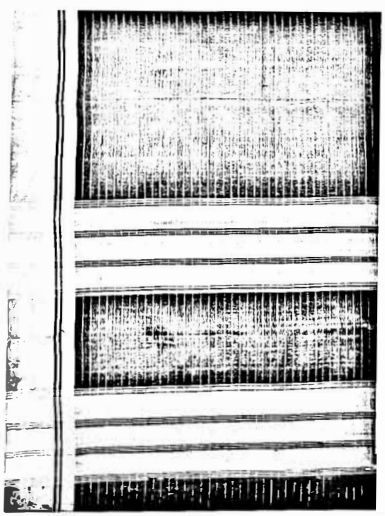


12/13

12/14



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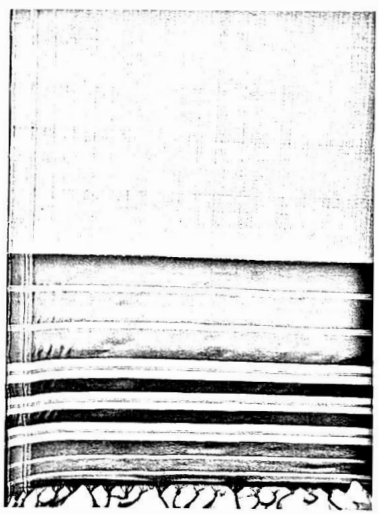

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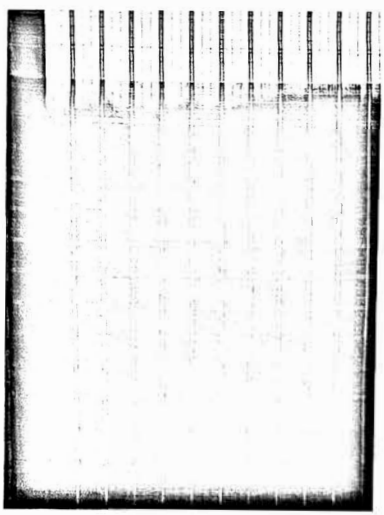


12/21

12/11: Name: *Sadha seeru karai vesthi*/Plain stripe border drape; *Kuilkan karai vesthi*/Nightingale's-eye patterned border drape; Material: Cotton, 80s, 60s x Silk, 15/18 dn; Length: 4.04 m; Width: 1.34 m; Weight: 325 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/12; 12/13; 12/14: Name: *Vanki karai vesthi*/Wave-patterned border drape; *Pavuen karai vesthi*/Coin-patterned border drape; *Panneer pushpam vesthi*/Rose water sprinkler patterned border, white body drape; Material: Cotton, 80s, 60s x Silk, 15 / 18 dn; Length: 3.65 m-3.97 m; Width: 1.27-1.34 m; Weight: 275325 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/16: Name: *Kodu udal selai*/Striped body sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 495 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

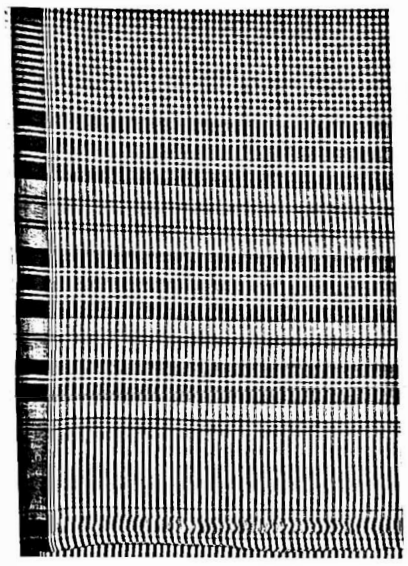
12/17: Name: *Chettinad seeru selai*/Two-colour stripe sari of Chettinad; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.56 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 425 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/18: Name: *Thandavalam oosi vanam seeru selai*/Pairing rail-track stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 800 gm; Origin: Chennampatti, Erode district

12/19: Name: *Thandavalam oosi vanam selai*/Pinstripe sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.34 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Chennampatti, Erode district

12/20: Name: *Muthu seeru selai*/Broken-stripe sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/21: Name: *Palani selai*/Double-check sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.48 m; Width: 1.16 m; Weight: 375 gm; Origin: Palani, Dindigul district



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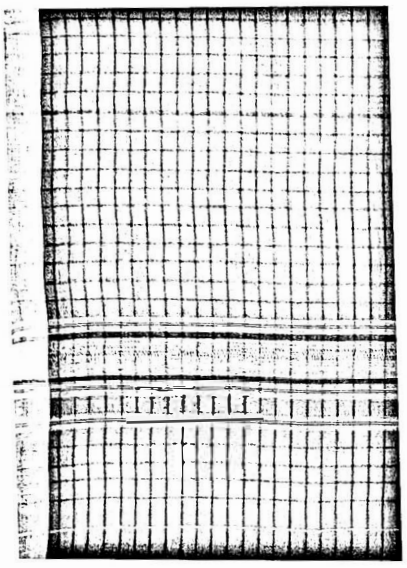

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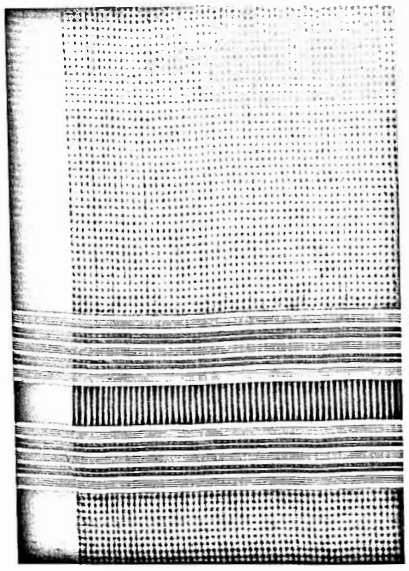

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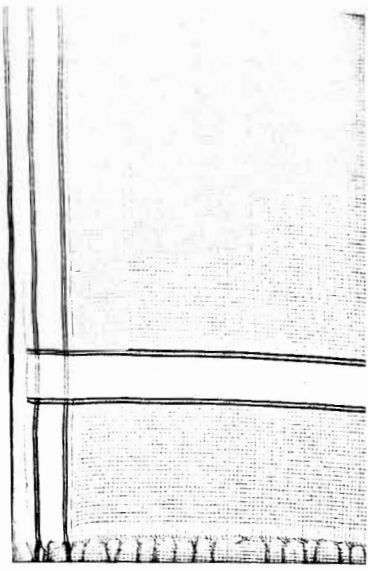

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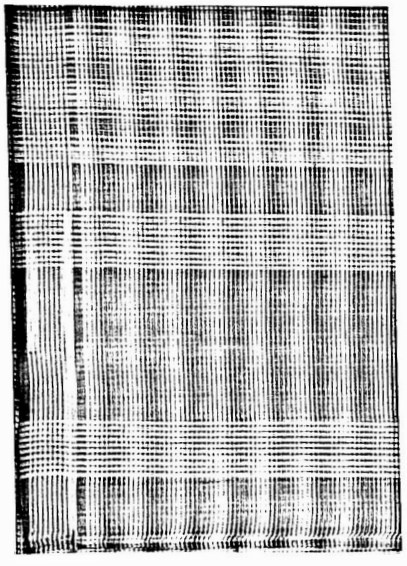

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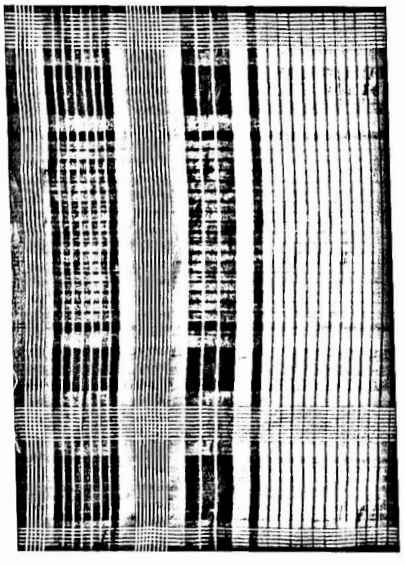

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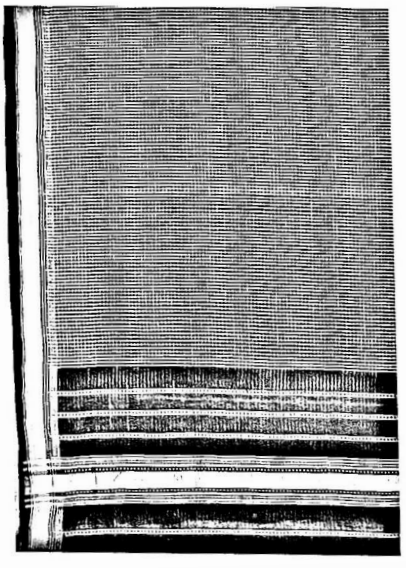

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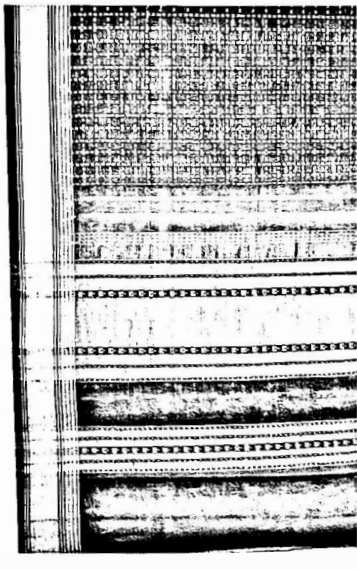


12/29

12/22: Name: *Gundumani selail*/Single-colour fat round bead check sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.16 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Aruppukkotai, Virudunagar district

12/23: Name: *Puddukotai chitadai selail*/Black fine check on single-colour sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.30 m; Width: 1.05 m; Weight: 425 gm; Origin: Tenkasi, Tirunelveli district.

12/24: Name: *Aruppukkotai selail*/Fine check body, plain border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 6.36 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Aruppukkotai, Virudunagar district

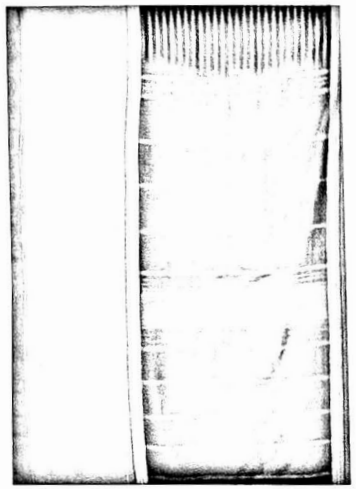
12/25: Name: *Chinnalapatti selail*/Fine two-colour check sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 375 gm; Origin: Chinnalapatti, Dindigul district

12/26: Name: *Alai Kattam*/Wave check sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.38 m; Width: 1.17 m; Weight: 325 gm; Origin: Chennampatti, Erode district

12/27: Name: *Palani selail*/Check sari of RMH layout; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 550 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foun Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/28: Name: *Kottadi selail*/Wedding sari with check body; Material: Cotto Length: 4.52 m; Width: 1.00 m; Weight: 325 gm; Origin: Kambarpalli, Tiruchir district

12/29: Name: *Muttukottadi selail*/Broken-check body sari; Material: Cotto Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Arani, Tiruvallur district



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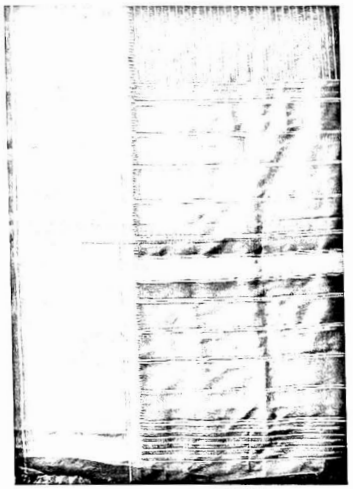

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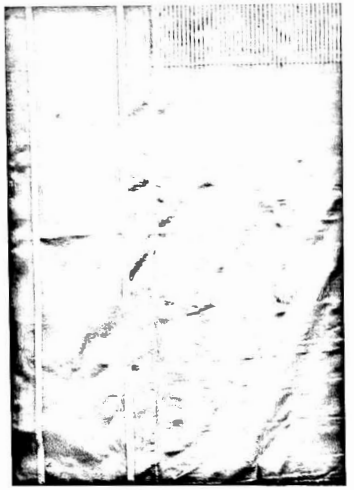

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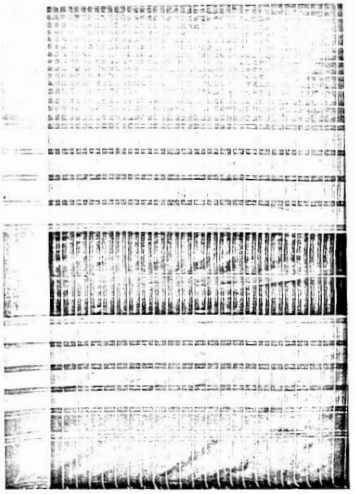

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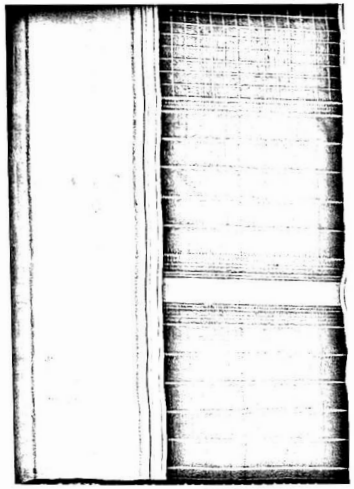

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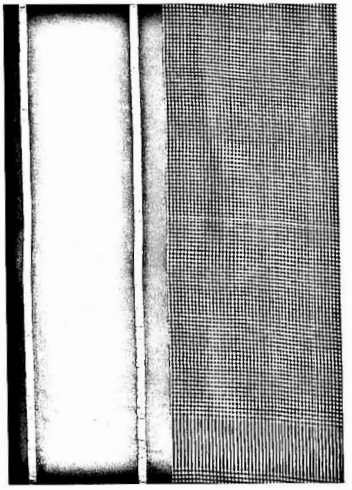

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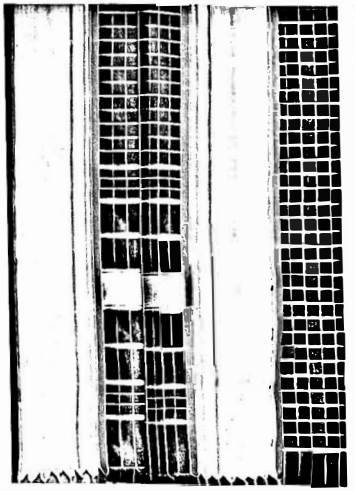

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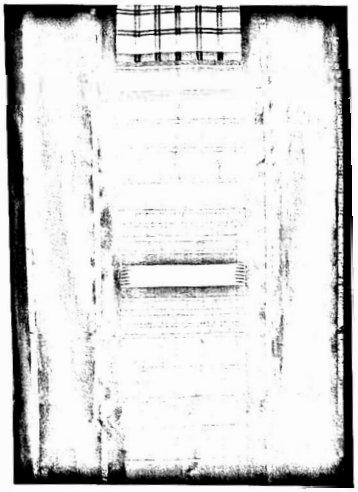


12/37

12/30; 12/31: Name: *Pattu seeru korvai selai*/Silk striped body, three-shuttle sari; Material: Silk, 22/24 dn; Length: 8.30 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 750 gm; Courtesy: Kalakshetra, Rukmani Devi Arundale Collection, Chennai; Courtesy: Visalakshi Ramaswami, Chennai

12/32: Name: *Pattu seeru korvai selai*/Silk striped body, three-shuttle sari; Material: Silk, 20 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 620 gm; Courtesy: Dalley Verghese, Chennai

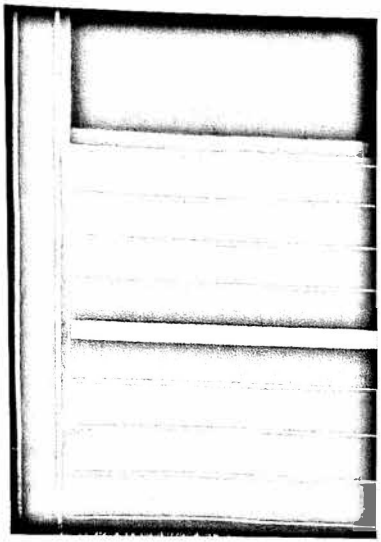
12/33; 12/34: Name: *Araku manjal kattam selai*/Red body, yellow check sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn, 24 dn; Length: 5.36 m / 4.80 m; Width: 1.20 m/1.10 m; Weight: 470 gm / 500 gm; Origin: Kumbakonam, Thanjavur district; Courtesy: Dhanalakshmi Fordyce, Bangalore

12/35: Name: *Karpa kattam korvai selai*/Black check body, three-shuttle sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.36 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 470 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/36: Name: *Oosivanam karpa kattam korvai selai*/Two-colour, four-end check, three-shuttle sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 6.80 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 650 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/37: Name: Double *kattam podvai*/Doublecolour check body, three-shuttle sari; Material: Silk, 22/24 dn; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 640 gm; Courtesy: Kalakshetra, Rukmini Devi Arundale Collection, Chennai

✿ Mixed cotton/silk



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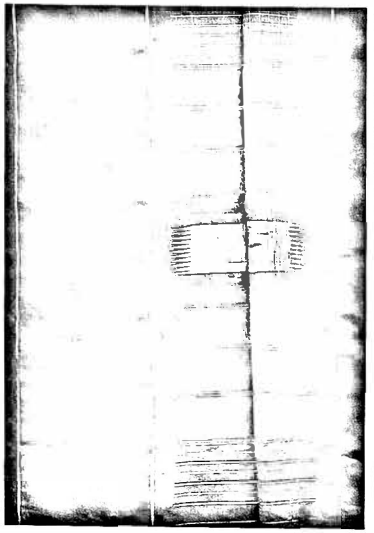

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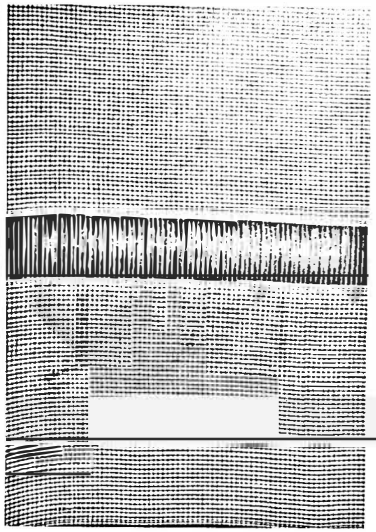

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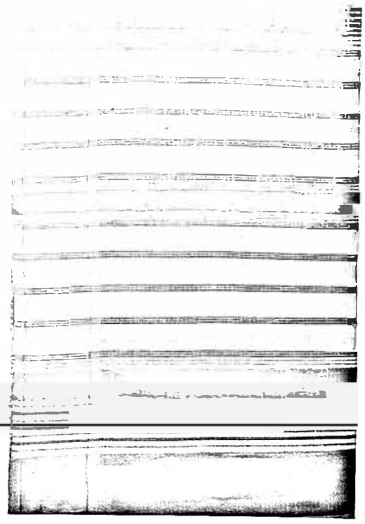

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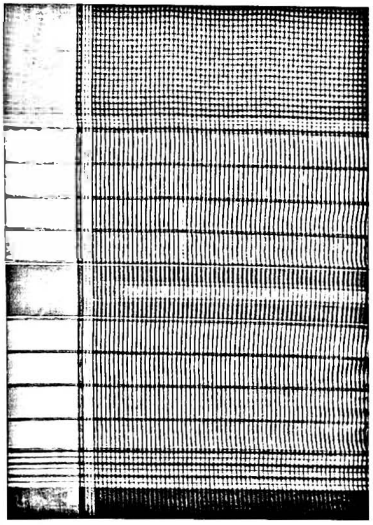

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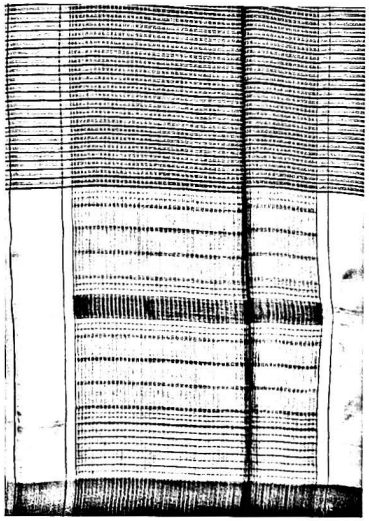

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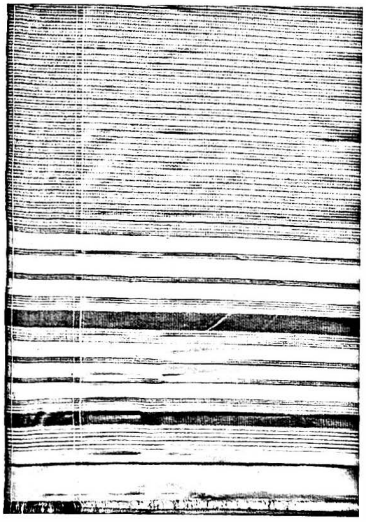
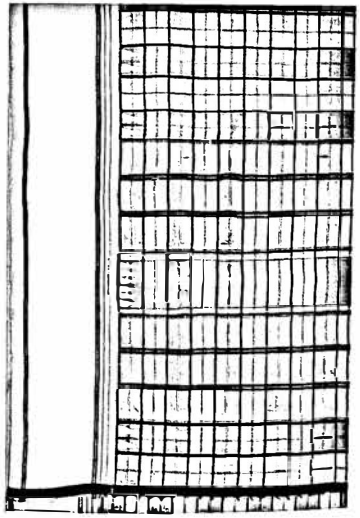


12/44



12/45

12/38: Name: *Neela udal karpa kattam selai*/Blue ground, black fine check sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 640 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Dalley Verghese, Chennai

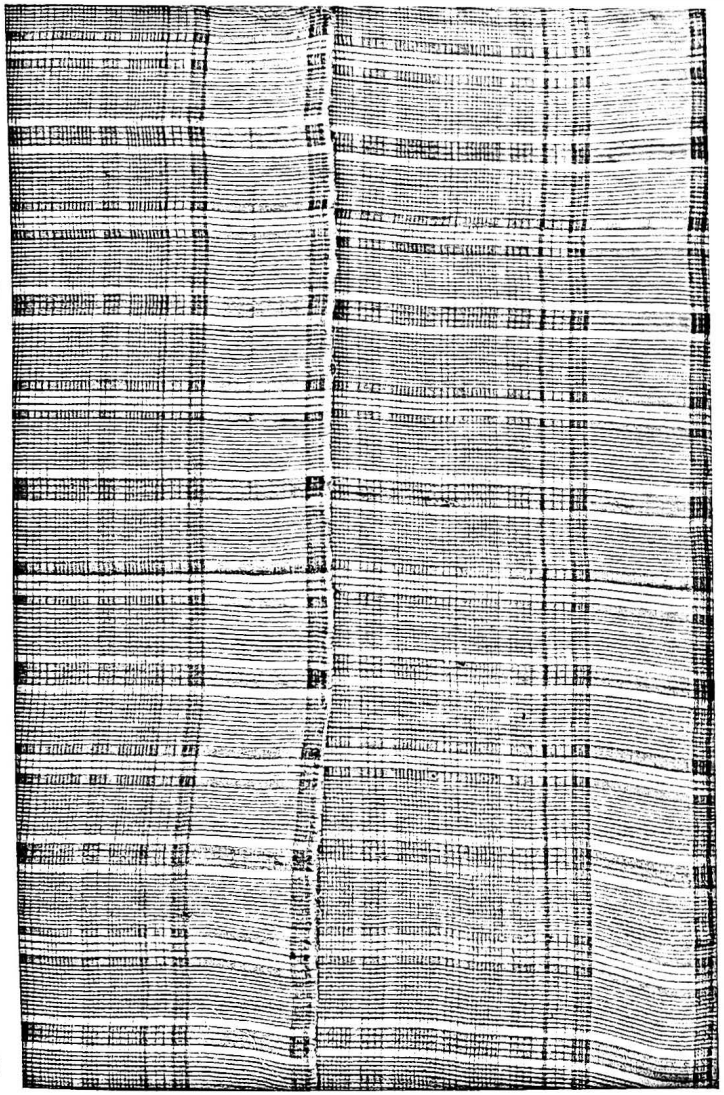
12/39: Name: *Zarigai kattam selai*/Gold check sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 640 gm; Courtesy: Smt. Dalley Verghese, Chennai

12/40: Name: *Manjal kattam selai*/Turmeric ground, two-colour check sari; Material: Cotton, 80s, x Silk, 12/15 dn; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Kumbakonam, Thanjavur district

12/41: Name: *Korainadu selai*/4 x 2 fine stripe, check sari; Material: Cotton, 60s, x Silk, 15/18 dn; Length: 7.26 m; Width: 1.08 m; Weight: 475 gm; Origin: Aduthurai, Thanjavur district

12/42: Name: *Korainadu selai*/Silk-cotton 4 x 8 check sari of Korainadu; Material: Cotton, 80s, x Silk, 15/18 dn; Length: 5 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 550 gm; Courtesy: Korainadu, Nagapattinam

12/43; 12/44: Name: *Korainadu kaladangi selai*/Three-stripe, two-colour check sari of



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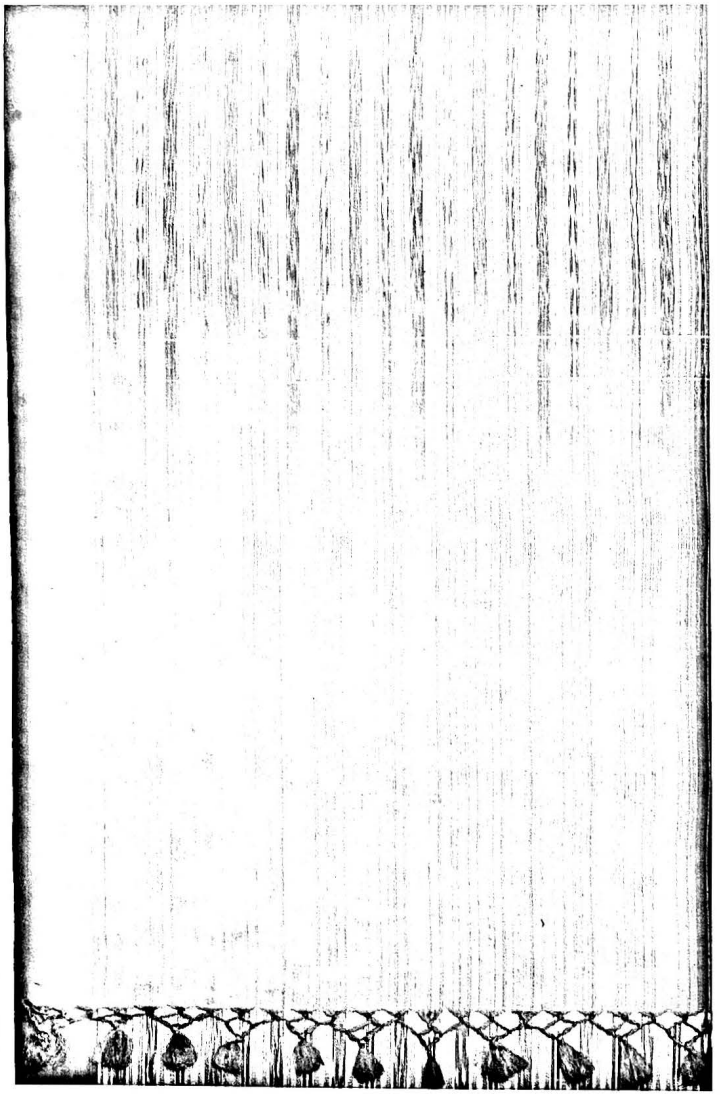
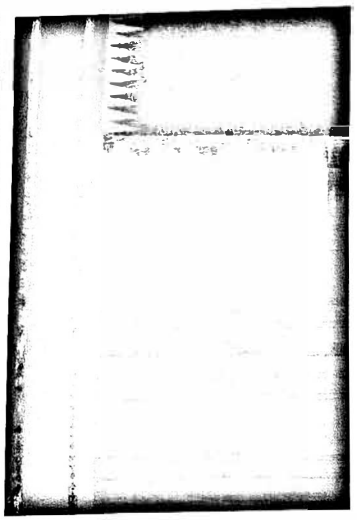


12/47

Korainadu; two-stripe, two-colour check sari; Material: Cotton, 80s, 60s x Silk, 12/15 dn plied; Length: 5.40-5.45 m; Width: 1.10-1.15 m; Weight: 470 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, DakshinaChitra, Chennai; Courtesy: Ms Visalakshi Ramaswamy, Chennai

12/45/12/46: Name: *Karaikudi selai*/Cotton silk broad-check sari; Material: Cotton, 30s, x Silk, 12/15 dn plied; Length: 5.40 m; Width: 1.04 m; Weight: 460 gm; Origin: Karaikkudi, Sivaganga district

12/47: Name: *Kuttini selai*/Warp ikat silk/cotton sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn untwisted; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 650 gm; Courtesy: Weavers' Service Centre, Chennai



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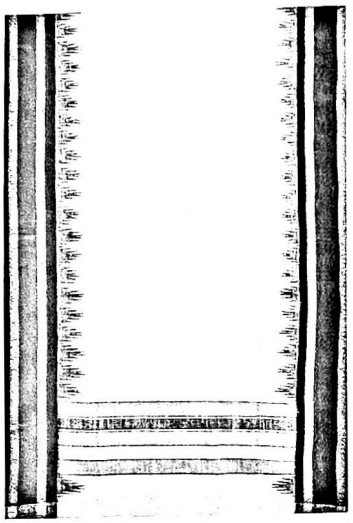

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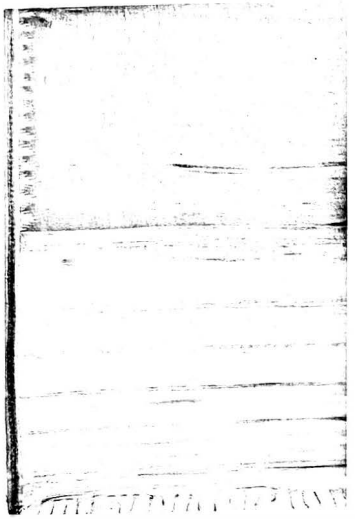
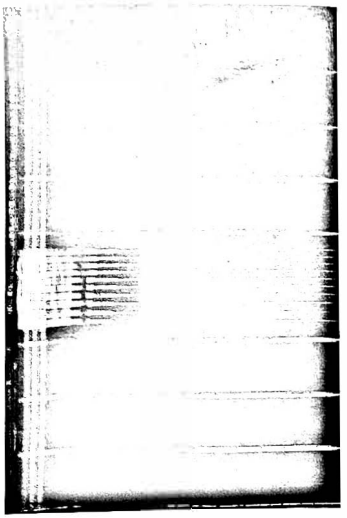
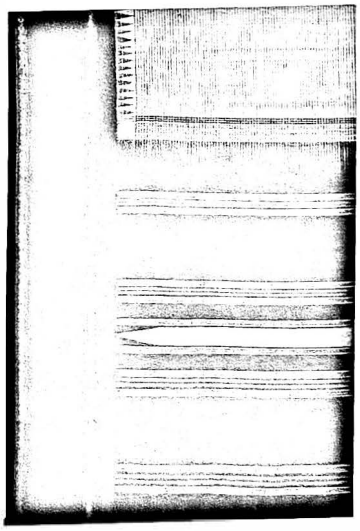


12/50



12/51



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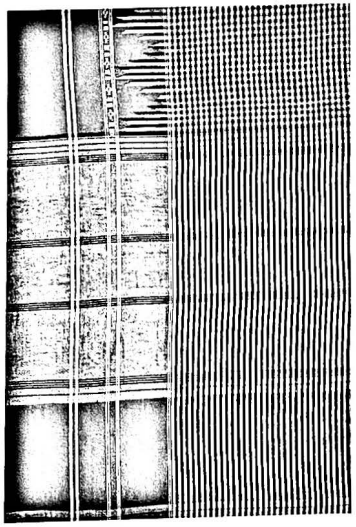
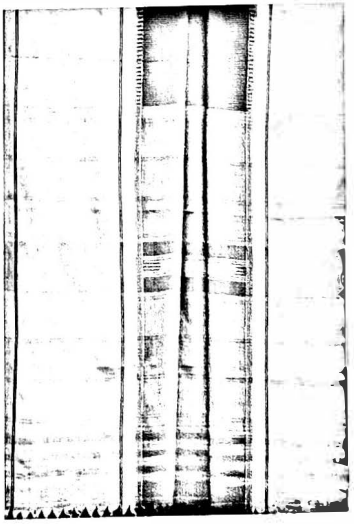
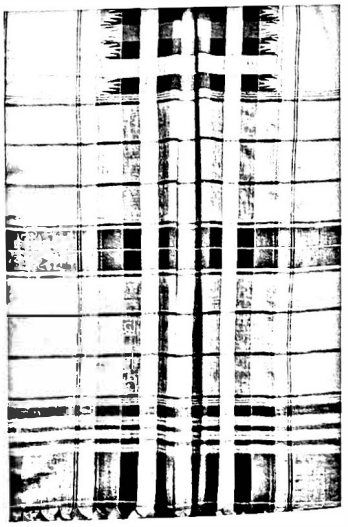


12/53



12/54



12/55

12/48: Name: *Sadha chinnpuva korvai selail*Plain body, fine flower border, three-shuttle sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.26 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 650 gm; Origin: Paramakkudi, Ramanathapuram district

12/49: Name: *Dillidurbar thundu*Flag-coloured upper drape; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 1.80 m; Width: 0.90 m; Weight: 250 gm; Origin: Vadampakkam, Kanchipuram district

12/50: Name: *Rudrakhsh korvai selail*Seed flower motif border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 390 gm; Origin: Vadampakkam, Kanchipuram district

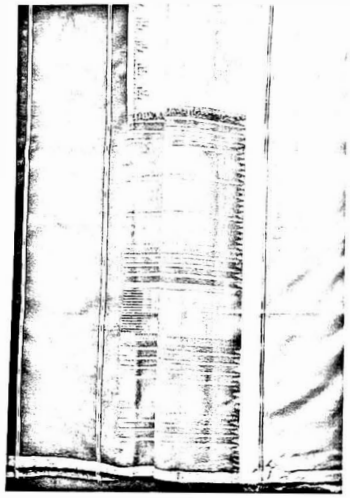
12/51: Name: *Chinna rudrakshi karai rekhu mundani selail*Fine seed flower motif, three-shuttle end-piece sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 6.00 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 350 gm; Origin: Jalakandapuram, Salem district

12/52: Name: *Oosi vanam korvai selail*Fine stripes on plain ground sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.28 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 450 gm; Origin: Vadampakkam, Kanchipuram district

12/53: Name: *Chettinad kandangi gundumani korvai selail*Fine three-shuttle, fat, round-bead check sari of Chettinad; Material: Cotton, 30s x 40s; Length: 4.82 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 600 gm; Origin: Karaikkudi, Sivaganga district

12/54: Name: *Korainadu kattam korvai selail*Check body three-shuttle sari of Korainadu; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Dalley Verghese, Chennai

12/55: Name: *Chettinad selail*Broad check sari of Chettinad; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.07 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Dalley Verghese, Chennai



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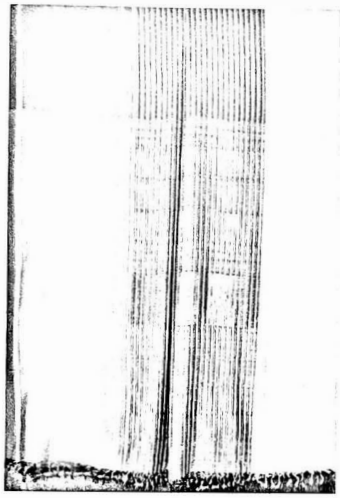

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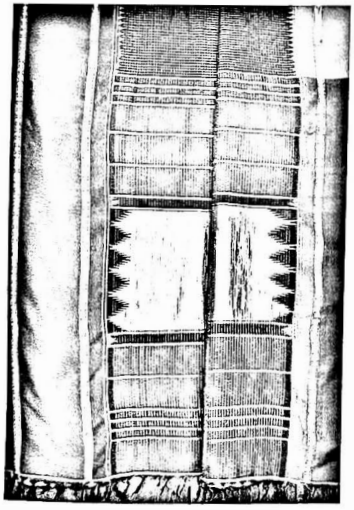
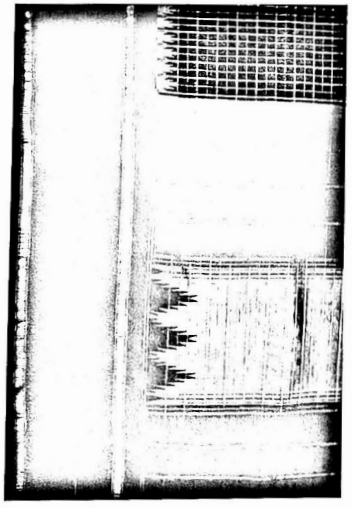
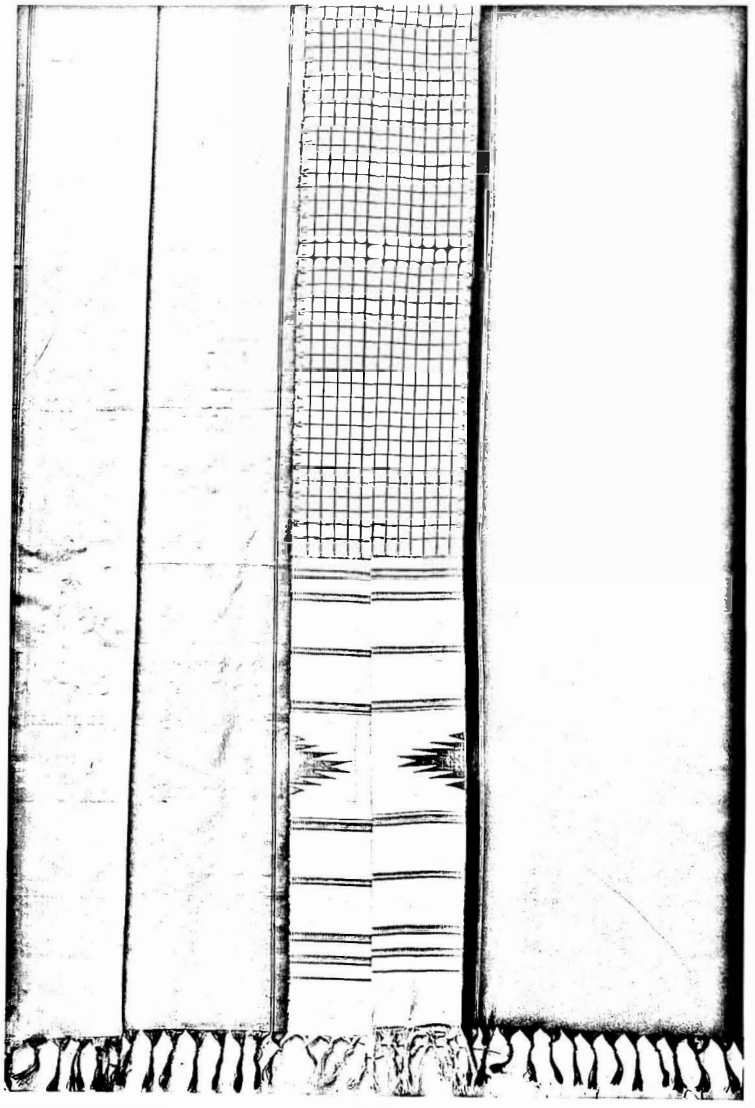


12/58



12/59



12/60

12/56: Name: *Korvai mupaggam ganga jamuna selai*/Three-shuttle, double-coloured border sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 620 gm; Courtesy: Visalakshi Ramaswamy, Chennai

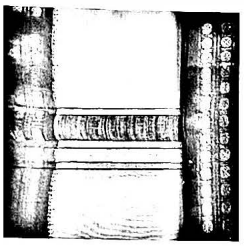
12/57: Name: *Mupaggam korvai seeru ganga jamuna selai*/Three-shuttle, stripe body, double-colour border sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 640 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/58: Name: *Korvai kattam mupaggam ganga jamuna selai*/Three-shuttle, check body, double-colour border sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 6.25 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 780 gm; Courtesy: Kalakshetra, Rukmini Devi Arundale Collection

12/59: Name: Double *kattam korvai selai*/Double-colour check body, three-shuttle sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 600 gm; Courtesy: Kalakshetra, Rukmini Devi Arundale Collection

12/60: Name: *Mupaggam ganga jamuna korvai selai*/Check body, double-colour border sari; Material: Silk, 20 dn; Length: 5.45 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 630 gm; Courtesy: Visvakarma Collection

● Mixed cotton/silk



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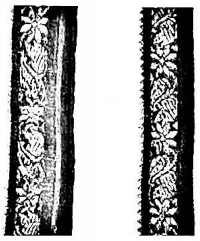

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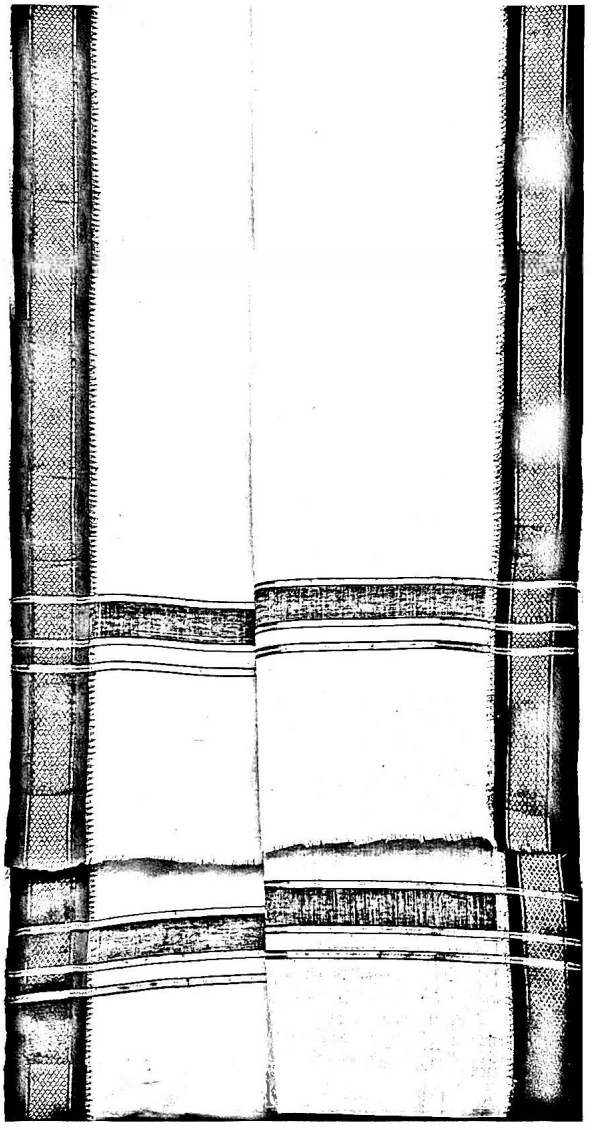
12/64



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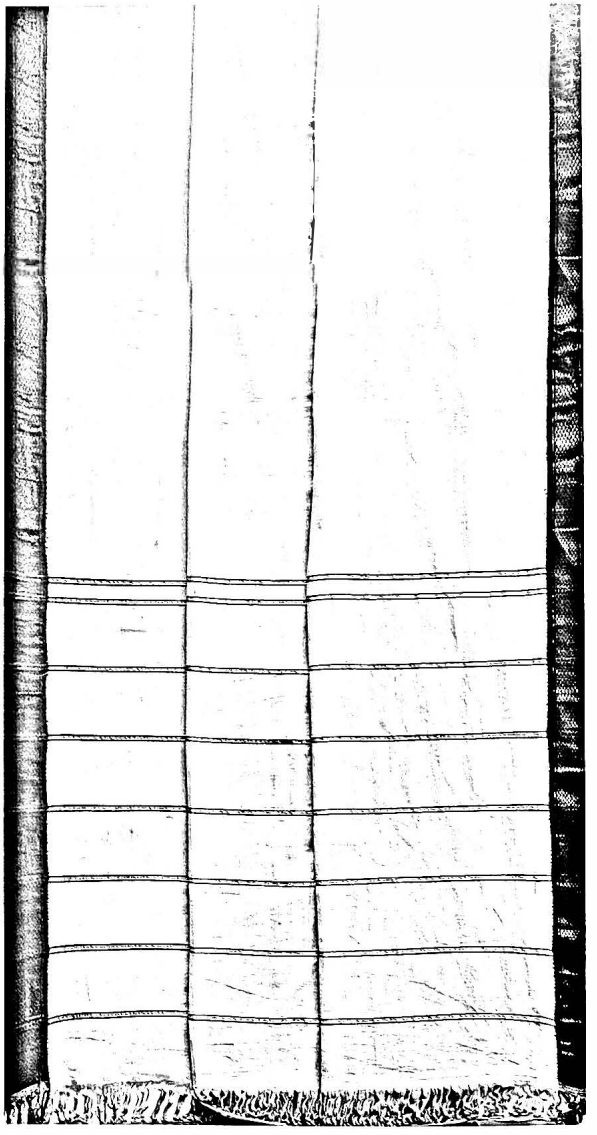


12/66

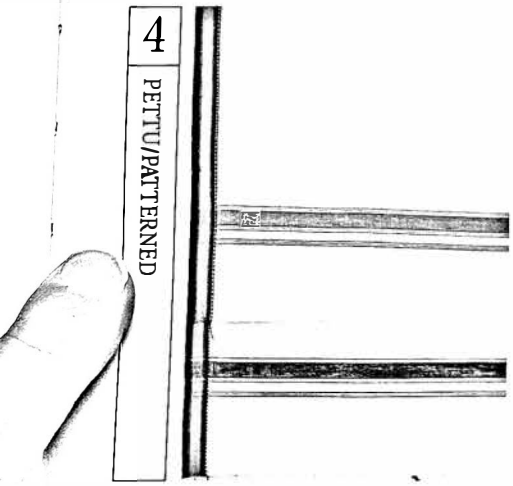
12/61; 12/62; 12/63: Name: *Rudraksham karai vesthil*/Seed flower patterned border drape; *Kamalam salangai karai vesthil*/Lotus vine border drape; *Thuthiruppu karai vesthil*/Diamond flower motif border drape; Material: Cotton, 60s, x *zari* gold; Length: 3.50 m; Width: 1.35 m; Weight: 340 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/64; 12/65: Name: *Vaira puva karai vesthil*/Diamond flower patterned border drape; Material: Cotton, 60s–80s/zari gold; Length: 3.50 m; Width: 1.35 m; Weight: 340 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/66: Name: *Kuilkan karai selai*/Nightingale's-eye patterned border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s/zari gold; Length: 5.50 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 340 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

❤ Cotton

4 PETTU/PATTERNED



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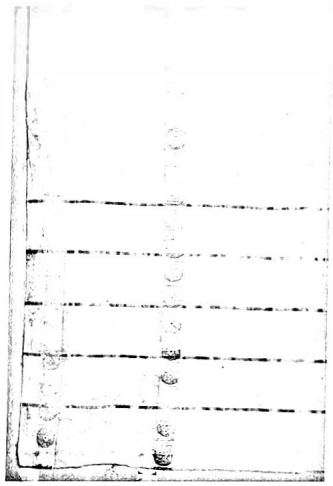

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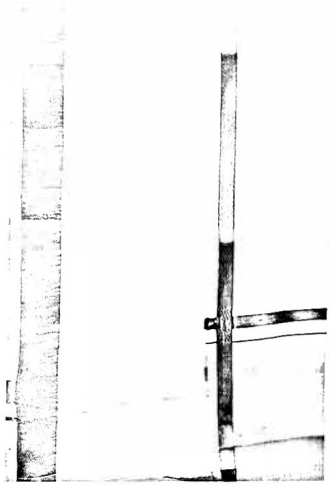

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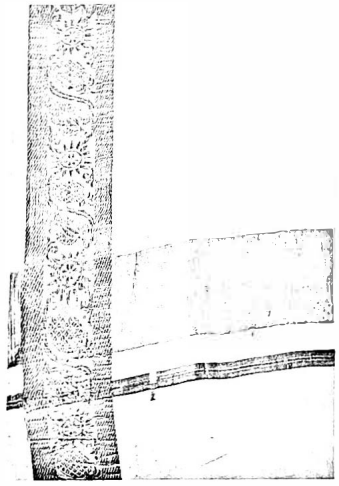

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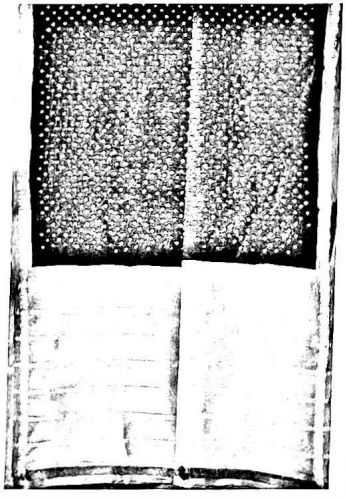

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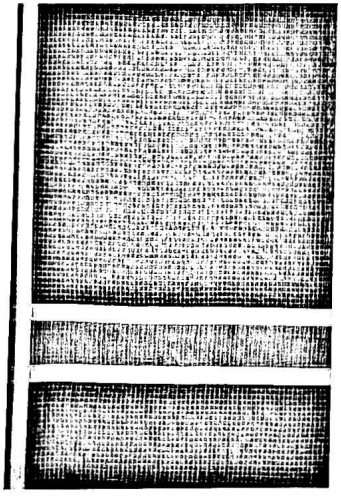

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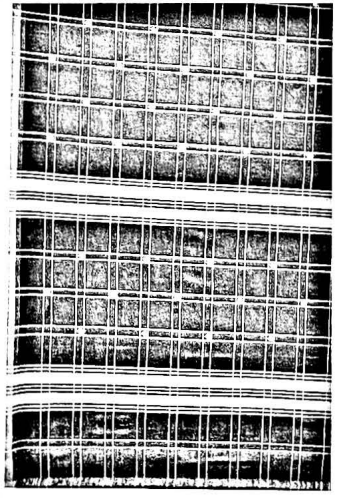

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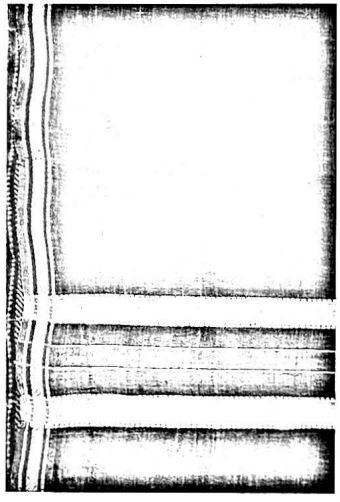


12/74

12/67: Name: *Ammapet vesthi*/Plain banded border drape; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 3.55 m; Width: 1.35 m; Weight: 275 gm; Origin: Gangavalli, Salem district

12/68: Name: *Pavuen karai selai*/Single-coin border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 375 gm; Origin: Paramakkudi, Ramanathapuram district

12/69: Name: *Mayilkan karai thundu*/Peacock eye patterned border drape/*Alai karai thundu*/ Wave-patterned border drape; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 2.24 m; Width: 1.11 m; Weight: 175 gm; Origin: Madurai, Madurai district

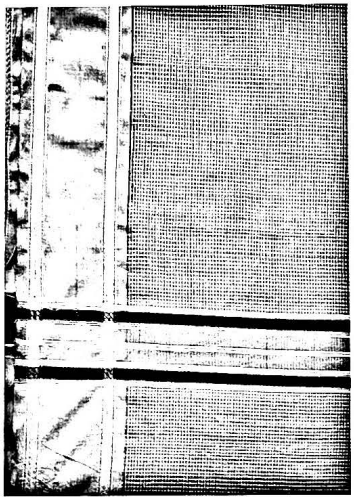
12/70: Name: *Puvakali vel thundu*/Floral vine border drape; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 3.58 m; Width: 1.28 m; Weight: 325 gm; Origin: Shevapet, Salem district

12/71: Name: *Pettu karai sungadi*/Clamp-resist, tie-dyed, single-coin border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 375 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai

12/72: Name: *Waraiyur alai karai selai*/Small wave-pattern border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 6.36 m; Width: 1.25 m; Weight: 300 gm; Origin: Waraiyur, Tiruchchirappalli district

12/73: Name: *Negamum selai*/Double-line check with motif body sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.30 m; Width: 1.21 m; Weight: 375 gm; Origin: Madurai, Madurai district

12/74: Name: *Attirepuram selai*/Plain body, twill border sari; Material: Cotton, 40s; Length: 4.97 m; Width: 1.09 m; Weight: 480 gm; Origin: Muttalpettai, Cuddalore district



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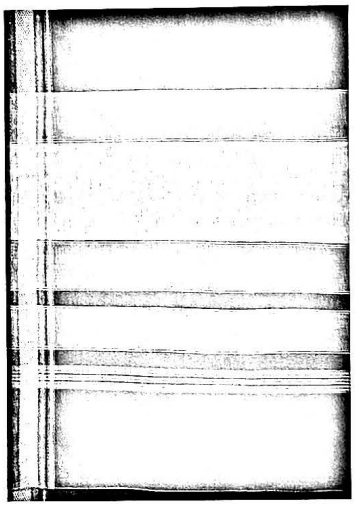

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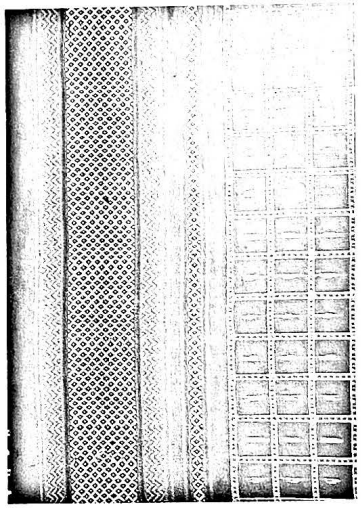
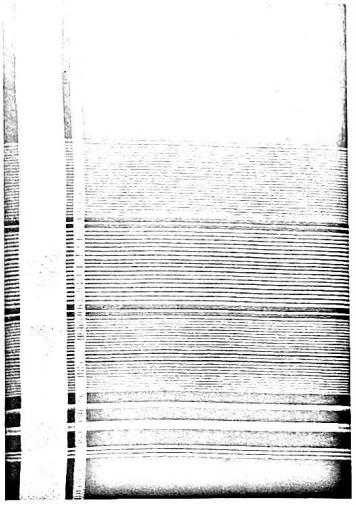


12/77



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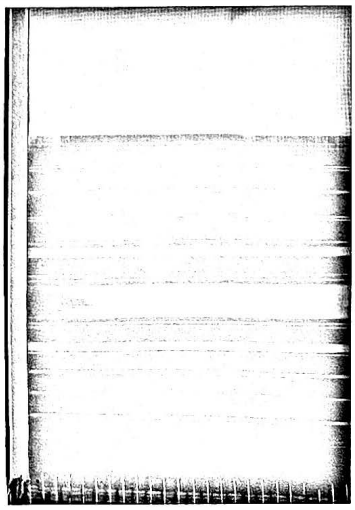
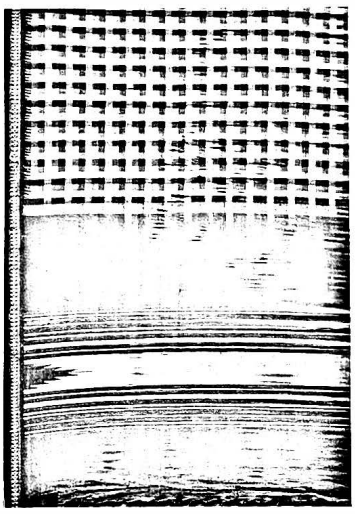
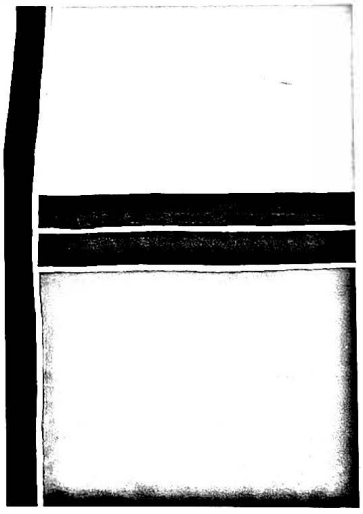


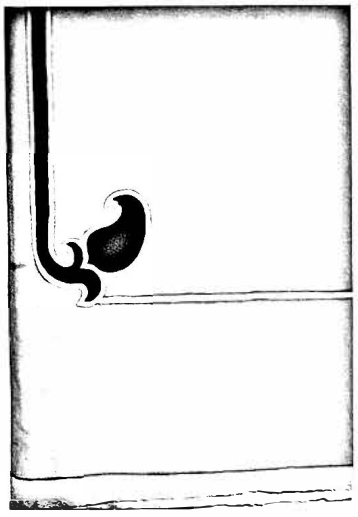
12/79



12/80



12/81



12/82

12/75: Name: *Negamum selail*2 x 2 x 1 check body, fine repeat border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 7.30 m; Width: 1.19 m; Weight: 575 gm; Origin: Palani, Dindigul district

12/76: Name: *Negamadi selail*Plain body with bird's-eye motif border sari; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 5.28 m; Width: 1.10 m; Weight: 490 gm; Origin: Karaikkudi, Sivaganga district

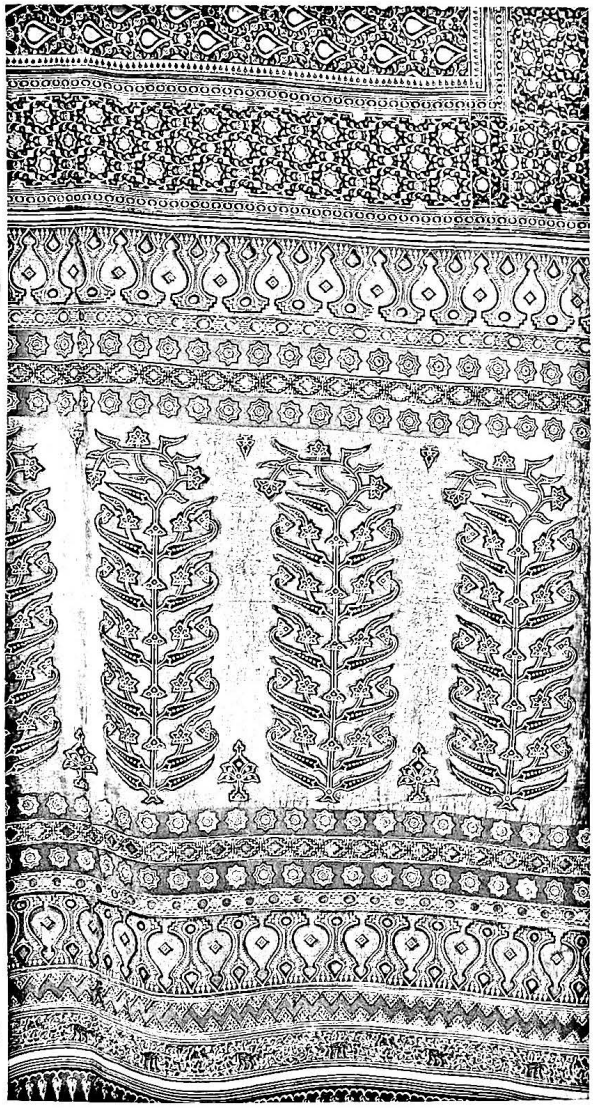
12/77: Name: *Negamadi chikki selail*Check with yarn-resist dash pattern sari; Material: Silk, 13/15 dn; Length: 4.80 m; Width: 1.00 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennal

12/78: Name: *Kuilkan karai karaikudi selail*Bird's-eye motif border sari of Karaikudi; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.25 m; Width: 1.22 m; Weight: 475 gm; Origin: Karaikkudi, Sivaganga district

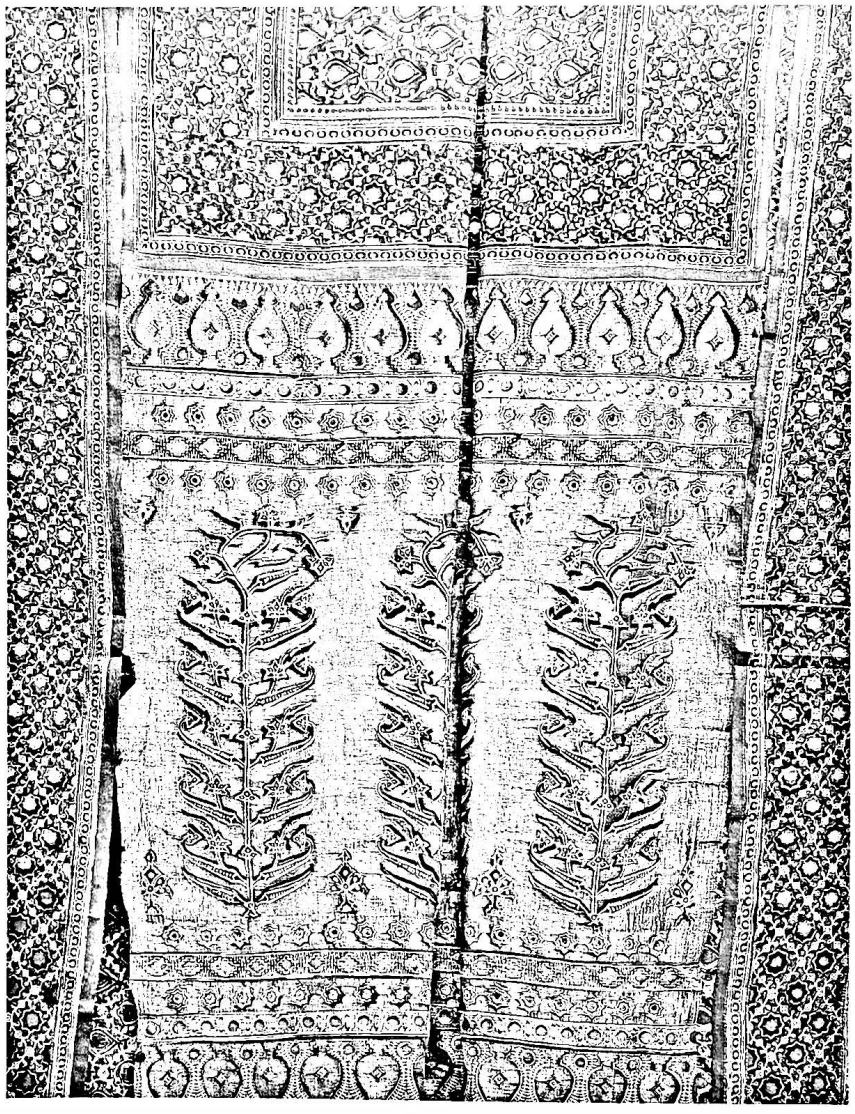
12/79: Name: New development: *Puddupavu kuilkan karai kattam selail*Bird's-eye motif border, check body sari; Material: Cotton, 60s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 475 gm; Courtesy: Suman Benegal, Delhi

12/80: Name: New development: *Vanki karai double kattam selail*Double-colour check, arrowhead border sari; Material: Cotton, 80s; Length: 5.20 m; Width: 1.12 m; Weight: 360 gm; Courtesy: Visvakarma Collection

12/81; 12/82: Name: *Sikinaickanpet selail*Dye-painted sari of Sikinaickanpet; Material: Cotton, 30s; Length: 4.96 m; Width: 1.20 m; Weight: 700 gm; Origin: Sikinaickanpet, Nagapattinam district



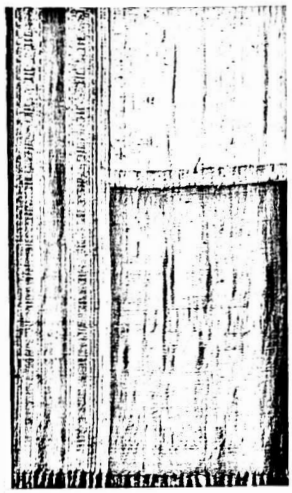
12/83



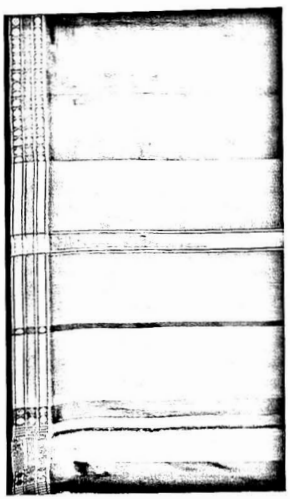
12/84

12/83: Name: *Kodalikarapur selai*/Brocade ground, hand-painted sari of Kodalikarapur; Material: Cotton, 60s, gold zari; Length: 6.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 440 gm; Courtesy: Dalley Verghese, Chennai

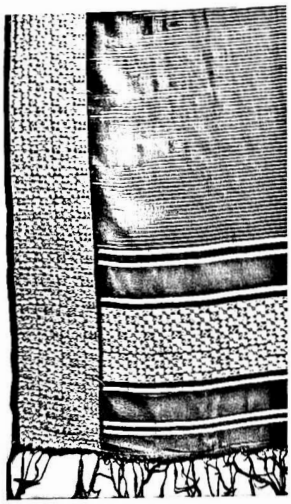
12/84: Name: *Kodalikarapur selai*/Brocade ground, hand-painted sari of Kodallkarapur; Material: Cotton, 60s, gold zari; Length: 6.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 400 gm; Courtesy: Government Museum, Chennai



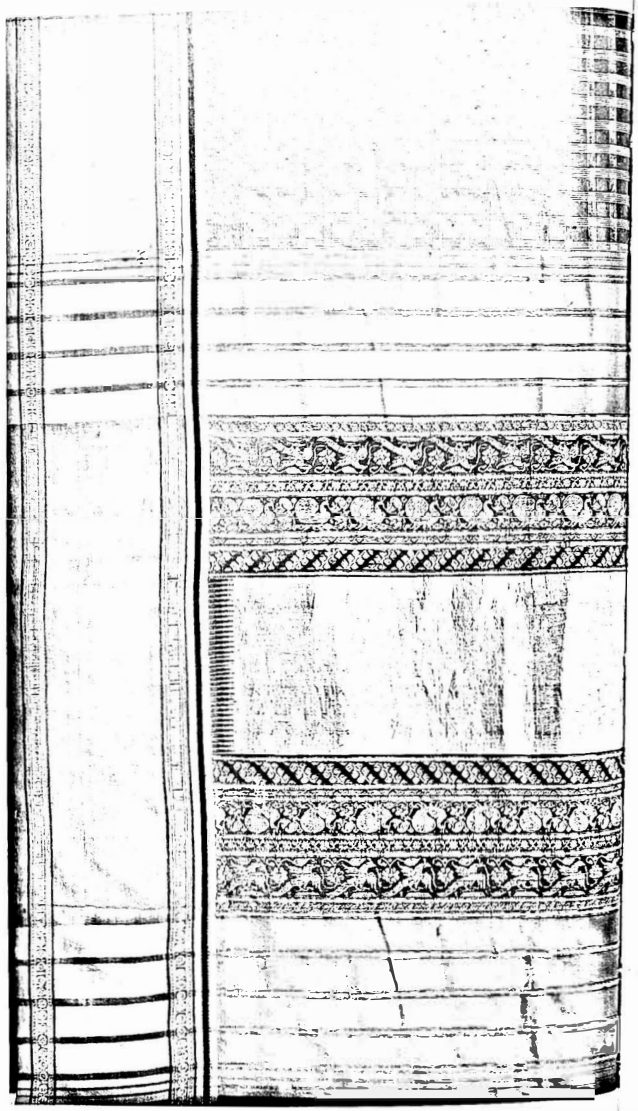
12/85



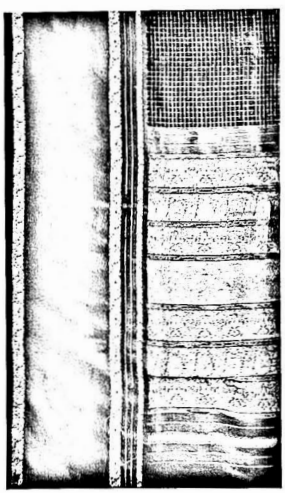
12/86



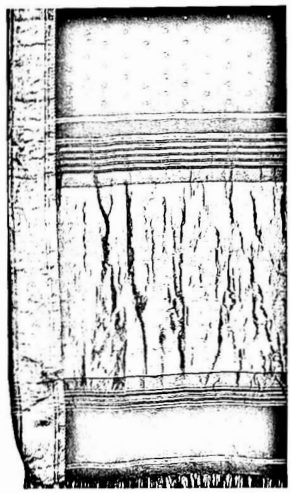
12/87



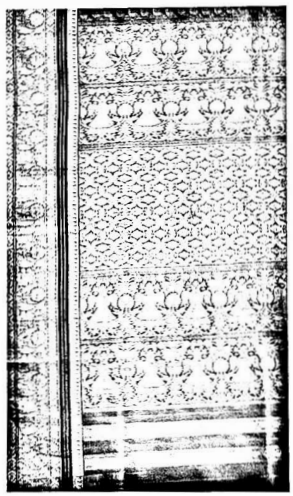
12/91



12/88

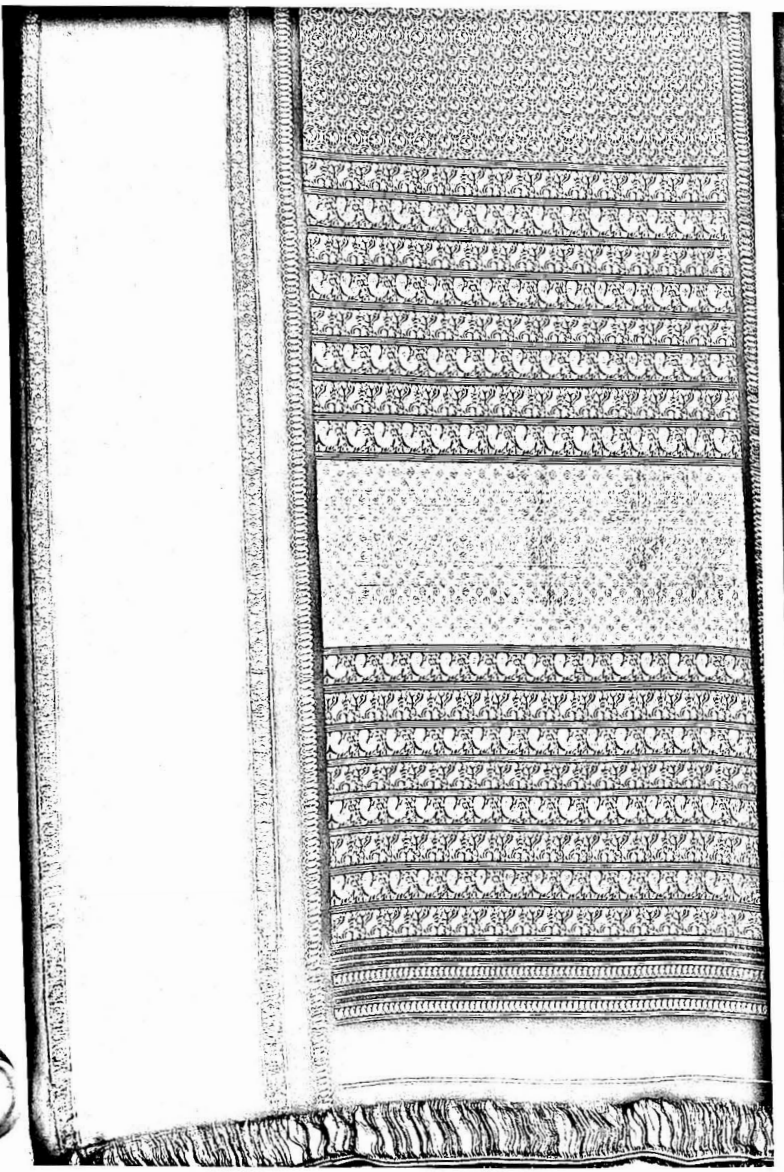


12/89

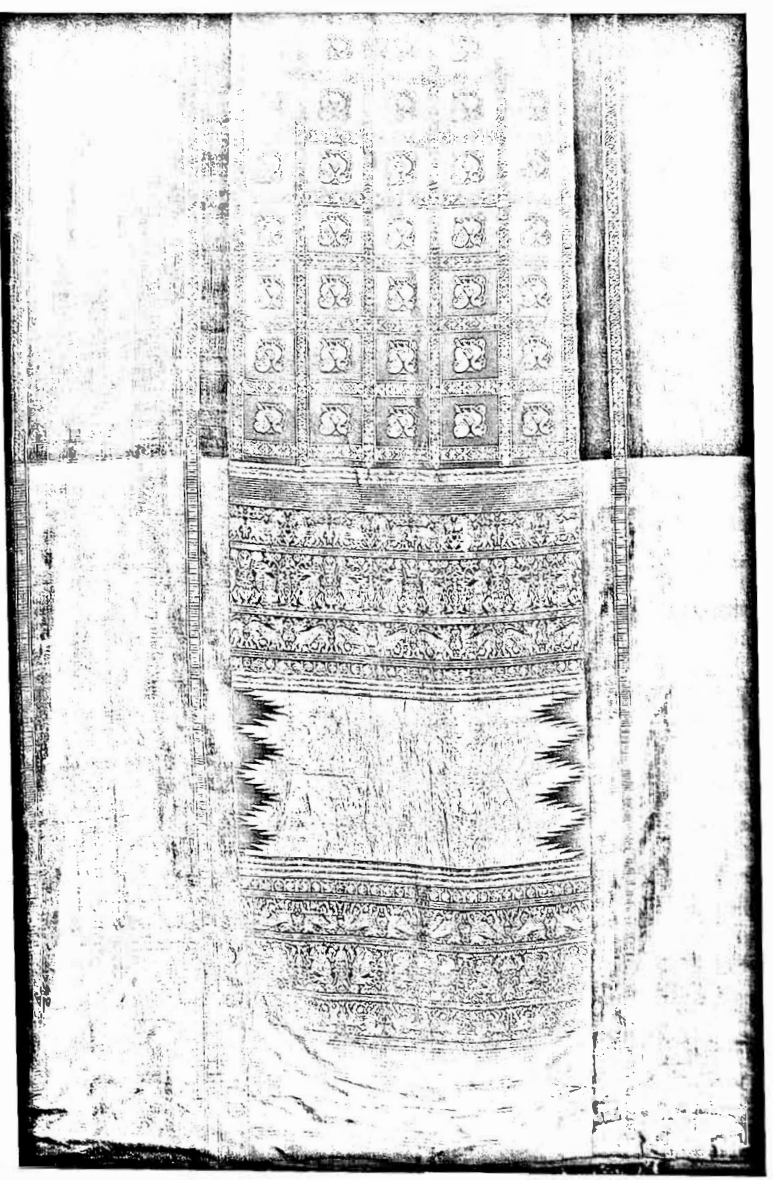


12/90

12/85: Name: *Sadha charkha pattu pettu karai selail*Plain body, hand-spun silk patterned border sari; Material: Hand-spun silk, 25 dn; Length: 5.32 m; Width: 1.01 m; Weight: 975 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai
12/86: Name: *Rudraksh karai pettu selail*Seed flower motif border sari; Material: Silk, 18 / 20 dn; Length: 8.20 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 890 gm; Origin: Kanchipuram, Kanchipuram district
12/87: Name: *Sadha pattu pettu karai seeru udal selail*Two-shuttle, double-coloured border sari; Material: Silk, 20 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 570 gm; Courtesy: Visalakshi Ramaswamy, Chennai
12/88: Name: *Kamalam salangai kattam pettu mundani selail*Lotus vine gold check body, end-piece patterned sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 680 gm; Courtesy: Vimor Collection, Bangalore
12/89: Name: *Pettu karai udal butti selail*Patterned border, body motif sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 580 gm; Courtesy: Madras Craft Foundation, Dakshina Chitra, Chennai
12/90: Name: *Gandeberunda mundani pettu karai udal selail*Double-headed eagle end-piece, body border patterned sari; Material: Silk, 18/20 dn, *zari* gold; Length: 5.80 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 720 gm; Courtesy: Vimor Collection, Bangalore
12/91: Name: Double *rudraksham zarigai kattam rekhu mundani selail*Double flower seed border, gold check body, gold three-shuttle end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn, gold zari; Length: 5.60 m; Width: 1.15 m; Weight: 630 gm; Courtesy: Dhanalakshmi Fordyce, Bangalore



12/92



12/93

12/92: Name: *Mayura udal/mundani pettu selai*/Peacock-patterned body end-piece sari; Material: Silk, 20/22 dn, *zari* gold; Length: 7.80 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 900 gm; Courtesy: Kanya Collection, Bangalore

12/93: Name: *Mupaggam udal kattam hamsa butta reku mundani selai*/Double-colour check body, three-shuttle sari; Material: Silk, 22/24 dn; Length: 5.70 m; Width: 1.18 m; Weight: 640 gm; Courtesy: Kalakshetra, Rukmini Devi Arundale Collection, Chennai

Glossary

ERALA

Adivasi	Tribal
Ayurveda	Traditional Indian medicine system
Bavanchu / Kotinch	Broad band border
Chuvappu	Red colour
Chutti Patt / Ilikal / Pattu chutti	Arrowhead pattern inlaid end piece
Chatta mundu	Lower drape with blouse for Christians
Devangas / Chalias	Weaving Community
Danda mundu	Two-piece drape style
Ela	Leaf pattern
Irula / Vaduga / Kurumba / Maduga	Tribal communities
Kai patt	Extra weft patterned
Kachi	Full sleeve blouse
Kaili	Lower drapes for Muslims
Kalam	Floor painting of Gods
Kara	Border
Kasab chutti	Gold in double-needle formation
Kili	Bird motif
Kottaram Chutti	Gold outlined with colour
Kuri	Dash like
Maar Kaccha	Underarm /waist two-piece drape
Mundu	Lower drape
Mundu Veshti / Sett mundu	Two-piece drape
Murham	One cubit
Mundani	End-piece
Mohiniattam	Dance style
Moon Kambi	Three stripes
Nalakettu	Open to sky inner courtyard
Nedege	Multi-striped border
Neriyad	Shoulder cloth
Neela	Blue
Onnara	Two metre under wrap worn between the legs by girls
Otta vitta	Flat gold border
Patta Kara	Flat Border
Palzam	Banana green colour
Pacha	Green colour
Puliyala Kara / Katti Kara	Flat border ribbed end-piece
Pushpam	Flower
Pudava	Sari
Salwar kameez	Stitched lower & upper garment
Sett / Veshti	Upper drape
Sornam	Gold metallic yarn
Roka	Stitched blouse
Tharavad	Matriarchy / home
Torte	Upper cloth
Valli	String
Veerali patta	Yarn-resist silk drape
Zarigai	Metallic yarn

KARNATAKA

Adige	Double wave pattern
Anjure/Anjari	Fine green, red striped sari
Arshina	Turmeric yellow
Anchu / Patta / patte	Border
Bekina hejje	Cat's paw pattern
Bile chukki	Dark blue and white check sari
Bel	Vine
Belu	Pattern harness
Bhooteru	Nomadic ceremonial performers
Bond	Sari
Chakra	Wheel
Chikanchu	Narrow border silk sari
Chowgatan / Kuttalam / Mithai popli/ Phutani / Ratan popli / Komat	Multiple colour checks
Chinnpura	Small flower
Chukki	Weft yarn-resist pattern
Dhoop chhaon	Shot body
Dodpuvanchu	White floral border
Dodanchu	Broad border
Dundu seere	Split border bands
Eri	Silk (*Philosamia ricini*)
Gaadidhadi	Rail track pattern
Gajendermoksh	Crocodile
Gandaberunda	Double-headed eagle
Ganga jamuna	Double-colour borders
Gawlia	Cowherd
Gobbe	Gowda landholding community
Goddanchu	Honeycomb pattern
Gopuram	Temple spire
Gulal Chukki	Red and dark blue check sari
Gumi	Arrowhead pattern
Hamsa	Swan
Halaki Vokaliga	Tribal agriculturists
Hasru	Green
Ilikal / Shahpuri	End-piece 3/5 red & white bands & a type of sari
Iruki paddike	Three-shuttle
Jaddane seere	Different coloured checks
Jwari	Double sided stitch
Kacche	Between-the-legs wearing style
Kaddi seere	Checked sari
Kakni	Ladder
Karvat kathi / Dhotra / Tiruvanchike	Three-shuttle saris
Kaskasi	Poppy seed fine check
Kasuti	Cross-stitch embroidery
Kempu	Blackish red
Khann	Blouse fabric
Kirige	Child's sari
Kirmanji	Vermillion
Konia	Corner motif
Kora	Unbleached white
Lakundi	Area & a type of three-shuttle sari
Lahiri	Twill pattern
Latha	Creeper
Lavang kaddi	Clove check
Mamidi	Mango / paisley pattern
Manmohan varsal	Broken stripe body
Mungi Chikki	Small check
Molakalmuru	Area & a type of sari
Motichoor	Fine bead-size check
Muthda / Muttu bettu	Dash-like broken stripe pattern
Muttu kaddi	Broken check
Nalli	Wave
Narrayanpet	Area & a type of sari
Navilu	Peacock pattern
Negi	Weave-like stitch
Neeli	Indigo blue
Nippani	Small flower motif
Panka popli	Double check
Paras	Mat pattern
Patta	Border
Pattad Ane	Elephant with upturned trunk
Pattad hasu	Cow
Pattad kudre	Horse
Pattedanchu	Three band border
Panchhe	Upper drape
Pettu	Patterned border
Rail Popli	Double-colour check
Rani	Indian pink
Rasta kaddi	Plain-coloured stripes
Rui Phool	Cotton flower motif
Rudraksh / Avu	Seed flower motif
Sada	Plain
Selari	Striped
Serugu	End-piece of sari
Seere	Sari
Sada patta	Plain border
Surykanti	Circular sunflower like motif
Tanna seere	Attached end-piece sari
Taramandal	Yarn-resist dot pattern
Tarban	Tissue
Teni	Serrated edge at border end
Tuhimalkala	Fine check in sari body
Varsal jamial	Diagonal twill stripe in body

Yakshagana Traditional theatre form

GOA

Aboli / Phaati Four-petaled flower
Casados Portuguese nationals married to local women
Choked Crisscross wavy line
Dhaadi Border
Dhangad Shepherds
Dhoop Chhaon Shot coloured body
Gara Long satin stitch embroidery
Haldi Turmeric yellow
Hirwa Green
Konkan Region community in parts of Goa, Maharashtra, Karnataka
Koli Fishing community
Kunbi Tribals who turned to farm labour
Kath Border
Kalsi Harvest dance
Kuris Cross
Lambdo Red
Lungi Sarong
Lugda / Kapad Sari
Mesticos People of mixed Portuguese and Indian descent
Mogri / Chafa Flower motifs
Naturais Original inhabitants of Goa
Neela Blue
Palo Stripes
Palvan End-piece
Phaati Border
Popli Check
Rani Indian pink
Reinoes Portuguese nationals or ruling class
Sada Plain
Saru palli / pulla Arrowhead pattern
Sevanti Six-petaled flower
Toda Wavy line
Torhop baz / Pano bhaju / Saraca Sarong-blouse worn by upper class converts to Christianity

MAHARASHTRA

Agari Salt-harvesting community
Aal Madder
Ambar charkha Semi-mechanized spinning wheel
Ankhi Eye motif
Ardh kamal Half lotus
Ardh Pharas Half mat pattern
Bai / Mahila Woman
Baan Coarse count sari
Baal Child
Bajupatta Wrist stripe
Baiguni Purple
Bel Vine pattern
Bugdi Ear ornament
Buti Small motif
Butidar All-over patterned
Chandrakala Resin printed sari
Chatai patta Mat-patterned border
Chowkda Bold check
Chukki Resist-dash pattern
Deshi charkha Traditional spinning wheel
Dhadi / Kinar Border
Dholak Drum pattern
Dhoop Chhaon Shot colour
Eenta Brick pattern
Ganga Jamuna Two-coloured border
Garbh Body
Garbh Reshmi Silk warp/cotton weft
Gomi Saw-edged
Haldi Turmeric yellow
Ikat Yarn-resist
Janta Mass production scheme of govt. initiated in 1976
Jote Silk/cotton sari
Kastha Between-the-legs style
Kaamakari Working rural women
Kaashtkar Konkan working women
Kaatkari Tribal agriculturist community of coastal area
Karvat Three-shuttle
Katari Arrowhead pattern
Khann / Khanngaddi Blouse fabric
Kharri Resin printed
Khaskhasi Poppy seed fine check
Kiramchi Crimson
Koli Fishing community
Konkanastha Konkan community
Kora Unbleached
Kumkum Vermillion
Lavani Dance style
Lehar Weave pattern
Lugda Sari
Makar sankranti Auspicious Hindu festival celebrating the turn of the sun towards the Tropic of Capricorn at the end of winter
Mae Bride's mother
Marathamoli Maratha community
Mungia Lentil seed check
Nagpuri Area (Nagpur) & a type of sari
Nakshi kinar Patterned border sari
Nakhooni Fine body stripes
Neel Indigo blue
Padar End-piece
Patal Patterned silk sari
Paithani Area (Paithan) & a type of sari
Pharas Mat pattern
Phool Flower
Punneri Area (Pune) & a type of sari
Rasta Broad stripes
Reshmi Silken
Rumal Handkerchief
Rui phool Cotton flower
Sada Plain
Safa Turban cloth
Sankali Chain pattern
Sikka Coin
Shalu Upper drape
Susi Accessory fabric
Sooti Cotton
Tok padar Attached end-piece
Topi Cloth cap
Thakkar People of coastal tribal region
Waarli People of north tribal area
Uparna Drape
Vinchur Area & a type of sari
Yeola Area & a type of sari
Zari Metallic yarn

GUJARAT

Aabha Tunic
Aada Diagonal
Aada vel Diagonal vine pattern
Ambi Mango motif
Asawali Brocaded metal yarn patterned on silk ground
Bandhani Fabric-resist
Badam Almond
Badla Flat silver wire embroidery
Bavanbagh / Baarbagh 52-garden layout
Bhaat Pattern
Bhatia/ Bania / Lohana / Dasavanya Memon / Marwaris / Thakkars Jains / Patels Trading communities
Bhoomi Body
Buti / Buta Motif
Butidar Chheent Fine floral pattern
Chakli chaklo Square layout
Chanda bhaat Moon pattern
Chhe Six
Chheda Outer end-piece
Chodhri Rural community
Chowk / Chokta Checks
Chowkda Big check
Chowkdi Square
Chulful 4-petaled motif
Danda Striped
Danedar/ Dana Spotted
Dangi Community of Dang area
Deshi Local
Dhabri / Tangalia Multipurpose woolen drape
Dhakka leher Receding wave pattern
Dhali Shield
Dholka sadlo Area & a type of sari
Dori Ply
Dupatta / Odhani / Chunri Chariyo / Chundadi / Pachhedi upper drape
Ejhaar Veil for women
Gaaj / Gajji Stitched lower garment
Gamthi Satin silks
East Gujarat rural community

Gara	Long satin stitched embroidery
Garmagi	Male-female bird
Ghagra	Long skirt
Gharchola	Fabric-resist wedding sari
Hathi	Elephant
Ikat	Yarn-resist
Jaal	Trellis
Jangla	All-over patterning
Jimmi	Lower drape for women
Kado / Kali/ Kankobar	Black
Kameez	Stitched upper garment
Kanda Papeta	Onion and medallion motif
Kandi	Unit of four fabric resist spots
Kashta	Between-the-legs wearing style
Kataria	Arrowhead
Keri	Mango
Kharek	Grape-like
Kinkhwab	Generic term for heavy metallic patterned silk
Kumbhars	Potters
Koli	Fishing community
Kor	Border
Laduda	Circular form
Leheriya / Leher	Wave
Lugda / Sadlo	Sari
Manik Chowk	Square pattern
Margi Chaklo	Bird trellis
Mashru	Silk-warp/cotton-weft satin weave fabric
Misar	Scarf
Mor jhaar	Peacock pattern
Nari kunj	Female-figured yarn-resist pattern
Nau	Nine
Nava	New
Naukhand	Nine squares
Paanch pato	Five-leafed pattern
Parsi	Parsi community
Paan	Beetle leaf
Paanch rang	Five coloured pattern
Pachak	5 circular forms
Pachheda,Pania	Drapes for men
Panetar	Fabric resist veil/ wedding sari
Panihari	Water-pot carrying female form
Patola / Patolu	Yarn-resist sari
Pheta	drape
Phool	Floral
Popat	Parrot
Putli	Doll
Rabari / Charan / Bharwad / Banjaras	Nomadic shepherd community
Rato	Deep red colour
Rang	Colour
Rattan chowk	Square layout
Saat dani	Seven-dot pattern
Salwar	Stitched lower garment
Saudagiri	Printed trade textiles
Saur / Pallav	End-piece
Selari	Stripe
Seedha palla	Outer end-piece draped on shoulder back to front
Suhagan	Married women
Suti	Cotton
Vel / Vela	Vine patterned
Zari	Metallic yarn

MADHYA PRADESH and CHHATTISGARH

Adivasi	Tribal
Aal	Madder
Angochhi	Child's veil / shoulder cloth
Bani	Words recalled
Bugdi katari	Ear ornament, saw-edge / arrowhead patterned
Baan	Lower drape fabric
Badam	Almond
Bel	Vine
Cheenchpopdi	Checked body
Chitpat rui phool	Positive, negative flower motif
Chowki	Seat
Chatai kinar	Mat pattern
Chadar	Drape
Chowkhana / Chowkda	Check
Chunri / Dupatta	Veil
Dariyai	Yarn-resist border end-piece sari
Dhimar	Fishermen
Dhobi	Launderers
Dhoop chhaon	Shot colour
Do Chashmee	Double sided, double colour satin weave
Doria	Self stripes
Dhadia / Dhadi / Kinar	Border
Deh	Body
Ek	One
Ganga Jamuna	Double coloured borders
Gadhewal / Halba / Koshta / Meher / Devangan / Mehra / Chandhar / Mirgan / Mahar / Panka	Hindu Weaving communities
Haldi	Turmeric yellow
Jote / Lugda / Pata	Sari
Jaaldar	All over trellis pattern
Kabir Panthis	Followers of poet saint Kabir
Kadam jhad	Symbolic fertility symbol
Kamal	Lotus
Katari	Arrowhead pattern
Koli kanda	Local root used for sizing fine count yarn in Chanderi
Kanihai patti	Inner end-piece of the sari
Kota	Self check fabric / sari
Kumbhar	Potter
Lal	Red
Machhi	Fish
Mae lugda	Sari for bride's mother
Momin / Ansari	Muslim weaving communities
Motim chowk	Pearl check
Mungi	Lentil size check
Oraon	Community
Oraon Turra	Upper drape
Paanch phulia	Five flower repeat pattern
Pagdi	Turban
Pandit	Brahmin upper caste Hindu
Patka	Shoulder cloth.
Patta kinar	Plain band border
Peeriya	Fabric resist
Pehli haldi	Turmeric purification ritual before marriage
Phool / Phulia	Flower
Phooldar batasha	Circular flower motif
Pallav / patta / munh	Outer end piece
Peta / Deh / zamin	Body of the sari
Puvvu	8 Petal flower
Rasta	Stripe
Resham / Reshmi	Silk
Roghan	Tinsel printing
Rui Phool	Cotton flower
Sada basanti kinar	Plain divided border
Sendri	Wedding sari
Sindoor dani /*Singhauda*	Container for auspicious vermillion powder used in the parting of married woman's hair
Singhada	Water chestnut
Singhaulia	Auspicious motif
Suhag chunni	Wedding veil
Teen phulia	3 flower repeat pattern
Tola	Measure of 10 grams
Tussar	Silk-Mylitta
Tuwal	Towel
Vidhva / seti	Widow
Zari	Metallic yarn in gold/ silver

UTTAR PRADESH and UTTARAKHAND

Aamrasi	Mango colour
Ada Bel	Diagonal vine
Amua	Mango white
Avadh Raidana	Fine grain flower
Badla kadhai	Flattened silver wire embroidery
Chadhiyaon / Baun / Kasbi / Churia	Lower drapes/saris
Baze kora	Unbleached white
Bel	Vine
Beldar	Vine patterned
Buta	Large motif
Buti	Small motif
Buti dar palla	Multiple motif end-piece
Chikan	Embroidery; largely white-on-white
Dasdtarkhwan	Table cover
Dhoti	Plain sari
Farad	Hangings
Ganga / Jamuni	Double coloured borders
Garha	Coarse fabric
Gazi	Coarse, gauze like
Gehra hara	Dark green

Gethua	Multi-heddle loom
Guchha	Bouquet
Gyaser	Heavy, weft-patterned silk woven for Buddhist market
Hararra	Myrobalan
Hathi	Elephant
Jaal	Trellis
Jala Kadhwan	Draw loom embroidered
Jahan namaz	Prayer cloth
Jajam	Floor cloth
Jali	Trellis
Jamdani	Plain-weave with inlaid pattern
Jhabla	Blouse
Kadhai	Embroidery
Kadhwan	Loom embroidery
Kala	Black
Kapasi	Cotton fluff white
Karkhana	Workshop
Katan / Paat	Twisted 2-ply silk
Katarwan	Cutwork
Katha / Katthi	Catechu brown
Kinkhab	Generic name for heavy, metal patterned silk
Khadi	Hand spun & handloom woven
Khaskhasi	Poppy seed white
Khasauta	Between-the-legs wearing style
Khooni	Blood red colour
Kinar	Border
Kirmanji	Magenta
Kora	Undegummed silk
Makkaiya	Corn white
Mal / Tanzeb	Muslin
Mota kaam	Bold/unrefined work
Motia	Jasmine white / coarse count sari
Nakhooni	Nail fine body stripes
Nakhooni chowkda	Nail fine check
Naksha jala	Drawloom embroidered
Nakshi	Patterned
Narangi	Orange
Neela	Indigo blue
Odhni / Raini / Kalmi / Orhna	Veil
Paar	Plied
Pagadi palla	End-piece around the head wearing style
Pahari	Region & a type of sari
Palloo / Palla	Sari end-piece
Parde	Curtain
Pattu	Floss silk
Phekwan	All through weft patterning
Reshmi	Silken
Roghan Chhapi	Tinsel printed
Rumal	Handkerchief
Sada	Plain
Seedha palla / Gol sari	End-piece back to front
Shikargah	Hunting motif
Shalu	Upper drape
Suti	Cotton
Tanchoi	Multiple, weft patterned satin weave silk
Telia	Oil white
Totia	Parrot green
Uthava	Relief from base fabric
Zard	Egg white
Zardozi	Metallic yarn embroidery
Zari kalabattu	Gold/silver metal wire wound on silk/cotton yarn

BIHAR and JHARKHAND

Aanchal	Sari end-piece
Ambar charkha	Semi-mechanized spinning wheel
Baavanbuti	52 body motif pattern
Bijli	Lightning effect
Buta	Motif
Chowkda	Check
Chunari	Veil
Chhapi Dhoti	Printed sari
Dhobi	Washerman
Dhoti	Plain sari
Diwan	Revenue collector (British period)
Do rangia	Double coloured
Doriadaar kinar	Multiple band border
Gamchha / Pataani Kappa	Upper drape
Gyara haath	11 cubit
Jamui	Area & a type of sari
Jhula	Embroidered blouse
Ikat	Yarn-resist
Kantope	Head cover
Khadi	Hand spun & handloom woven
Kinar	Border
Kothi	Mansion
Motia	Coarse count sari
Mukpat	Outer end-piece
Naib diwan	Deputy Revenue collector (British Period)
Nakshi Paar	Extra warp patterned border
Patta Kinar	Plain border
Phool Buta	Flower motif
Raja/ Maharaja	King/ruler
Sada / Saadi	Plain
Sujni	Multilayered running stitch embroidery
Tussar	Silk (Antheraea mylitta)
Vidhwa	Widow
Zamindar	Landlord

WEST BENGAL

Aananosh	Pineapple
Alta	Red dye smeared by women along the edges of feet on auspicious occasions
Bel	Vine
Benki terchhi	Wave pattern
Bishnupuri	Area & a type of sari
Bhomra	Beehive pattern
Buti	Small motif
Chaar	Four
Chaar Pere	Four border sari
Chand mala	String of moon pattern
Chatai Paar	Mat patterned border
Dhakka	Receding stripes
Dhakai jamdani	Cotton pick by pick weft inlaid pattern
Dhokna-panchi	Upper & lower drape of North Bengal (Mechh community)
Dhonekhali	Area & a type of sari
Dhoti	Men's lower drape
Doroha aansh	Double-sided fish scale
Dure	Stripe
Eri	Silk (*Philosamia ricni*)
Gorad	Patterned silk sari type
Haar buti	Necklace bead pattern
Holdoy	Turmeric yellow
Jaal	Trellis
Jala	Pattern harness
Jalchuri	Plain receding stripes at border edge
Joll	Water
Kalka buti	Paisley motif
Kantha	Running stitch hand embroidery
Khejurchheri	Palm leaf pattern with 2-ply, 2-colour weft
Khoiyer maar	Puffed rice starch
Khooni lal	Blood red
Kolosh	Water pitcher
Konia	Corner motif
Kora	Unbleached
Korial	Patterned silk sari type
Laal paar	Red bordered sari
Lota	Floral vine
Maachh	Fish motif
Maatha paar	Plain, broad border sari
Muga	Silk (Antheraea assama)
Naksha paar	Extra-warp patterned border sari
Neelambari	Indigo ground sari
Paakhi kor/ Phooki kor	Birds wing pattern
Paancha pere / Panchha-paar sari	Five border sari
Paachha pere	Sari with three borders, one at either end & the third encircling the hips
Paar	Border
Paanchhi	Over drape of Santhal community
Palloo / anchol	End-piece
Patta paar	Leaf vine border
Pata	Leaf pattern
Pheeta	Ribbon
Phool	Flower
Phool jaal	Floral mesh
Podda bel	Lotus vine
Pota	Body

Rongeen	Coloured
Ruiton	Club pattern
Santhals	Tribal community
Shantipuri	Area & a type of sari
Sheete sindoori	Vermillion in hair patterned sari
Sindoor	Vermillion in parting of hair of married women
Tangail	Area & a type of sari
Terchhi	Diagonal stripe
Tussar	Silk (Antheraea mylitta)
Zari	Metallic yarn

ORISSA

Aal	Madder
Ashwin	Mid September to mid October
Bagh	Tiger
Bagh chaura	Tiger's footprint
Bandha / Bandhi	Yarn-resist
Baul mala	String of flowers
Bibana	Palanquin
Bichana	Hand fan
Bomkai	Area & a type of sari
Chakhand	Cubit
Chadar	Drape
Chaukia punji	The hand holding fan
Chautari	Woven in 2ply in 40s count
Chowka	Check
Daanti	Tooth
Dalimba	Parrot motif
Dandi	End-piece separated by stripes
Deh/ Dhola	Body
Deoli	Wave/hill pattern
Do	Two
Dhadi	Border
Dhoti	Sari
Dhenkanali kumbh	Yarn-resist temple spire
Dongari kondh / Kondh / Paroja / Godaba / Bonda	Tribal communities southwest Orissa
Dusphulia	10 flowers pattern repeat
Ek	One
Eri	Silk (*Philosamia ricni*)
Habaspuri	Area & a type of sari
Haldia	Turmeric yellow
Harina	Deer
Ikat	Yarn-resist
Jagannath puri	Presiding deity of Puri
Jhinjhiria	Chain-like pattern
Kaccha	Between-the-legs style
Kachho	Tortoise
Kalash	Temple dome
Kalera	Floral pattern
Kapda ganda	Lower drape
Kapu / Tapua	Yarn-resist temple spire
Karpi / Kanaka / Keri	Fertility symbols
Kaunti sari	Broad-check body with split border
Khandua	Area & a type of sari
Koshta / Bhullia Mehar	Weaving communities
Kotpad	Area & a type of sari
Kantaphul / Genduphul / Padamphul / Kadamphul	Flower motifs
Kudhei, Sisal	Trees
Kumkum	Vermillion
Kusumi	Hibiscus flower
Kuthi	Check
Maach / machha / Machho	Fish motif
Mae	Bride's mother's sari
Mauda	Crown-like forms
Mayuro	Peacock
Meriah / Meria	Sacrifice
Moh	End-piece
Muhajorha	Contrast colour attached end-piece
Mukta punji	Peacock motif
Naksho dhadi	Patterned border
Nuapatna	Area & a type of sari
Odissi	Folk dance of Orissa
Padma	Lotus
Patra / Nayak	Weaving communities
Patta Dhadi	Plain band border
Pheta	Flag
Phoda kumbh	Temple spire
Phula / Phulo / Phulia	Flower
Saarhi / Lugga	Sari
Sadhaba	Mercantile community
Sakta par	Type of yarn-resist sari
Sankha	Conch shell
Santhal	North Orissa tribe
Saptamangala	Festival of seven goddesses
Sarak	Buddhist community
Saat phulia	Seven flower pattern repeat
Sebati / Ketaki / Rudraksh	Flower motif
Sindoori	Wedding sari
Singha	Lion
Tanti	Weaving community of Bengal
Telia rumal	Square format resist oil soaked fabric/sari of Andhra Pradesh
Tussar	Silk (Antheraea mylitta)
Rath	Chariot
Rekti kapda ganda	Upper drape
Ringa	Lower drape of Bonda tribal women
Zamidar	Landlord

ANDHRA PRADESH

Aaku	Leaf
Adai	Pattern harness
Angavastram	Upper drape
Armoor	Area & a type of sari
Anchu	Plain border
Bandha	Yarn-resist
Bettedu	Four finger
Billa buta	Medallion motif
Bottanchu chire	Plain border, coarse sari
Bugdi	Ear ornament
Brahmin	Priest / scholar
Chintapikka	Tamarind seed maroon
Chukka	Star motif
Chengavi	Fabric-resist dyed saris
Chepa	Fish motif
Chitki	Yarn-resist dash pattern
Chire	Sari
Chelnetha	Cross-shed beaten weave
Chettis / Komati	Trading community
Damyanti Patcha	Forest green
Dasili/ Darili Chire	Tussar silk sari
Dharmavaram	Area & a type of sari
Dhoti	Sari
Gadwal	Cotton body / silk border end-piece sari
Gintam	2 threads in a dent
Gomi	Arrowhead
Gaddi Chire	Check-body sari
Ganga jamuna	2-colour borders
Gochi Kattu	Loin cloth
Golla	Cowherd community
Guvanchu	Dove eye
Guntur sari	Area & a type of sari
Guntur Benaras	Twill patterned border
Himroo	Cotton warp, silk weft fabric
Ikat	Yarn-resist
Itukara	Brick
Jangla / jaali	Trellis
Jamdani	Plain-weave inlaid pattern
Kachha	Between the legs wearing style
Kangora	Temple spire
Kalamkari	Dye-painting & printing style
Kappu	Agriculture community
Kavva	Dents
Kertalanchu	Wave patterned border
Khaddi buta	Teardrop
Kirige	Child's sari
Khadi	Hand spun & handloom woven
Kora	Unbleached white
Kongu	End-Piece
Konia	Corner motif
Kshatriya	Warriors
Kuchipudi	Dance style
Kuppadam	Three-Shuttle
Lahiri	Twill
Lambadi	Community
Lungi	Lower drape
Madde	Madder
Maharaja	King
Manglagiri	Area & a type of sari/fabric
Mamidi	Mango motif
Mashru	Silk-warp/cotton-weft satin weave fabric
Mayilkinnu	Peacock's eye
Mochur	Dash-like
Moodu Kongula Chira	Three end piece sari
Mukkala Chire	Long drape

Muga	Silk (Antherea assama)
Mulmul	Muslin
Narayanpet	Area & a type of sari
Neeli	Indigo
Nimali	Peacock motif
Nippani	Double track border
Padmam	Lotus
Panneelu	Rosewater sprinkler
Pattubadi	Compact weave
Pattu sale / Padma sale	Weaving communities
Pitambaralu / Pusapu	Turmeric yellow
Pettu	Patterned border
Puvvu/ Pushpam	Floral motif
Putalamma	Goddess
Ravi aaku	Tamarisk leaf
Rudraksham	Auspicious seed flower motif
Rumal	Handkerchief
Singha	Lion
Shalika	Weaver
Sungdi	Fabric-resist of Tamil Nadu
Togata / Sale / Devanga	Weaving communities
Telia rumal	Yarn-resist oil-soaked square- format fabric/sari
Thaatakanchu	Palm leaf
Theega	Vine
Tomtom gaddi	Solid check
Tussar	Silk (Antheraea mylitta)
Uppada	Area & a type of sari
Velu	Finger width
Venkaya	Brinjal
Zardozi	Gold-wire embroidery
Zari	Metallic yarn

TAMIL NADU

Achi	Women
Adai / Mettupath / Pettupoth	Pattern harness
Ambavalli	Yellow
Araku	Lac red
Ammapet	Area & a type of sari
Bavanchu	Broad border
Benaras kotadi	Twill check in silk/metallic yarn
Bundu / Katti sayam / Kadaka sayam	Yarn dyed contrast end-piece
Butta	Spot pattern
Bharat Natyam	Dance style
Charkha	Handspinning wheel
Chinn	Small
Chittai	Weft-band woven with extra shuttle
Chettinad / Chinnalpatti	Area & a type of sari
Damayanti / Indra varman	Stripe patterned configuration
Dudal	Contractual wage labour
Gundaranchu	Broad band sari
Gundumani	Fat round bead check
Jamdani	Plain weave inlaid pattern
Janta	Mass production scheme of govt., initiated in 1976
Kodalikarapu	Area & a type of sari
Kaal yerengina kattam	Weft of check running through the borders
Kai nada	Throw shuttle
Kalmadar	Bamboo pen
Karai	Border
Kattam	Check
Karpu	Black
Kempu	Crimson
Kol	Device for creating simple geometric figured patterning
Kolam	Floor pattern made with rice powder
Kommai / Dana mundi	Weft contrast band woven with a three-shuttle in end piece
Korainadu	Area & a type of sari
Korvai / chittai	Three-shuttle weave
Kosi maram	Pin stripes
Kosi vana	Silk stripes turmeric yellow -lac red
Kuligai	2 ends of yarn
Kumkum	Burnt turmeric
Kunthkodal / Kuttadal	Tie-dyed end-piece
Kuilkan	Nightingale's eye motif
Kuttini	Silk/cotton fabric/sari
Malikara buligai	Fine, Even checks
Manjal	Turmeric yellow colour
Maripu	Two-shuttle weave
Mathal	Reciprocity of labour
Mayura	Peacock
Muggu	Temple spire
Mukkan visiri	Three-eyed fan check, three coloured fan check
Mundani	End-piece
Mundu	Lower drape
Muthukotadi	Broken check in sari body
Munn Kossavam	Front pleat style
Mupaggam	Three part borders/ body/ end-piece sari
Nadu kambi	Pinstripes in end-piece and border
Nattukottai Chettiars	Trading community
Neehta pavu	Warp length of more than 110 metres
Oosi vanam	Needle-fine stripe
Paasai	Olive colour
Pachai	Green
Padma Sele / Kaikolars	Weaving community
Pananeer	Rose water sprinkler motif
Pattemarpu	Real Madras Handkerchief
Pattu	Silk
Pettunulkar	Silk weavers
Petni / Vettu mundi	Attached contrast coloured end-piece
Pettu	Patterned
Pavuen	Pound coin motif
Puva kali	Floral vine pattern
Puva	Flower in diamond pattern
Ratu	Warping drum
Sadha	Plain
Saliyars	Weavers of coarse count cottons
Seeru / kodu	Stripes
Senniger	Weavers
Selai	Plain sari
Sungadi	Fabric-resist
Sickinaickanpet	Area & a type of sari
Taniyars	Master weavers
Thavir karitchi	Curd vendors
Thopus	Large shaded grove
Thundu / Vesthi	Upper drape
Thandavalam	Paired stripe/rail track pattern
Udal	Body of sari
Veedu	Dent
Vellai	White cloth
Vyra kosi	Silk sari with gold stripe
Vaira	Diamond motif
Vakkaligar	Milk-product sellers
Zari	Metallic yarn
Zarigai	Gold metallic yarn

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